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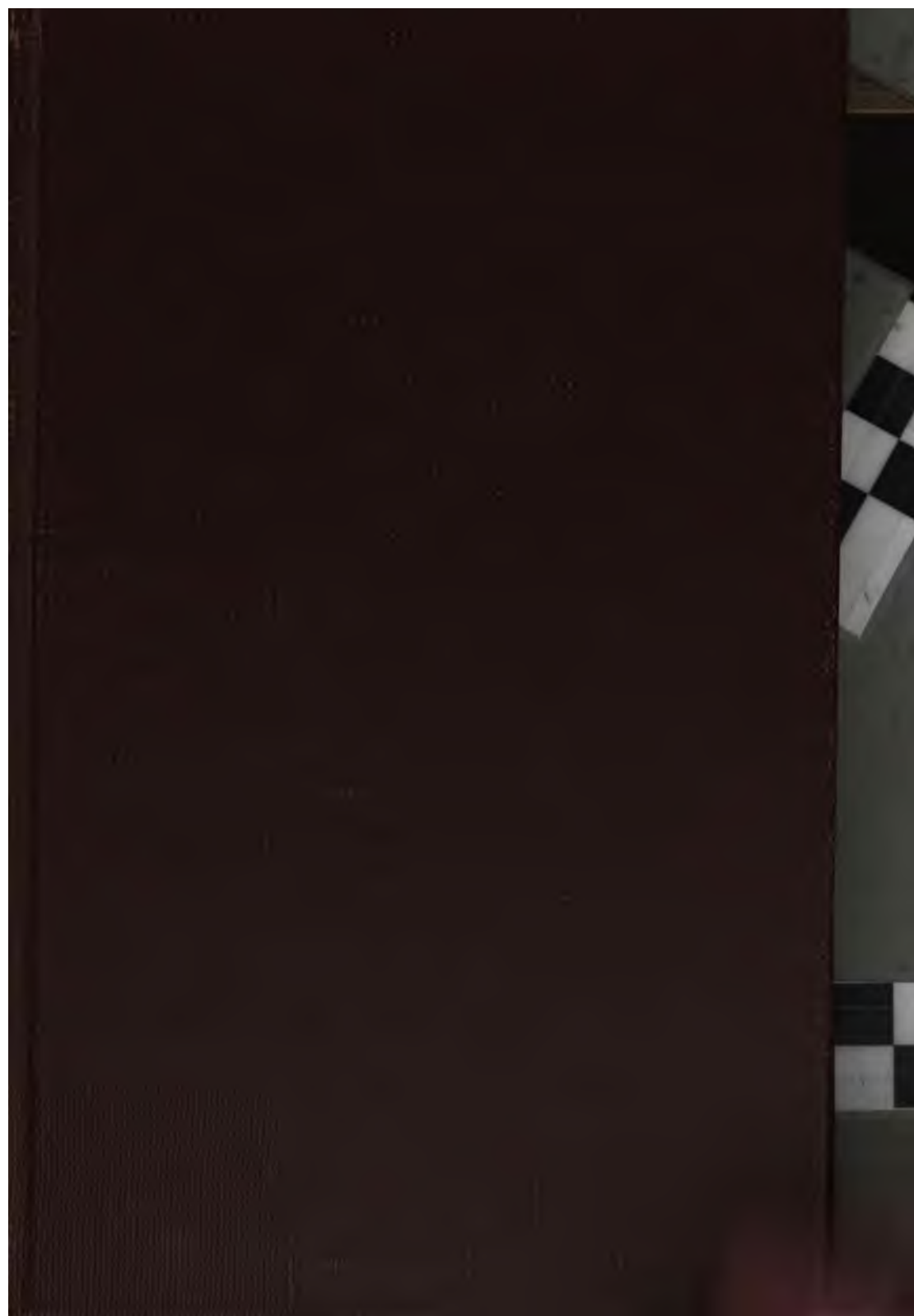
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HARLEIAN MISCELLANY;

OR, A

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CONTENTS.

VOL. XII.

	PAGE.
The Old French Way of managing Treaties.	
<i>Subruit amulos Reges muneribus.</i>	HORACE. 9
The Natural History of Coffee, Thee, Chocolate, and Tobacco, in four several Sections: With a Tract of Elder and Juniper-Berries, shewing how useful they may be in our Coffee-Houses: And, also, the Way of making Mum, with some Remarks upon that Liquor. Collected from the Writings of the best Physicians, and Modern Travellers. From a Quarto, containing thirty-nine pages; Printed at London, for Christopher Wilkinson, at the Black Boy, over against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street, 1682	20
A Descent from France: Or, The French Invasion of England considered and discoursed. London, 1692. Folio, containing half a sheet	38
Admiral R. Letter to the Earl of Nottingham: Containing an exact and particular Relation of the late happy Victory and Success against the French Fleet. Published by authority. In the Savoy, printed by Edward Jones, 1692. Folio, containing eight pages	42
The Character of an Honest and Worthy Parliament-Man. A Folio half Sheet. No date	47
A Private Letter, sent from one Quaker to another	49
A View of the Reign of king Charles the First: Wherein the true Causes of the Civil War are impartially delineated, by strokes borrowed from Lord Clarendon, Sir Philip Warwick, H. L'Estrange	

	PAGE.
and other most authentick and approved Historians. London. Printed in Quarto, containing twenty-eight pages	50
A true Description and Direction of what is most worthy to be seen in all Italy, orderly set down, and sure in Manner, as that the Traveller may not oversee or neglect any thing that is memorable in those Countries, but may compass that Journey at an easy and reason- able Charge, and in a short Time, signifying how many miles from one place to another, as followeth: First, what is to be seen prin- cipally in Venice, and from thence to Rome, Naples, Sicily, and until you come to Malta, from thence back again another way to Genoa, and Milan. MS.	73
Brief Notes on the Creed of St. Athanasius. Quarto, containing eight pages	130
The Parlement of Byrdes. Imprynted at London, in Paules Church Yarde, at the Synge of the Lambe, by Abraham Uele. In Black Letter, Quarto, containing fourteen pages	139
An Essay on the Theatres: Or, the Art of Acting. In Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry. MS. Never before printed.	
<i>Ex Noto fictum carmen.</i> Hor.	146
Nennius, A Worthy Briton, the very Pattern of a valiant, noble, and faithful Subject, Encountering with Julius Cæsar, at his first Coming into this Island, was by him Death-wounded; yet nevertheless he got Cæsar's Sword, put him to Flight, slew therewith Labienus, a tribune of the Romans, endured Fight till his Countrymen won the Battle, died fifteen Days after. And now encourageth all good Subjects to defend their Country from the Power of foreign and usurping enemies. About the Year before Christ, 52. MS.	157
The Nine Worthies of London: Explaining the honourable Exercise of Armes, the Vertues of the Valiant, and the memorable At- tempts of magnanimous Minds; pleasant for Gentlemen, not vn- seemely for Magistrates, and most profitable for Prentises. Compiled by Richard Iohnson. Imprinted at London, by Thomas Orwin, for Humphrey Lownes, and are to be sold at his Shop at the West Doore of Paules. 1592. In Black Letter. Quarto, containing forty-eight pages	164
The Levellers: A Dialogue between two young Ladies, concerning Matrimony, proposing an Act for enforcing Marriages, for the Equality of Matches, and taxing single Persons. With the danger of Celibacy to a Nation. Dedicated to a Member of Parliament. London: Printed and sold by J. How, at the Seven Stars in Talbot Court, in Gracechurch-street, 1703. Quarto, containing thirty-two pages	193
The Secret History of the Calves-Head Club, or, The Republican Un- masked: Wherein is fully shewn the Religion of the Calves-Head Heroes, in their Anniversary Thanksgiving Songs on the thirtieth of January, by them called Anthems, for the Years 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697; now published to demonstrate the restless, im- placable Spirit of a certain party still among us, who are never to	

be satisfied, till the present Establishment in Church and State is subverted.	PAGE.
<i>Discite justitiam moniti, & non temere dipos.</i>	VIRG.
London, printed and sold by the Booksellers of London and West- minster, 1703. Quarto, containing twenty-two pages	216
The Method of curing the Small Pox, first written in the year 1704, for the Use of the noble and honourable family of March, by Dr. Arch. Pitcairn. Folio, containing one page	226
A good Expedient for Innocence and Peace. Being an Essay concern- ing the great usefulness and advantage of laying aside publick Oaths. Edinburgh, printed by Mr. Andrew Symson, 1704. Quarto, con- taining sixteen pages	228
The Declaration of the most Christian king of France and Navarre, against the most horrid proceedings of a rebellious party of Parlia- ment-men and soldiers in England, against their king and country. Translated out of French by P. B.	238
Some Reasons for an Annual Parliament, as the best security for Eng- lish Rights. Together with the qualifications required in a good member of Parliament. Offered to the consideration of all electors of Parliament-men. Quarto, containing eight pages	239
A Catalogue of Petitions, ordered to be drawn up and presented to the honourable House at the next session. Quarto, containing four pages	247
How to advance the Trade of the Nation, and to employ the poor. Folio, containing four pages	250
The State Gamesters; or, the Old Cards new packed and shuffled. Folio, containing two pages	255
A Catalogue of Books, of the newest fashion, to be sold by auction, at the Whigs Coffee-house, at the sign of the Jackanapes, in Prating- alley, near the deanery of St. Paul's. Quarto, containing eight pages	257
A Letter from a Country Clergyman to his Brother in the neighbour- hood, touching some reproaches cast upon the bishops. Quarto, containing eight pages	262
An Account of the Original of Writing and Paper, out of a book, en- titled, La Libreria Vaticana, written by Muntia Pansa, keeper of the said library. Printed at Rome. Quarto, containing thirty pages	273
The Character of a certain great Duchess deceased, by a certain great Poet lately deceased. MS.	278
A Discouerie of the Treasons practised and attempted against the Queenes Maiestie and the Realme, by Francis Throckmorton, who was for the same arraigned and condemned in Guyld-hall, in the Citie of London, the one and twentie day of May last past, 1584. Quarto, containing twenty-eight pages	279

	PAGE.
The true Copy of a Letter, sent from the most Reverend William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury to the University of Oxford, when he resigned his Office of Chancellor. Published by Occasion of a base Libel and Forgery, that runs under this Title. And also the Answer of the University to the said Letter. Oxford, Printed by Leonard Lichfield, Printer to the University, Anno Dom. 1641. Quarto, containing twelve pages	232

THE
HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

THE OLD
FRENCH WAY OF MANAGING TREATIES.

*Subruit æmulos
Reges muneribus.*

HORACE.

SIR,

Since you tell me that you do not well understand French, especially that old dialect, which Comines wrote; and that you are willing to have an account of the treaty which was made betwixt our Edward the Fourth and Lewis the Eleventh of France, by the intervention of some mean fellows; and that you desire likewise to be informed of the intrigues of the great constable of France, who played with all sides, and was the chief trickster of that time; I am willing to oblige you, and am satisfied you will be pleased with the diversity of scenes that the story presents to your view.

THAT treaty, which Comines gives an account of so much to the dishonour of our nation, was first set on foot to publick appearance by an *ordinary fellow*, servant to a gentleman of the French King's household, who had not above twenty crowns salary per annum, himself; therefore, I can suppose the servant to have been no more than a footman. This fellow was taken near St. Quintin, by the English, when they marched up to the town in hopes of being received into it without opposition, according to promise by the Count de St. Paul, Great Constable of France, who was the chief trickster of his time, but lost his head for it at last, as you shall hear in its place. The footman being brought before King Edward the Fourth, and the Duke of Burgundy, one of the predecessors to the house of Austria, who was his ally in this war against France, they examined him; after which the King ordered him to be set at liberty, since he was the first prisoner they

had taken in this expedition. As the fellow was going, the Lord Howard and Stanley gave him a noble, and bid him in the stile of those times *recommend them to the good grace of the King his master, if he could have access to speak to him.*

The fellow made haste to the French King, who was then at Compiègne, and found access to deliver the message. Lewis XI. took him at first for a spy, because his master's brother was in the service of the Duke of Britany, who was also in alliance with the King of England and Duke of Burgundy, and therefore ordered him to be kept in custody that night. Abundance of people had liberty however to talk with him, and finding him speak with so much assurance, they gave it as their opinion, that the King ought to allow him a further hearing. Next morning betimes the King sent for him, and, after examining him more thoroughly, ordered him still to be kept in custody.

As the King went to dinner, he was full of thoughts about this matter, whether he should send to the King of England or not? And, before he sat down, whispered Comines in the ear, that he remembered the English herald had told him, that, when the King of England landed, he needed not send to him for a pass-port, but might direct any messenger to the said Lords Howard and Stanley. [This mystery you will find unravelled in the course of the story.] The King, having spoke thus, sat down, and ruminating a little, he whispered again to Comines, bid him rise up, and seek for one who was servant to the Lord Halles, and ask him if he durst undertake to go to the English army in the habit of an herald; Comines found out the man, and asked what the King commanded him, but was perfectly amazed when he saw the fellow, for he had neither mein nor behaviour fit for such an undertaking, nor had the King ever spoke to him but once; Comines owns though, that the man had sense, and a very graceful and smooth way of speaking. The servant was so much surprised when Comines spoke to him, that he fell on his knees as if he would have dropped down dead, so that he had much ado to keep him from falling into a swoon, the proposal was so amazing to one in his circumstances. Comines, to encourage him, promised him a post and money, and told him, that he needed not be afraid, *for the motion came from the English*, kept him to dine with him, and instructed him what he should do. In the mean time the King sent for Comines, who gave him an account of the man, and advised him to some others that he thought more proper; the King would not hear of this, but went and talked with the fellow himself, and having animated him by promise of a great reward, he taught him his lesson; but was so hard put to it to rig him out on a sudden, that he was forced to take a banner from one of his trumpets, to make him a herald's coat, and to borrow a badge from a herald belonging to the admiral, for the King had none of his own there, and so mounted him with his habiliments, put up in a fine bag fixed to the bow of his saddle, till he should come to the English camp, which was but eight miles distant. Thus he sent him a-going unknown to any body but Comines, and the Lord Villiers, his master of the horse.

The fellow, according to instructions, came to the English camp, and, putting on his coat of arms, was brought to the King's tent; told

those in waiting, *That he was sent from the King of France to the King of England, and was ordered to address himself to the Lords Howard and Stanley to be introduced.* The King being at dinner, this new vamped herald was carried to another tent, where he had his belly-full of more substantial food than French kick-shaws; and, when the King had dined, the herald was brought before him, and delivered his message thus: "The King of France had of a long time coveted his Majesty's friendship, and that their two realms might live in peace; that, since his master came to the crown, he had never undertaken any war directly against the King, or King of England; and, though he had entertained the Earl of Warwick, it was only against the Duke of Burgundy, and not against him. He likewise said, that the Duke had invited his Majesty beyond sea, only that he might be able to make the better terms for himself; and that the rest of the allies, who concurred with him, had done it to retrieve their own affairs, and to gain their particular ends: That the winter now drew on; that his master, the King of France, knew his Majesty had been at great expence, and that there were many in England, both of the nobility and gentry, &c. who were eager for war at home, in favour of the pretenders of Lancaster; but, if the King of England would listen to a treaty, the King his master would do all that was possible on his part, that both he and his kingdom should have satisfaction, and that he might be more thoroughly informed of matters. If he would grant a passport for an hundred horsemen, the King of France would send ambassadors to him fully instructed; or, if the King of England had rather that they should meet at a village, half way betwixt both armies, the King of France would readily agree to it, and send passports on his side."

The King of England, and part of his great men, liked these proposals very well, and gave this supposed herald such a passport as he desired, and a present of four nobles; they also sent a herald with him, to get the King of France's passport; and next day there met in a village near Amiens, on the part of the French King, the bastard of Bourbon, the admiral, the Lord St. Peter, and the Bishop of Eureux; on the part of the King of England, my Lord Howard, Mr. Chalanger, Dr. Marten, Chancellor of England, and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Thus, Sir, you see the treaty so far advanced by a footman; for I can suppose a gentleman who had only twenty crowns, or 4l. 10s. per annum salary, was not able to keep a servant of a higher station, and a *valet de chambre*, for so we must account of this new vamped herald at best.

I come next to tell you how a nine years truce was concluded betwixt Edward the Fourth and Lewis the Eleventh, notwithstanding all the endeavours used by the Duke of Burgundy and his other allies against it.

The French *valet de chambre* having thus performed his part, he was rewarded with a post and money, and the day after the ambassadors on both sides met; the English (says Comines) demanded, according to custom, the crown of France, or, at least, Normandy and Guienne. They made a vigorous attack, and the French made as brave a defence; however, the very first day of meeting, they began to come within ken

of one another, for both sides were eager for a peace. At last, the demands of the English terminated in 70,000 crowns, to be paid down before they marched off. That Lewis the Eleventh's son should be married to King Edward's daughter, and that the duchy of Guienne should be given to King Edward, or 50,000 crowns paid him annually, in the Tower of London, for nine years; after which, Guienne was to be peaceably enjoyed by the prince and princess above-mentioned. Some other articles there were, relating to trade, &c. which are not worth mentioning; and there was room left for the allies on both sides to come into this treaty, if they pleased. Nay, the King of England was so forward, that he offered to give the French King an account in writing, of several of his own subjects, who were traitors to his crown and dignity.

The French ambassadors having reported these things to Lewis the Eleventh, he was extremely rejoiced, and called a council upon it; at which Comines was present. Some were of opinion that the English dissembled, and that there was fraud couched under the proposals; which proceeded, I suppose, from the extraordinary forwardness that appeared in the English court towards a peace. But the King of France was of another opinion, because of the advanced season, that the English had not one place of retreat in their hands. That there was a misunderstanding betwixt them and the Duke of Burgundy, and that the King knew our Edward the Fourth was wholly given up to his ease and pleasures; and as to the constable of France, though the King knew him to be a trickster, yet he was sure he would deliver up none of the places he had promised to the Duke of Burgundy and the English, because the King, being jealous of him, kept fair with him, and was continually sending messengers, with fine words and large promises, to keep him from doing any mischief. Therefore it was concluded to raise the money demanded by the English with all possible speed, and to borrow it from those that were able to lend; for the King was resolved to be rid of the English at any rate, and rather to hazard all, than to suffer them to get footing in the kingdom of France, which they were just ready to enter.

Comines, being sensible that this was a very mean submission on the part of the French King, excuses it thus: That he knew what mischiefs the English had formerly done in France, and knowing the danger of his own circumstances from the Duke of Britany, and others, that were ready to raise commotions in the bowels of the kingdom, he wisely chose this part, as the only means left him to disappoint the designs of the Duke of Burgundy, and the other confederates.

The constable of France perceiving the treaty to be near concluded, and being sensible that he had tricked with all sides, he sent his secretary, and one of his gentlemen, to the King, with proposals to break off the treaty. At the same time one of the Duke of Burgundy's gentlemen, who had been taken before Arras, was let go on his parole to procure his ransom, and promised a great sum by the French King, besides being let go ransom-free, if he could bring his master to a peace. He happened to return the very same time when the constable sent his servants to the King of France, who improved the opportunity thus. He put

the Duke of Burgundy's gentleman and Comines, behind a large screen in his own chamber, and called in the constable's secretary and gentleman, that the Duke of Burgundy's servant might hear their proposals, and report them to his master, which he doubted not would have a good effect. The constable's servants began their discourse, and told the French King that their master had sent several times to persuade the Duke of Burgundy to break with the English, and found him so much incensed against the King of England, that he had almost gained him not only to desert them, but to fall upon them as they retired; and, the better to please the King, one of the constable's servants acted the Duke of Burgundy before him, stamped with his foot against the ground, swore by St. George, which was the duke's usual oath, and called the King of England Blayborgne, the bastard of a beef-eater of that name, and all the other reproachful names which he could invent. The French King laughed heartily, and, pretending to be thick of hearing, bid the fellow repeat it, and speak out louder; which he did with a very good grace. The conclusion of their message was, that the constable advised his Majesty to make a truce with the English, to avoid the dangers which otherwise threatened him from the allies, and to grant the King of England a little town or two for winter-quarters, pointing at Eu and St. Valery; and added, That the constable was sure this would please the English; and for his part he would be guarantee they should keep the treaty. The French King having gained his end, which was to let the allies know the constable's knavery, he answered his messengers very civilly, told them he would in a little time let his brother the constable know his mind, for so he thought fit to call him, because he had married a daughter of Savoy, sister to the Queen of France; and then dismiss'd them, after one of them had taken his oath that he would discover every thing that he knew to be transacted against his Majesty's interest. The King had much ado to dissemble his wrath at the constable's proposal to give the English those two towns, because he knew it was made on purpose to excuse himself at their hands for not delivering them St. Quintin, &c. according as he had promised to the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy; but he concealed his displeasure, and sent a civil answer to the constable to keep him in suspense, and prevent his delivering up the towns under his government. When the constable's messengers were gone, the King called the Duke of Burgundy's gentleman (who had much ado to keep his patience when he heard his master so much abused) and Comines, from behind the screen. The King laughed heartily, and was very merry, while the Duke's gentleman was in such a rage, that he could scarce be kept from taking horse immediately to acquaint his master with the constable's treachery. But the King prevailed with him to stay till he wrote down with his own hand what passed; and the King writ to the duke, assuring him of the truth of what his gentleman Seigneur de Contay (for that was his name) had writ. The truce with England was concluded before this, on the terms above-mentioned, and an interview agreed on betwixt the two Kings; after which the King of England, upon receiving his money, was to return to his own country, and to leave the Lord Howard and Mr. Cheyney, who was master of his horse, as hostages behind him.

A private pension of 10,000 crowns per annum was also promised to the King of England's servants. The Lord Hastings had 2000 per annum, the Lord Howard, the master of the horse, Mr. Calanger, the Lord Montgomery, and others, had the remainder; besides good sums in hand, and presents of plate to others of King Edward's servants.

The Duke of Burgundy, being informed of this negotiation, came from Luxemburg in all haste, attended only by sixteen horse, to the English camp. King Edward was very much surprised at his coming in that manner, and, perceiving by his countenance that he was in a rage, asked him the reason. The Duke told him he came to speak with him, and asked if he had made a peace. The King answered, he had made a truce for nine years, which he prayed him to agree to, since there was room left for him, and the other allies, to enter into it. The Duke upbraided him, as Holinshed tells us, with this shameful treaty, and that he had not so much as killed a fly, or burnt a she-goat for his coming to France. That his glorious ancestor, King Edward the Third, behaved himself otherwise, and would never make peace till he conquered France, was made regent of it, and declared heir apparent. That the said victorious prince was as near a-kin to him, the Duke of Burgundy, as the King of England was to King Henry the Fifth, whose blood he charged him with having destroyed; and told him, that 'he had agreed to a peace not worth a pease-cod.' That he did not invite him beyond sea, for any need he had of him, since he was able to revenge his own quarrel, but only to give him an opportunity to recover what had been unjustly taken from him; and, to let the King of England see that he did not value his assistance, he scorned to enter into his truce, or to make any league with the French King till three months after King Edward was returned home; and, throwing down his chair in a rage, would have been gone. But the King stopped him, and answering his reproaches, with others, for which I refer to Holinshed; the Duke left him in a fury. Some of the King of England's council, who were against the peace, approved very much of what the Duke of Burgundy had said.

I return now to the tricking constable. He, being afraid of the consequences of this treaty, sent his confessor, as Comines and Holinshed agree, with a letter to King Edward, praying him, for God's sake, not to believe the French King, who would break his promise as soon as the King of England was returned; and, rather than he should conclude a peace for want of money, he would lend him fifty-thousand crowns. Therefore he advised him to take Eu and St. Valery for winter-quarters, and, before two months were over, he promised that he would take care his quarters should be enlarged. King Edward answered, he had already agreed with the French King, and so left the constable in despair.

I come next to the interview between the Kings of England and France, and the circumstances which preceded it. The King of England, to ratify this peace, came with his army within half a league of Amiens, but they marched in such disorder, says Comines, as shewed they did not understand discipline. The French King viewed them from the gate of the town, and, though they were very numerous, he *might easily* have defeated them, had he thought it for his purpose; but

his design was to treat them nobly, and to make peace with them at any rate, in order to dissolve the alliance. He sent the King of England three-hundred waggon load of the best wine he could get, which, with their convoy, made as great a shew as the English army; and, besides this, he ordered two very large tables to be placed at the entrance of the gate, with all sorts of provisions that would make them drink, and at each table there was the strongest wine in France, with six or seven French men of quality, of the fattest and largest that were in the kingdom, to entertain and please the English, who loved jolly companions and good cheer. The English came in great numbers, with their horse and arms to the town, without observing any order; and as soon as they approached the gate, there were Frenchmen who took them by the bridle, and, pleasantly asking them to run at the lance with them, brought them to the tables, where they made them eat and drink *en passant*, and told them they might go into the town, and call for what they would, but should pay for nothing. This pleased them mightily, and thus they were treated for three or four days successively. They came in such numbers, that the Lord de Torcy and Comines told the French King, it was dangerous to have so many enemies in the town, for they were at least nine-thousand. Upon which Comines was ordered to mount on horse-back, and to speak to the English captains about it, for the King would seem to take no notice of it himself. Comines did so, but, for one that the captains sent back, there were twenty came in their places; so that the King sent Comines again with a mareschal of France, to view their posture in the town, where they found most of them drinking, or asleep in the publick houses, and reported it to the King; who, though he thought there was no great danger, from men who observed so little order, commanded troops to be privately armed, placed some of them at the gate, and came himself to the porter's lodge, where he invited the chief of the English to dine with him. The King of England, being informed of these disorders, was ashamed of it, and sent to the French King to suffer no more of them to enter the town; to which Lewis the Eleventh answered, that he would never do so, but if the King of England pleased, he might send his own guards to keep the gates, and to let none in but whom they thought fit. This was accordingly done, and the town cleared of the English.

To put an end to those disorders, the place of interview was agreed on, by gentlemen deputed on both sides. A wooden bridge was made on purpose over the Soame, with an apartment for the two Kings in the middle, and a barrier betwixt them. Comines observes, that the road by which the King of England came to the bridge was a straight causeway, with a dangerous morass on both sides, whereas the French King had the country open on his side; from whence that author remarks, that 'the English are nothing so subtle as the French, and go very awkwardly about treaties; but, being choleric, those that deal with them must have patience, and not give them hard words.' I shall not insist upon the further particulars, but the interview was made. The French King came first to the barrier, and, leaning against it, the King of England came up, took off his black velvet cap, adorned with a great flower-de-luce set in jewels, and kneeled to the French King, who returned

him a very low bow, and said to him, 'Cousin, you are very welcome. There's no man in the world I desired to see so much as yourself; and, thank God, that we are met here in so friendly a manner.' The King of England, who spoke French well, made a suitable return in that language; and then the Bishop of Ely, who was chancellor of England, began his speech with a prophecy, (for the English are never without one, says Comines) the import of which was, 'that Merlin had foretold there should be a remarkable peace concluded between England and France at that place.' After this, the articles were read and sworn on both sides. Then the French King said smilingly to King Edward, that 'he must come to Paris, and feast with the ladies, and he would give him the Cardinal de Bourbon for confessor, who would readily pardon him, if he happened to commit any slip.' King Edward laughed, for he knew the Cardinal was a boon companion. Some farther discourse of this nature having passed, the French King ordered his own courtiers to retire, for he would speak with the King of England alone. The English courtiers retired, says Comines, at the same time, without expecting their King's orders; and when those princes had spoke a while together, the French King called for Comines, presented him to the King of England, and asked his Majesty if he did not know him? King Edward owned that he did, and remembered the services he had formerly done him at Calais. The French King asked King Edward what he would advise him to do, if the Duke of Burgundy, who had so haughtily rejected the treaty, continued in that mind? King Edward answered, he would offer it him once more, and, if he did not comply, they would consult about it. Then the French King asked him the same question, about the Duke of Britany. To which King Edward replied, that he desired his Majesty not to make war upon him, since he had been his chief friend, when he was forced to retire from England. Upon this they parted after very fine compliments, the French King to Amiens, and King Edward to his army. The Duke of Gloucester, the King of England's brother, and several others, who did not like this peace, would not assist at the conference; but they were induced to wait upon the French King afterwards, who presented them with plate and fine horses nobly accoutred. On the road to Amiens, the French King told Comines, that he did not like King Edward's being so willing to come to Paris, for he was a handsome prince, and loved women, so that he was afraid, if he came thither, he might find some lady that would tempt him to return again; that his predecessors had been too often in Paris and Normandy, and that he did not care for their company on that side the sea, though he loved to have them his friends in England. He was likewise displeased that he would not abandon the Duke of Britany, but urged it no further, lest he should have provoked him. When the French King returned to Amiens, three or four Englishmen of quality, who had promoted the treaty, came and supped with him, during which, the Lord Howard whispered him in the ear, that, if his Majesty pleased, he believed he could prevail with the King of England to come and make merry with him at Amiens, if not at Paris. The French King received the message with a pleasant countenance, but put it off by saying that he must make haste to observe the Duke of Burgundy. The next

day after the treaty, abundance of English came to Amiens, and said, that the peace was made by the Holy Ghost, because a white pigeon perched upon the King of England's tent during the interview, and would not move from it, notwithstanding all the noise made by the soldiers. But the truth of the matter, says Comines, was told him by one of King Edward's own servants, viz. that there had been a great rain, and after that the sun shined out very hot, and the pigeon lighted upon the King's tent, which was the highest, to dry itself. The same gentleman, who was a Gascoign, told Comines privately, that 'he perceived the French Court made nothing but a jest of the King of England.' Comines asked how many battles that Prince had won? The Gascoign answered, he had gained nine in person. Comines asked further, how many he had lost? The gentleman answered, none but this, meaning the treaty, by which he said, he lost more honour, than he had gained by all the nine battles. Comines told this to the King of France, who thereupon said, the Gascoign was a cursed son of a whore, and that Comines must take care what he said to him. He afterwards sent him to invite that gentleman to dinner, which he accepted; and the King offered him very great rewards, if he would take service under him, which the gentleman refused; but the King told him, he would take care of his brothers that were in Gascoign, made him a present of a thousand crowns, and Comines whispered him in the ear, that he should be well rewarded, if he would use his interest to entertain a good correspondence betwixt the two Kings.

Lewis XI. resolved to take great care after this to say nothing that might give the English ground to think that he laughed at them; yet, the very next day, when there were none but Comines and three or four more about him, he could not forbear laughing at the wine and other presents which he had sent to the English army; but turning about, he saw a Gascoign merchant in the room, who lived in England, and was come to beg leave to carry over some wine custom-free. The King was vexed, when he saw him, asked him who he was, and what estate he had; and, understanding that he had no great matter, he gave him a post in Bourdeaux, granted him his demand, and presented him with a thousand franks, on condition that he should send for his family from England, and go no more there himself.

Comines gives another instance of the King's care to avoid giving any offence to the English. A gentleman of our nation, seeing part of the Duke of Burgundy's guards, who came with his ambassadors to treat with the King after he had been deserted by the English, said to Comines, 'Had we known that the Duke of Burgundy was so well provided with troops, we should not so readily have agreed to a peace.' The Lord of Narbonne replied, 'Were ye such fools as not to know that? Ye only say so now, but six-hundred pipes of wine and a pension from our King has sent you all a packing again to England.' The English gentleman broke out into a rage, and said, 'He perceived it now to be true what he had often been told, that the French made their games at the English; hut, by St. George,' says he, 'what your King gave us is not a pension but a tribute.' Upon which Comines interposed, broke off the dis-

course, turned it into a jest, and told the King of it, who sharply rebuked the Lord of Narbonne.

I return again to the tricking constable, who finding, that he had intirely disoblged the Duke of Burgundy, and the King of England, sent one of his chief servants to beg of the King, not to believe all the ill that was said of him; and, to assure his Majesty of his fidelity, he offered to prevail with the Duke of Burgundy to fall upon the English in their retreat. The message was delivered to Comincs, and he reported it to the King, who, in the presence of the Lord Howard and the Duke of Burgundy's gentleman that had formerly overheard the constable's treacherous proposals, delivered a letter to the constable's servant, and told him, *That he was taken up about affairs of great concernment, and stood in need of such an head as his master's.* The poor man thought it a very friendly answer; but, when he was gone, the King turned about to the gentleman above mentioned, and said merrily, *I did not intend to have the constable's body, for his head is all I want.* At the same time the King of England sent Lewis XI. two of the constable's private letters, with an account of all that he had said and done against him; so that those three princes conspired to take off this trickster's head, which certainly he very well deserved, though it was below the character of the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy to become evidence against him.

It is time now to wind up the story in as few words as I can. Comincs tells us, that the King of England did not engagè cordially in this war, for, before he came from Dover, he began to treat with the French King; and that he brought his army over to France for the two following reasons: First, 'because his people were eager for a war against France, and the Duke of Burgundy pressed him to it. Secondly, That he might save most of the money which had been granted him by the parliament for that war; and, the better to impose upon his subjects, he brought with him twelve of the principal commons of England, who had been the most zealous for the war, and contributed chiefly to raise the money for maintaining it.' The King lodged them in good tents; but being corpulent men, and not accustomed to the fatigues of war, they hoped the King would soon have ended the matter by-a battle. His Majesty, who never intended it, 'filled ther heads with doubts and fears as to the issue of a battle, and managed matters so well, that he brought them to approve the peace, and engaged them to help in suppressing the murmurs of his subjects upon his return; for there never was a greater and better appointed army sent from England to France.' But King Edward was not of a complexion to endure such fatigues as the conquest of that kingdom would have required; besides he was mighty earnest for a match betwixt the dauphin, afterwards Charles VIII, and his own daughter, which made him dissemble many things that afterwards turned to the French King's advantage.

All the English being returned home, except the hostages, the treaty betwixt the French King and the Duke of Burgundy was brought to bear by M. de Contay, that duke's gentleman formerly mentioned, and the King carried the English hostages to Vervins, where the treaty was

l. The King of England being informed of the negotiations, and

enraged that the Duke of Burgundy would not agree to this truce, sent Sir Thomas Montgomery, one of his favourites, to the King of France, to pray him that he would make no other treaty with the duke than he had done with him, and particularly that he would not yield up St. Quintins. He proffered at the same time, if the King had a mind to continue the war, that he would join him, next year, in person against the duke, provided the French King would pay half his army, and give him an equivalent for the customs of wool at Calais, which was about fifty-thousand crowns per annum. Lewis XI. thanked the King for his proffer, and told Sir Thomas, the treaty was already concluded; that it was only for nine years, but the duke would have a particular treaty for himself; and thus making the best excuses he could, he made Sir Thomas a rich present of plate, and sent the English hostages home with him. Thus Lewis XI. thought himself well rid of the English, and did not care to see them any more on that side the sea, lest they should have renewed their treaty with the Duke of Burgundy.

This prince was at last ruined by the intrigues of Lewis XI, who stirred up enemies against him on every side; and after his death he seized the Duchy of Burgundy, besides several places in Flanders. The King of England was the only prince capable to put a stop to Lewis XIth's career, and the heiress of Burgundy sent ambassadors to intreat his assistance, which the parliament came heartily into, and represented to King Edward the French King's perfidiousness, and his breach of the above-mentioned treaty, in not concluding the match betwixt the Dauphin and his daughter. But King Edward being a *heavy unweildy man*, and wholly addicted to his pleasures, he had no regard to their remonstrances; besides, the pension of fifty-thousand crowns, paid him every year, was a bait for his avarice. And *when he was obliged to send ambassadors with sharp messages, to please his subjects, the French King always treated them well, took them off by rich presents, and gained time, by pretending that he would speedily send ambassadors with full instructions to give their master satisfaction: and at other times he proposed to share the Netherlands with him.* But his chief trust was in the great number of pensioners he had in England, whom Comines names as follows: The lord chancellor, the master of the rolls, the Lord Hastings, who was great chamberlain, and in mighty favour with his master; Sir Thomas Montgomery, the Lord Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk; the master of the horse, Mr. Chalanger, and the marquis, son to the Queen of England, by a former marriage. To all these he gave great gifts besides their pensions, and particularly to the lord chamberlain, Hastings, a thousand marks of plate at once; and the acquittances of all those pensioners were to be seen in the French King's chamber of accounts, says Comines, except those of the Lord Hastings; who had formerly been a pensioner to the Duke of Burgundy, by Comines's interest; who, knowing his weak side, advised Lewis XI. to purchase him in the same manner, for he was at that time a great enemy to France, and mightily pressed King Edward to assist the heiress of Burgundy; but Lewis XI. bought him off, by doubling his pension. He sent it him by Mr. Cleret, master of his own household, and ordered him to take an acquittance for it, as he did from the lord chancellor,

the lord high-admiral, the master of the horse, and others, and as he had formerly done from the preceding lord chamberlain. But when he came to the Lord Hastings, and delivered him his message with the pension, that lord refused him an acquittance. The French gentleman insisted on it, and said, that his master might otherwise think he had cheated him, and not delivered the money. The Lord Hastings replied, That what he said was very just, but, since the money came by the King's free will, and not at his desire, he must put it into his sleeve without witness or acquittance; for it should never be said, that the great chamberlain of England was a pensioner of France, or that his acquittance should be found in the French King's chamber of accounts. Cleret was forced to comply, and, though Lewis XI. was angry at first when he told him the story, he ever after esteemed the Lord Hastings more than any of his other English pensioners, and ordered his money to be paid him, without demanding any more acquittances.

Thus, Sir, you have an account of this dishonourable treaty, how England was tricked by the French King's perfidiousness and cunning, how our allies were abused and ruined, how the exorbitant power of France was founded, though England was in a capacity to have prevented it; and how our country and parliaments were imposed upon, to the perpetual dishonour of the nation, by the French King and his pensioners.

THE NATURAL HISTORY

OF

COFFEE, THEE, CHOCOLATE, AND TOBACCO,

In four several Sections;

With a Tract of Elder and Juniper-Berries, shewing how useful they may be in our Coffee-Houses: And, also, the Way of making Mum, with some Remarks upon that Liquor. Collected from the Writings of the best Physicians, and Modern Travellers.

[From a Quarto, containing thirty-nine Pages, printed at London, for Christopher Wilkinson, at the Black Boy, over against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street, 1682.]

The Natural History of Coffee.

SECT. I.

COFFEE is said to be a sort of Arabian bean, called bon, or ban, in the Eastern Countries; the drink made of it is named coava, or chaube, over all the Turkish dominions. Prosper Alpi-

nus * (who lived several years in Egypt) assures us, that he saw the tree itself, which he compares to our spindle tree, or prick-wood, only the leaves were a little thicker, and harder, besides continually green †. This tree is found in the desarts, of Arabia, in some parts of Persia and India, the seed, or berry, of which is called by the inhabitants buncho, bon, and ban, which being dried, and boiled with water, is the most universal drink, in all the Turkish, and several Eastern Countries, where wine is publicly forbid; it has been the most antient drink of the Arabians, and some ‡ will have the *jus nigrum Spartanorum*, i. e. *The black broth of the Spartans*, to have been the same with our coffee. The Persians at this day do tipple as much coffee off, as the Turks themselves. Tavernier|| in his description of Ispahan (the metropolis of Persia) is very jocose and merry, when he comes to describe the famous coffee-house of that city; he says, that the wise Sha Abas, observing great numbers of Persians to resort to that house daily, and to quarrel very much about state-affairs, appointed a mollah to be there every day betimes to entertain the tobacco-whiffers, and coffee-quaffers, with a point of law, history, or poetry; after which, the mollah rises up, and makes proclamation, that every man must retire, and to his business; upon which they all observe the mollah, who is always liberally entertained by the company. Olearius does also speak § of the great diversions, made in the coffee-houses of Persia, by their poets, and historians, who are seated in a high chair, from whence they make speeches, and tell satirical stories, playing in the mean time with a little stick, and the same gestures, as our jugglers, and legerdemain-men, do in England.

As for the qualities and nature of coffee, our own countryman, Dr. Willis, has published a very rational account **, whose great reputation and authority are of no small force; he says, that in several head-achs, dizziness, lethargies, and catarrhs, where there is a gross habit of body, and a cold heavy constitution, there coffee may be proper, and successful; and in these cases he sent his patients to the coffee-house, rather than to the apothecary's shop; but where the temperament is hot, and lean, and active, there coffee may not be very agreeable; because it may dispose the body to inquietudes, and leanness. The doctor makes one unlucky observation of this drink, which I am afraid will cow our citizens from ever meddling with it hereafter, that it often makes men paralytick, and does so slacken their strings, as they become unfit for the sports and exercises of the bed, and their wives recreations; to confirm which, I will quote here two precedents, out of the most learned Olearius, who says, †† that the Persians are of an opinion that coffee allays their natural heat, for which reason they drink it, that they may avoid the charge and inconveniences of many children; nay, the Persians are so far from dissembling the fear they have thereof, that some of

* Alpinus de Plant. Egyptiac. p. 26. † This tree is now very common in gentlemen's green-houses in the south of England; and Ebenezer Mussel, esq. of Bethnal-green, near London, has two of the largest and healthiest, perchance, in the nation. ‡ Dr. Mundy de Potulentis, p. 351. || Tavernier's Travels, p. 1. § Olearius's Ambassadors Travels of Persia, book 6. p. 224. ** Dr. Willis Pharmaceut. Rat. p. 1. †† Olearius's Ambassadors Travels through Persia, book 6.

them have come to the Holstein physician of that embassy, for remedies to prevent the multiplication of children; but the doctor, being a merry, bold German, answered the Persians, that he had rather help them to get children, than to prevent them. This most famous Olearius (that made so many curious and accurate observations in his travels) tells us of a Persian King, named Sultan Mahomet Caswin, who reigned in Persia before Tamerlane's time, that was so accustomed to drinking of cahwa, or coffee, that he had an unconceivable aversion to women, and that the Queen, standing one day at her chamber window, and perceiving they were about gelding a horse, asked some standers-by, why they treated so handsome a creature in that manner; whereupon answer was made her, that he was too fiery and mettlesome, therefore they resolved to deprive him of his generative faculty. The Queen replied, That trouble might have been spared, since cahwa, or coffee, would have wrought the same effect, the experiment being already tried upon the King her husband. This King left a son, called Mahomet, after him, as our most grave and faithful traveller * does assure us, who, being come to the crown, commanded that great poet, Hakim Fardausi, to present him with some verses, for every one of which, the sophy promised him a ducat; the poet, in a short time, made sixty thousand, which, at this day, are accounted the best that ever were made in Persia, and Hakim Fardausi esteemed the Poet Laureat of the East. The treasurers, thinking it too great a sum for a poet, would have put him off with half; whereupon, Fardausi made other verses, wherein he reproached the King with avarice, and told him, he could not be of royal extraction, but must be rather descended from a shoemaker, or a baker. Mahomet, being nettled, made complaint to the Queen his mother, who, suspecting that the poet had discovered her amours, ingenuously confessed to the King her son, that, his father being impotent, through his excessive drinking of cahwa, or coffee, she fancied a baker belonging to the court, and said, if it had not been for the baker, the young King had never been what he was; so, lest the business should take wind, the poet got his full reward. But let us return a little into our old serious road.

Coffee is said to be very good for those, that have taken too much drink, meat, or fruit, as the learned Schroder † will inform you; as also against shortness of breath, and rheum; and it is very famous in old obstructions, so that all the Egyptian, and Arabian women, are observed to promote their monthly courses with coffee, and to tipple constantly of it, all the time they are flowing; for which we have the undoubted authority of Prosper Alpinus ‡, who spent several years amongst them. It is found to ease the ruining scorbutick gout, or rheumatism, us Mollenbroccius has affirmed ||.

As for the manner of preparing coffee, it is so easy, and so commonly known, that we need not mention it; only we may observe, that some of the Asiatick nations make their coffee of the coat, or husk of the berry, which they look upon to be much stronger, and more efficacious, than

* Idem Ibid. p. 240. † Schroder's Append. p. 24. ‡ Prosp. Alpinus, de Med. Egyptor. l. 4. de Plant. Egyptiac. ap. 118. ad. p. 122. || Mollenbroeck, de Arthrit. бага scorbut. p. 114.

the berry itself, so that they take a less quantity of it; but the Europeans do peel and take off the outward skin of the berries, which, being so prepared, are baked, burnt, and afterwards ground to powder; one ounce of which they mix commonly with a pint and a half of hot water, which has been boiled half away; then they are digested together, till they are well united.

The Laplanders * prepare a very good drink out of juniper-berries, which some prefer before either coffee, or thee †, of which berries, we will discourse in a tract at the end of these sheets.

The Natural History of Thee, or Tea.

SECT. II.

THIS herb, thee, is commonly found in China, Japan, and some other Indian Countries; the Chinese call it thee, the Japonians, tchia: That of Japan is esteemed much the best, one pound of it being commonly sold for one-hundred pounds, as Tulpus informs ‡ us from several great men, that have been ambassadors and residents in those parts; so that most of the thee, which is brought into Europe, comes from China, and that too of the worst kind, which cannot but decay in so long a voyage; for the Dutch have been observed to dry a great quantity of sage, whose leaves, being rolled up like thee, were carried into China by them, under the name of a most rare European herb; for one pound of this dried sage, the Dutch received three pounds of thee from the Chinese, as Thevenot informs || us. There is a great controversy amongst the herbalists, to what classis this thee may be reduced. Bontius § compares it to the leaves of our wild daisy; for which Simon Pauli is very angry with him **, and gives very strong arguments, that thee is the leaves of a sort of myrtle, for, out of the leaves of myrtle, a liquor may be made, resembling thee in all qualities; therefore, the Jesuit Trigautius is. of opinion ††, that several of our European forests and woods do abound with a true thee, it being observed to grow in great plenty in Tartary (which lies under the same climate with many countries of Europe) from whence, some learned men think, it came originally, for it has not been long known to the Chinese ‡‡, they having no ancient name, or hieroglyphick characters for thee, and cha being an ancient Tartarian word. Besides, it is known to several merchants, that a great quantity of thee is brought yearly out of Tartary into Persia; and we are all acquainted with the several great conquests ||| which the Tartars have made in China, so that the Chinese have had several opportunities of learning the use of thee from the Tartars, in whose country it is observed to be in great plenty, and of little value; yet the inhabitants of China and Japan have a great esteem and opinion

* History of Lapland. † Or tea. ‡ Nicol. Tulpii Observat. Med. lib. 4. c. 60. || Oldenburg's Philos. Transact. N. 14. ¶ Bontius de Medicina Indor. lib. 2. p. 97. ** Simon Pauli, de Thee, p. 19, 20. †† Trigautius, de Regno Chinæ, lib. 3. ‡‡ Simon Pauli, de Thee, p. 25. || Olearius's Ambassadors Travels in Persia, p. 241.

24 THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THEE, OR TEA.

of it, where they are as much employed, and concerned for their harvest of thee (which is in spring) as the Europeans are for their vintage, as several jesuits inform us in their observations of China.* For the noblemen, and princes of China and Japan, drink thee at all hours of the day; and, in their visits, it is their whole entertainment, the greatest persons of quality boiling and preparing the thee themselves, every palace and house being furnished with convenient rooms, furnaces, vessels, pots, and spoons, for that purpose; which they value at a higher rate than we do diamonds, gems, and pearls, as Tulpus † assures us, from the relations of several great Dutchmen, who travelled China in the quality of ambassadors, and made great observations of those rich stones, and woods, out of which the aforesaid materials were made.

As for the qualities and vertues of thee, these few following observations may give satisfaction. That it makes us active and lively, and drives off sleep, every drinker of it cannot but be sensible. The great jesuit, Alexander de Rhodes, always cured himself of a periodical pain of his head by thee ‡, and having often occasion to sit up whole nights in China, to take the confessions of dying people, he found the great benefit of thee in those great watchings, so that he was always as vigorous and fresh the next day, as though he had rested all night; nay, he says, that he sat up six nights together, by the assistance of thee. Kircher himself took notice of thee for clearing the head and opening the urinary passage ||; and it was observed by those concerned in the Dutch embassy to China, that the Chinese did spit very little, and were seldom subject to the stone and gout, which their physicians imputed to their frequent drinking of thee §. It is a common proverb in Japan:

Illene sanus non sit? Bibit de optima Tsia?

“What is he not well? He drinks of the best thee**.”

I know some that celebrate good thee for preventing drunkenness, taking it before they go to the tavern, and use it also very much after a debauch, thee being found so friendly to their stomachs and heads. Several ambassadors find the advantage of it in preserving them from the accidents and inconveniences of a bad foreign air; but that, which gives the greatest commendation to thee, is the good character which our famous countryman, Mr. Boyle, gives of it in his Experimental Philosophy††, where he says, that it deserves those great praises which are commonly bestowed upon it. Yet Simon Pauli exclaims ‡‡ against the use of thee, as a great drier, and promoter of old age, and as a thing unnatural, and foreign to the European complexions. But Schroderer |||| answers Pauli very mildly, supposing him to speak only of the abuse and extravagant management of thee; for otherwise rhubarb, china, sassafra, and saunders should be banished from our shops, by the same reason,

* Philos. Transact. N. 49. † Nicol. Tulpii Observat. Med. lib. 4. c. 60. ‡ Alexander de Rhodes Voyages et Missions Apostoliques. § Kircheri China illustrata, lib. 4. ¶ Thevenot. Histor. Legat. Batavor. in China, Tom. 3. Philosoph. Transact. N. 14. ** Varenus Descript. Regni Japon. c. 23. p. 161. †† Boyle's Exper. Philosoph. p. 94. ‡‡ Simon Pauli de Thee. p. 67. |||| Schroderi Append. ad Pharmacop. p. 28.

they being driers, and foreign to us Englishmen; therefore, we may conclude thee innocent and beneficial.

The Chinese gather the leaves in the spring, one by one, and, immediately, put them to warm in an iron kettle over the fire; then, laying them on a fine light mat, roll them together with their hands. The leaves, thus rolled, are again hanged over the fire, and then rolled closer together, till they are dry; then put up carefully in tin vessels, to preserve them from moisture. Thus they prepare the best leaves, that yield the greatest rates; but the common ordinary ones are only dried in the sun, yet in the shade is, doubtless, much better (as the ingenious author* of *Vinetum Britannicum* does well observe) the sun having a great power to attract the virtue out of any vegetable after its separation from its nourisher, the earth. One spoonful of this prepared thee is enough for one quart of boiled water.

There are several ways and methods for preparing thee †. The Japonians powder the plant upon a stone, and so put it into hot water. The Chinese boil the leaves with water and a little sugar. Some Europeans make tinctures, infusions, conserves, and extracts of thee. The Tartars are observed to boil their thee in milk with a little salt, which way they think is the very best. ‡

The inhabitants of Carolina prepare a liquor out of the leaves of an American tree, which is very like thee, and equal to it in every respect. Dr. Mundy observes § that the inhabitants of Florida have an old custom, before they go into the field to war, of drinking a liquor in a great public assembly, which he that vomits up, is judged unfit for that warlike expedition, and is condemned to stay at home in disgrace; but, when he has learnt to carry off the liquor, then he is admitted to be a lawful soldier. Now thee itself, when given in a large dose, and in a strong decoction, does often prove vomitive, as I myself have observed several times.

Some make decoctions of the roots of Avens, Galanga, Coriander, Anniseeds, Sarsa, China, Saunders, of the leaves of Sage, Betony, Rosemary, which they do extol above Thee or Coffee.

The Natural History of Chocolate.

SECT. III.

HAVING given a short natural history of two things, which are so universally used in the eastern parts of the world, we now come to treat briefly of two more, which are generally used in the western. First, of chocolate, of which the cocoa, or eacaw-nut, being the principal ingredient, a short account of it cannot be improper. This nut, or rather the seed, or kernel of the

* *Vinet. Britan.* p. 140. † *Nicol. Tulpi Observat. Med. Lib. 4. c. 60.* ‡ *Thevenot. Histor. Legat. Belgic. ad Sincianum Regem.* § *Dr. Mundy de Potulentis, p. 353.*

nut, as Mr. Hughes observes *, is of the bigness of a great almond; in some of these fruits there are a dozen, in some twenty, in other thirty, or more of these kernels, or edcoa's, which are well described by the ingenious and learned Dr. Grew †. When these kernels are cured, they become blackish, and are compared to a bullock's kidney, cut into partitions; there is great variety in them, by reason of the difference of soils and climates where they grow. The tree is said to be as large as our English plum-trees, the leaves sharp pointed, compared by some travellers to the leaves of chesnut; by the curious Piso to the leaves of an orange ‡; the flower of a saffron colour, upon the appearance of which the fruit appears upon the branches as apples; this tree grows in several parts of America, as in Nicaragua, New Spain, Mexico, Cuba, and in Jamaica, especially at Colonel Barrington's quarters, or plantations||; they prosper best in low, moist, and fat ground, and are as squarely and orderly set, as the cherry-trees in Kent or Worcestershire; they commonly bear within seven years, and then twice every year; the first crop between January and February, the other between May and June. The inhabitants have so great a value for them, that they secure them with the shades of plantain and bonona-trees, against the injuries of their fiery sun, and do use the kernels instead of money, both in their traffick, and rewards; as the great jesuit, Josephus Acosta, observed, when he was sent into America §. The Indians look upon their chocolate as the greatest delicacy for extraordinary entertainments. Montezuma is said to have treated Cortez and his soldiers with it; and you can scarce read an American traveller, but he will often tell you of the magnificent collations of chocolate, that the Indians offered him in his passage and journies through their country; as Mr. Gage (who travelled many years in America,) informs us, the Spaniards do constantly drink chocolate in their churches at Mexico and Chiapa, of which they, being once forbid, did mutiny, and commit great outrages, till their custom was restored them **. The Indians and Christians, in the American plantations, have been observed to live several months upon cocoa-nuts alone, made into a paste with sugar, and so dissolved in water; I myself have eat great quantities of these kernels raw, without the least inconvenience; and have heard that Mr. Boyle and Dr. Stubbs have let down into their stomachs some pounds of them raw without any molestation; the stomach seems rather to be satisfied than cloyed with them, which is an argument they are soon dissolved and digested. The Spaniards do not scruple to eat them upon their great fast-days.

The Indians at first made their chocolate of the nut alone without any addition, unless sometimes pepper, and maiz, or Indian wheat; and in Jamaica at this day, as Mr. Hughes observes ††, there is a sort of chocolate, made up only of the paste of the cocoa itself; and this he esteems to be one of the best sorts of chocolate. Dr. Stubbs ‡‡, who was a great master of the chocolate art, did not approve of many ingredients be-

* Hughes's American Physician, p. 115. + Dr. Grew Mus. Reg. Soc. Angl. p. 204.

† Piso in Histor. Nat. Indiar. utriusque. ‡ Hughes's American Physician, p. 115. § Jos. Acosta. Indor. Histor. Lib. 4. c. 22. || Gage's Survey of the West-Indies, Chap. of Chocolate.

** Hughes's American Physician, p. 11. †† Dr. Stubbs's Indian Nectar.

sides the cocoa-nuts; that chocolate, which the Doctor prepared for his Majesty, had double the quantity of the cocoa kernel to the other ingredients. In the common sort, the cocoa nuts may take up half the composition, according to Piso*; in the worst, a third part only. As to the other ingredients for making up chocolate, they may be varied according to the constitutions of those that are to drink it; in cold constitutions Jamaica pepper, cinnamon, nutmegs, cloves, &c. may be mixed with the cocoa-nut; some add musk, ambergreece, citron, lemon-peels, and odoriferous aromack oils. In hot consumptive tempers you may mix almonds, pistacho's, &c. sometimes china, sarsa, and saunders; and sometimes steel and rhubarb may be added for young green ladies. Mr. Hughes gives us very good advice †, in telling us, that we may buy the best chocolate of seamen and merchants, who bring it over ready made from the West-Indies. His reason is none of the worst, which is this: Let the cocoa kernels be never so well cured in the West-Indies, and stowed never so carefully in the ship, yet, by their long transportation, and by the various airs of climates, they are often spoiled, their natural oiliness tending much to putrefaction; from whence I have heard several complain in England, that their chocolate, made up here, does often prove musty, and will settle much to the bottom of the dish; which is a certain sign, says the learned Dr. Stubbs‡, that the nuts are either faulty, or not well beaten and made up. The best cocoa-nuts are said to come from Carraca, or Nicaragua, out of which Dr. Stubbs prepared chocolate for the King; yet the Doctor commends the cocoa-nuts of Jamaica, which were first planted there by the Spaniards. That you may know how to prepare your chocolate, I will give you a short direction, if you intend to make it up yourself; consult your own constitution and circumstances, and vary the ingredients according to the premises, for I cannot give a receipt to make up the mass of chocolate, which will be agreeable and proper to all complexions; yet, in the composition of it, you must remember to appoint the cocoa kernel for the fundamental and principal ingredient. As for the managing the cocoa-nut, Dr. Stubbs§, and Mr. Hughes¶, have published most excellent instructions, how you must peel, dry, beat, and scarce it very carefully, before you beat it up into a mass with other simples. As for the great quantity of sugar which is commonly put in, it may destroy the native and genuine temper of the chocolate, sugar being such a corrosive salt, and such an hypocritical enemy to the body. Simon Pauli**, (a learned Dane) thinks sugar to be one cause of our English consumptions; and Dr. Willis†† blames it as one cause of our universal scurvies; therefore, when chocolate produces any ill effects, they may be often imputed to the great superfluity of its sugar, which often fills up half its composition. For preparing the drink of chocolate you may observe the following measures: Take of the mass of chocolate, cut into small pieces, one ounce; of milk and water well boiled together, of each half a pint; one yolk of an egg well beaten; mix them together, let them boil but

* Piso Nat. Histor. Indor. † Hughes's American Physician, p. 111. ‡ Dr. Stubbs's Indian Nectar. § Id. ib. ¶ Mr. Hughes's American Physician. ** Simon Pauli Quadripart. Botan. †† Dr. Willis de Scorbuto.

gently, till all is dissolved, stirring them often together with your molinet, or chocolate-mill; afterwards pour it into your dishes, and into every dish put one spoonful of sack.

As for the virtues and effects of the cocoa-nut, or chocolate, all the American travellers have written such panegyrics, and so many experimental observations, that I should but degrade this royal liquor, if I should offer at any. Yet, I think, two or three remarks upon it cannot be unsuitable to this little history; several of these curious travellers and physicians do agree in this, that the cocoa nut has a wonderful faculty of quenching thirst, allaying hectic heats, of nourishing and fattening the body. Mr. Gage acquaints us †, that he drank chocolate in the Indies, two or three times every day, for twelve years together, and he scarce knew what any disease was in all that time, he growing very fat. Some object it is too oily and gross, but then the bitterness of the nut makes amends, carrying the other off by strengthening of the bowels. Mr. Hughes informs ‡ us, that he lived, at sea, for some months on nothing but chocolate, yet neither his strength nor flesh were diminished; he says, our English seamen are very greedy of it, when they come into any Indian ports, and soon get plump countenances by the use of it. Mr. Hughes himself grew very fat in Jamaica, by virtue of the cocoa-nut; so he judges it most proper for lean, weak, and consumptive complexions; it may be proper for some breeding women, and those persons that are hypochondriacal and melancholy. The industrious Dr. Mundy gives a notable example of the effect of chocolate; he § says, that he knew a man in a desperate consumption, who took a great fancy for chocolate; and his wife, out of complaisance drank it often with him; the consequence was this, the husband recovered his health, and his wife was afterwards brought to bed of three sons at one birth.

The great use of chocolate in venery, and for supplying the testicles with a balsam, or a sap, is so ingeniously made out by one of our learned countrymen already, that I dare not presume to add any thing after to so accomplished a pen; though I am of opinion, that I might treat of the subject without any immodesty, or offence. Gerson, the grave Roman casuist, has writ *de Pollutione Nocturna*, and some have defended fornication in the popish nunneries; hysterical fits, hypochondriacal melancholy, love-passions, consumptive pinings away, and spermatical fevers, being instances of the necessity hereof, natural instinct pointing out the cure. We cannot but admire the great prudence of Moses, who severely prohibited that there should be no whore among the daughters of Israel, yet that most wise legislator took great care for their timely marriage; upon these very accounts the Casuists defend the protestant clergy in their marriages. And Adam is commended in paradise to increase and multiply, therefore I hope this little excursion is pardonable, being so adequate to this treatise of chocolate; which, if Rachel had known, she would not have purchased Mandrakes for Jacob. If the amorous and martial Turk should ever taste it, he

* Joh. de Laet. *Histor. Indor. Piso Nat. Histor. Indor. Herbar. Mexican. Benzeanus Histor. Indor. Occident.*, &c. † Gage's Survey of the West Indies, chap. of Chocolate. ‡ Hughes's *American Physician*, p. 147. § Dr. Mundy de Totulentis, p. 350.

would despise his opium. If the Grecians and Arabians had ever tried it, they would have thrown away their wake-robins and their cuckow-pintles; and I do not doubt but you London gentlemen, do value it above all your cullisses and jellies; your anchovies, Bononia sausages, your cock and lamb-stones, your soys, your ketchups and caveares, your cantharides, and your whites of eggs, are not to be compared to our rude Indian; therefore you must be very courteous and favourable to this little pamphlet, which tells you most faithful observations.

The industrious author * of the *Vinctum Britannicum* makes a query, Whether the kernel of the walnut may not supply the defect of the cocoa, if well ground? Dr. Grew thinks †, that for those that drink chocolate, at coffee-houses, without any medicinal respect, there is no doubt, but that almonds finely beaten, and mixed with a due proportion of spices, and sugar, may be made as pleasant a drink as the best chocolate.

The Natural History of Tobacco.

SECT. IV.

TOBACCO is reckoned by the best herbalists to be a species, or sort of henbane, proper to the American regions, as Dodonæus and Simon Pauli ‡; yet some botanists will have it a native of Europe, and reduce it to several of our classes. But I will not trouble you with this controversy, only we may take notice, that Thevet did first bring the seed of tobacco in France, though Nicot the French ambassador in Portugal (from whom it is called Nicotiana) was the first that sent the plant itself into his own country. Hernandes de Toledo, who travelled America, by the command of Philip the Second, having supplied Spain and Portugal with it before ||. Sir Francis Drake got the seed in Virginia, and was the first that brought it into England §; yet some give Sir Walter Rawleigh the honour of it; since which time it has thriven very well in our English soil; a great quantity of it grows yearly in several gardens about Westminster, and in other parts of Middlesex. It is planted in great plenty in Gloucester, Devonshire, and some other western countries; his Majesty sending every year, a troop of horse to destroy it, lest the trade of our American plantations should be incommoded thereby. Yet many of the London apothecaries make use of English tobacco in their shops, notwithstanding the vulgar opinion that this herb is a native of America, and foreign to Europe. Yet Libavius assures us, that it grows naturally in the famous Hercynian Forest of Germany. If this was true, we would no longer call it tobacco from the island of Tobago. The names of it are so various, as they would glut the most hungry reader. The Americans stile it picicelt; in Nova Francia, petum; in Hispaniola, cozobba; in Virginia, uppucoc; at

* *Vinct. Britan.* p. 139. † *Dr. Grew's Mus. Reg. Soc.* p. 205. ‡ *Dodonæus Herbal. Simon Pauli Quædripart Botan. & Lib. de Tobacco.* § *Hernandes Histor. American.* ¶ *Purchas's Voyages into America.*

Rome, herba sancta crucis; in some parts of Italy, herba medica; in France, herba reginæ, as you may read in Magnenus and Neander*. But, let it be of what name or kind it will, I am confident, that it is of the poisonous sort, for it intoxicates, inflames, vomits, and purges; which operations are common to poisonous plants, as to poppies, night-shades, hemlocks, monks-hood, spurges, and hellebores, that will produce the like effects. Besides, every one knows, that the oil of tobacco is one of the greatest poisons in nature; a few drops of it, falling upon the tongue of a cat, will immediately throw her into convulsions, under which she will die. This Dr. Willis assures † us to be true; the experiment succeeded, when it was tried before the royal society, as the learned Dr. Grew has affirmed ‡; besides, I can speak it upon my own certain knowledge, having killed several animals with a few drops of this oil. Yet that most sagacious Italian, Francisco Redi, observes || very well, that the oil of tobacco kills not all animals, neither does it dispatch those, it kills, in the same space of time; there is a great difference between the tobacco of Brasil, and that of St. Christophers, as to this effect. Varino and Brasil tobacco being almost of the same quality and operation; whereas that of St. Christophers, Terra Nova, Nieve, and St. Martin, has very different effects.

If we run over those countries, where tobacco is made use of, we may observe the various manners of using it. Some Americans will mix it with a powder of shells, to chew it, salivating all the time, which, they fancy, does refresh them in their journies and labours; others in New Spain will dawb the ends of reeds with the gum, or juice of tobacco, and, setting them on fire, will suck the smoke to the other end. The Virginians were observed to have pipes of clay before ever the English came there §; and, from those barbarians, we Europeans have borrowed our mode and fashion of smoaking. The Moors and Turks have no great kindness for tobacco; yet, when they do smook, their pipes are very long, made of reeds, or wood, with an earthen head. The Irishmen do most commonly powder their tobacco **, and snuff it up their nostrils, which some of our Englishmen do, and often chew and swallow it. I know some persons, that do eat every day some ounces of tobacco, without any sensible alteration; from whence we may learn, that use and custom will tame and naturalise the most fierce and rugged poison, so that it will become civil and friendly to the body. We read of a French ambassador ††, that, being in England, was so indisposed, that he could never sleep; upon which he would often devour whole ounces of opium without being concerned. And the Turks are often observed to swallow great lumps of it, a tenth part of which would kill those that were not accustomed to opiates. I know a woman in this city, that, being used to take both the hellebores, will often swallow whole scruples of them without the least motion, or operation; so that custom and conversation will make the fiercest creature familiar.

* Magnenus de Tobacco. Neander Tabacalog. † Dr. Willis Pharm. Rat. ‡ Dr. Grew's Mus. Reg. Soc. p. 352. || Philos. Trans. Oldenburgh N. 92. † Purchas's Voyages to America. ** Observe the original of that nauseous and unwholesome custom of taking snuff. †† Ephem. German. an. 2.

As for the culture, harvest, preparation, and traffick of tobacco, I will recommend you to Neander, where, if you are curious, you may meet with satisfaction*. I cannot omit one story out of Monardus †, who tells us, that the Indian priests, being always consulted about the events of war, do burn the leaves of tobacco, and, sucking into their mouths the smoke by a reed, or pipe, do presently fall into a trance, or extasy; and, as soon as ever they come out of it, they discover to the Indians all the secret negotiation, which they have had with the great dæmon, always delivering some ambiguous answer.

As for the qualities, nature, and uses of tobacco, they may be very considerable in several cases and circumstances; though King James himself has both writ, and disputed very smartly against it at Oxford, and Simon Pauli ‡ has published a very learned book against it. Some anatomists § tell us most terrible stories of sooty brains, and black lungs, which have been seen in the dissections of dead bodies, which, when living, had been accustomed to tobacco. We read that Amurath the Fourth did forbid the use of it, over all the Turkish dominions, under the most severe penalties; the Turks having an opinion amongst them, that tobacco will make them effeminate and barren, unfit for war and procreation; though some think there is a politick design in it, to obstruct the sale of it, in the eastern countries, and to prevent the Christians from establishing any considerable traffick, from so mean a commodity; which, perhaps, may be one reason §, why the great Duke ** of Muscovy has threatened to punish those merchants, who offer to sell any tobacco in his countries. Scach Abas, (the great Sophy of Persia) leading an army against the Cham of Tartary, made proclamation, that, if any tobacco was found in the custody of any soldier, he should be burnt alive, together with his tobacco. Yet, for all this, it may be very beneficial to mankind, as you will conclude from what follows.

Dr. Willis †† recommends tobacco to soldiers, because it may supply the want of victuals, and make them insensible of the dangers, fatigues, and hardships, which do usually attend wars and armies; besides, it is found to cure mangy and ulcerous diseases, which are frequent in camps. I know a curious lady in the north, that does very great feats in sores and ulcers by a preparation of tobacco. Our learned and most experienced countryman, Mr. Boyle ‡‡, does highly commend tobacco clysters in the most violent cholick pains, which are often epidemical in cities and camps. The renowned Hartman extols the water of tobacco, against agues ||: And the curious Dr. Grew §§ found the success of the oil of it, in the tooth-ach, a lint being dipped in it, and put into the tooth. The effects of tobacco have been very good, in some violent pains of the head; as some thousands have experimented. As for the daily smoking of it, the state and circumstances of your body must be the best guide and rule; if your complexion be lean, hot, and dry, it is an argument against it, but if cold, moist, and humoral, subject to catarrhs, rheums, and pains, then there may be a temptation to venture upon

* Neander Tabacolog. † Monardus Lib. X. Exoticor. Clusii. ‡ Simon Pauli de Abyssin. Tabaci. § Diemerbroeck. Anat. Hoffman. Pauvius. ¶ Olearius, Ambassadors Travels through Muscovy. ** Or, Csar. †† Dr. Willis Pharm. Rat. ‡‡ Boyle's Experimental Philosophy. || Hartman prax. Chym. §§ Dr. Grew Mus. Reg. Soc. p. 256.

32 THE USE OF JUNIPER AND ELDER-BERRIES, &c.

it. So every man must consult his own temper, and the experience of others.

A modern French author* has writ a peculiar tract of tobacco, wherein he commends it in convulsions, in pains, and for bringing on sleep; he extols the oil of it in curing deafness, being injected into the ear in a convenient vehicle; also against gouty and scorbutical pains of the joints, being applied in a liniment. A lixivium of tobacco often prevents the falling off of the hair, and is famous for curing the farcy, or leprosy of cattle.

The use of juniper and elder-berries in our publick-houses.

THESE two berries are so celebrated in many countries, and so highly recommended to the world by several famous writers, and practitioners, that they need not desire any varnish or argument from me. The simple decoctions of them, sweetened with a little fine sugar-candy, will afford liquors so pleasant to the eye, so grateful to the palate, and so beneficial to the body, that I cannot but wonder, after all these charms, they have not as yet been courted, and ushered into our publick-houses. If they should once appear on the stage, I am confident, that both the Whig and Tory would agree about them far better than they have done about the medal and mushroom; nay the very Cynick and Stoick himself would fall in love with the beauty and extraordinary vertues of these berries, which are so common, and cheap, that they may be purchased for little or nothing. One ounce of the berry, well cleansed, bruised, and mashed, will be enough for almost a pint of water; when they are boiled together, the vessel must be carefully stopped; after the boiling is over, one spoonful of sugar-candy may be put in.

The juniper-tree grows wild upon many hills in Surry and Oxfordshire, and upon Juniper-hill, near Hildersham in Cambridgeshire; besides, in several other parts of England. The berries are most commonly gathered about August. The astrological botanists advise us to pull them, when the sun is in Virgo.

The juniper-berry is of so great reputation in the northern nations, that they use it, as we do coffee and thee, especially the Laplanders, who do almost adore it. Simon Pauli, a learned Dane, assures us, that these berries have performed wonders in the stone, which he did not learn from books, or common fame, but from his own observation and experience; for he produces two very notable examples, that, being tormented with the stone, did find incredible success in the use of these berries; and, if my memory does not fail me, I have heard our most ingenious and famous Dr. Troutbeck commend a medicine prepared of them in this distemper. Besides, Schroder knew a nobleman of Germany, that freed himself from the intolerable symptoms of the stone by the constant use of these berries. Ask any physician about them, and he will bestow upon them a much finer character than my rude pencil can draw. The learned Mr. Evelyn will tell you what great kindnesses he has done to his poor sick neighbours, with a preparation of juniper.

berries, who is pleased to honour them with the title of the Forester's Panacea; he extols them in the wind cholick, and many other distempers. Do but consult Bauhinus and Schroder, the first being the most exact herbal, the other the most faithful and elaborate dispensatory, that ever has been published: and you will find great commendation of these berries in dropsies, gravel, coughs, consumptions, gout, stoppage of the monthly courses, epilepsies, palsies, and lethargies, in which there are often an ill appetite, bad digestions, and obstructions.

Take one spoonful of the spirit of juniper-berries, four grains of the salt of juniper, and three drops of the oil of juniper-berries well rectified: mix them all together, drink them morning and night in a glass of white-wine, and you will have no contemptible medicine in all the aforementioned diseases.

Now it is probable, that you have both the spirit, salt, and oil of this berry in a simple decoction of it, provided it be carefully and skilfully managed. If this will not satisfy, do but read Benjamin Scarffius, and John Michael, who have published in Germany two several books of the juniper, and you may meet with far more persuasive arguments, than I can pretend to offer you.

The elder-tree grows almost every where, but it most delights in hedges, orchards, and other shady places, or on the moist banks of rivulets and ditches, into which it is thrust by the gardeners, lest, by its luxury and importunate increase yearly, it should possess all their ground. We write here of the domestick, common elder, not of the mountain, the water, or dwarf elders, ours in figure is like the ash; the leaves resemble those of a walnut-tree, but less; in the top of the branches, and twigs, there spring sweet and crisped umbels, swelling with white odoriferous flowers (in June before St. John's eve) which by their fall give place to a many-branched grapes, first-green, then ruddy, last of a black, dark purple colour, succulent and tumid with its winish liquor. Of all the wild plants it is first covered with leaves, and last uncloathed of them. It flourishes in May, June, and July, but the berries are not ripe till August.

As for the qualities and vertues of elder-berries, I need say no more, but that Mr. Ray has given a great encomium of them; our learned Dr. Needham commending them in dropsies, and some fevers; and I have been informed, that the ingenious Dr. Croon has extolled a spirit of elder-berries in an epidemical intermitting fever. Schroder says, they do peculiarly respect some diseases, attributed to the womb. Mr. Evelyn is so bountifal to his poor Forester, as to assure him, that if he could but learn the medicinal properties of the elder-tree, he might fetch a remedy from every hedge, either for sickness or wounds. The same curious gentleman takes notice, how prevalent these berries are in scorbutick distempers, and for the prolongation of life (so famous is the story of Neander.) I have heard some praise them in bloody fluxes, and other diseases of the bowels; also in several distempers of the head, as the falling-sickness, megrims, palsies, lethargies; they are said likewise to promote the monthly inundations of women, and to destroy the heat of an erysipelas, for which, the flowers themselves are highly celebrated by Simon Pauli, who experimented them upon himself with

wonderful success. I could produce several cases out of the best physical writers, as Forestus, Riverius, Rulandus, &c. where these berries have acted their parts, even to admiration; but, if you are curious and inquisitive after the qualities and nature of them, I will recommend a learned German, Martyn Blochwitz, to your reading, where you may entertain yourself with great variety. Yet I have one thing still to take notice of, that the same medicine may be prepared out of the spirit, oil, and salt of this berry, that you have been taught before to make out of the juniper-berry; but you may obtain them all in a simple decoction, if it be well managed.

You have read here the great use of these two berries, that are more universally agreeable to all tempers, palates, and cases, than perhaps any other two simple medicines, which are commonly known amongst us; so that several persons, being under ill habits of body, and upon the frontiers of some lingering diseases, cannot but desire to drink them, when they have occasion to resort to publick-houses. Yet, for all this, my poor advice will certainly meet with that fate, which does attend almost every thing in the world, that is, *Laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis*: but it dreads most of all the Turkey and East-India merchant, who will condemn it in defence of their coffee and thee, which have the honour of coming from the Levant and China. Besides, I am afraid of a lash, or a frown, from some young ladies, and little sparks, who scorn to eat, drink, or wear any thing, that comes not from France, or the Indies; they fancy poor England is not capable of bringing forth any commodity, that can be agreeable to their grandeur and gallantry, as though nature, and God Almighty, had cursed this island with the productions of such things, as are every way unsuitable to the complexions and necessities of the inhabitants; so we cannot but repartee upon these *a-la-mode* persons, that, while they worship so much only foreign creatures, they cannot but be wholly ignorant of those at home. His excellency, the most acute and ingenious ambassador from the Emperor of Fez and Morocco (who now resides amongst us) is reported to have advised his attendants to see every thing, but admire nothing, lest they should seem thereby to disparage their own country, and shew themselves ignorant of the great rarities and wonders of Barbary.

Poor contemptible berries, fly hence to Smyrna, Bantam, or Mexico; then the merchants would work through storms and tempests, through fire and water, to purchase you, and, on your arrival here would proclaim your virtues in all publick assemblies; so true is that common saying, *A prophet is never valued in his own country*. The English soil is certainly influenced by some pestilential star, that blasts the credit of its productions.

The Way of making Mum, with some Remarks upon that Liquor.

IN the first place, I will give some instructions how to make mum, as it is recorded in the house of Brunswick, and was sent, from thence, to General Monk.

To make a vessel of sixty-three gallons, the water must be first boiled to the consumption of a third part; let it then be brewed, according to art, with seven bushels of wheat-malt, one bushel of oat-malt, and one bushel of ground beans; and, when it is tunned, let not the hogshhead be too much filled at first. When it begins to work, put to it of the inner rind of the fir, three pounds; of the tops of fir and birch, of each one pound; of *carduus benedictus* dried, three handfuls; flowers of *rosa solis*, two handfuls; of burnet, betony, marjoram, avens, pennyroyal, flowers of elder, wild thyme, of each one handful and an half; seeds of *cardamum* bruised, three ounces; bay-berries bruised one ounce; put the seeds into the vessel. When the liquor hath wrought a while with the herbs, and after they are added, let the liquor work over the vessel as little as may be, fill it up at last, and, when it is stopped, put into the hogshhead ten new-laid eggs, the shells not cracked or broken; stop all close, and drink it at two years old; if carried by water it is better. Dr. *Ægidius Hoffman* added water-cresses, brook-lime, and wild parsley, of each six handfuls, with six handfuls of horse-radish rasped in every hogshhead; it was observed that the horse-radish made the mum drink more quick than that which had none.

By the composition of mum, we may guess at the qualities and properties of it. You find great quantities of the rind, and tops of fir, in it; therefore if the mum-makers at London are so careful and honest, as to prepare this liquor, after the Brunswick fashion, which is the genuine and original way; it cannot but be very powerful against the breeding of stones, and against all scorbutick distempers. When the Swedes carried on a war against the Muscovites, the scurvy did so domineer among them, that their army did languish and moulder away to nothing, till, once incamping near a great number of fir-trees, they began to boil the tops of them in their drink, which recovered the army, even to a miracle; from whence the Swedes call the fir, the scorbutick tree, to this very day. Our most renowned Dr. *Walter Needham* has observed the great success of these tops of fir in the scurvy, as Mr. *Ray* informs us; which is no great wonder, if we consider the balsam or turpentine (with which this tree abounds) which proves so effectual in preserving even dead bodies themselves from putrefaction and corruption. If my memory does not deceive me, I have heard Mr. *Boyle* (the ornament and glory of our English nation) affirm, that the oil of turpentine preserves bodies from putrefaction much better than the spirit of wine. The fir, being a principal ingredient of this liquor, is so celebrated by some modern writers, that it alone may be sufficient to advance the mum trade among us. *Simon Pauli* (a learned Dane) tells us the great exploits of the tops of this tree in freeing a great man of Germany from an inveterate scurvy. Every physician will inform you, how proper they are against the breeding of gravel and stones; but then we must be so exact, as to pull these tops in their proper season, when they abound most with turpentine and balsamick parts, and then they may make the mum a proper liquor in gonorrhœas. Besides, the eggs may improve its faculty that way; yet I will not conceal what, I think, the learned Dr. *Merret* affirms in his observations upon wines, that those liquors,

into which the shavings of fir are put, may be apt to create pains in the head; but still it is to be confessed, that the fir cannot but contribute much to the vigour and preservation of the drink.

By the variety of its malt, and by the ground beans, we may conclude, that mum is a very hearty and strengthening liquor. Some drink it much, because it has no hops, which, they fancy, do spoil our English ales and beers, ushering in infections; nay, plagues amongst us. Tho. Bartholine exclaims so fiercely against hops, that he advises us to mix anything with our drink, rather than them; he recommends sage, tamarisks, tops of pine, or fir, instead of hops, the daily use of which in our English liquors is said to have been one cause, why the stone is grown such a common disease among us; Englishmen. Yet, Captain Graunt, in his curious observations upon the bills of mortality, observes, that fewer are afflicted with the stone in this present age, than there were in the age before, though far more hops have been used in this city of late than ever.

As for eggs in the composition of mum, they may contribute much to prevent its growing sowre, their shells sweetening vinegar, and destroying acids; for which reason they may be proper in restoring some decayed liquors, if put whole into the vessel. Dr. Stubbs, in some curious observations made in his voyage to Jamaica, assures us, that eggs, put whole into the vessel, will preserve many drinks, even to admiration, in long voyages; the shells and whites will be devoured and lost, but the yolks left untouched.

Dr. Willis prescribes mum in several chronical distempers, as scurvies, dropsies, and some sort of consumptions. The Germans, especially the inhabitants of Saxony, have so great a veneration for this liquor, that they fancy their bodies can never decay, or pine away, as long as they are lined and embalmed with so powerful a preserver; and indeed, if we consider the frame and complexions of the Germans in general, they may appear to be living mummies. But to conclude all in a few words; if this drink, called mum, be exactly made according to the foregoing instructions, it must needs be a most excellent alterative medicine: the ingredients of it being very rare and choice simples, there being scarce any one disease in nature against which some of them are not prevalent, as betony, marjoram, thyme, in diseases of the head; birch, burnet, water-cresses, brook-lime, horse-radish, in the most inveterate scurvies, gravels, coughs, consumptions, and all obstructions. Avens and cardamom-seeds for cold weak stomachs. Carduus benedictus, and elder-flowers, in intermitting fevers. Bay-berries and penny-royal, in distempers attributed to the womb. But it is to be feared, that several of our Londoners are not so honest and curious, as to prepare their mum faithfully and truly; if they do, they are so happy as to furnish and stock their country with one of the most useful liquors under the sun, it being so proper and effectual in several lingering distempers, where there is a depravation and weakness of the blood and bowels.

There still remains behind a strong and general objection, that may, perhaps, fall upon this little puny pamphlet, and crush it all to pieces,

that is, the histories are too short, and imperfect; to which I have only this to answer,

Ars longa, vita brevis,

A perfect natural history of the least thing in the world, cannot be the work of one man, or scarce of one age; for it requires the heads, hands, studies, and observations of many, well compared and digested together; therefore this is rather an essay, or topick, for men to reason upon, when they meet together in publick-houses, and to encourage them to follow the example of Adam, who, in the state of innocence, did contemplate of all the creatures that were round about him in Paradise, but after the fall, and the building of a city, the philosopher turned politician.

POSTSCRIPT.

LIQUORS and drinks are of such general use and esteem, in all the habitable parts of the world, that a word or two concerning them cannot be improper or unwelcome.

First, the saps and juices of trees will afford many pleasant and useful liquors. The Africans and Indians prepare their famous palm-wine (which they call sura or toddy) out of the sap of the wounded palm tree, as we do our birch-wine in England, out of the tears of the pierced birch-tree, which is celebrated in the stone and scurvy. So the sycamore and walnut, being wounded, will weep out their juices, which may be fermented into liquors. In the Molucca's, the inhabitants extract a wine out of a tree called laudan.

Fruits and berries yield many noble and necessary liquors. Every nation abounds with various drinks by the diversity of their fruits and vegetables. England with cyder, perry, cherry, currant, gooseberry, raspberry, mulberry, blackberry, and strawberry wine. France, Spain, Italy, Hungary, and Germany, produce great varieties of wines from the different species and natures of their grapes and soils. In Jamaica and Brasil they make a very delicious wine out of a fruit called ananas, which is like a pine-apple, not inferior to Malvasia wine. The Chinese make curious drinks out of their fruits; so do the Brasilians and Southern Americans; as from their cocoa, acajou, pacobi, unni, or murtilla's. We may note here, that all the juices of herbs, fruits, seeds, and roots will work and ferment themselves into intoxicating liquors, out of which spirits and brandies may be extracted. Most nations under the sun have their drunken liquors and compounds; the Turk his maslack, the Persians their bangué, the Indians their fulo, rum, arack, and punch. The Arabians, Turks, Chinese, Tartars, and other eastern countries do make inebriating liquors out of their corn and rice; some, rather than not be drunk, will swallow opium, duiroy, and tobacco, or some other intoxicating thing, so great an inclination has mankind to be exalted. Pliny complains, that drunkenness was the study of his time, and that the Romans and Parthians

contended for the glory of excessive wine-drinking. Historians tell us of one Novellius Torquatus, who went through all the honourable degrees of dignity in Rome, wherein the greatest glory and honour, he obtained, was for the drinking, in the presence of Tiberius, three gallons of wine at one draught, before ever he drew his breath, and without being any ways concerned. Athenæus says, that Melanthius wished his own neck as long as a crane's, that he might be the longer a tasting the pleasure of drinks; yet, what he reports of Lasyrtes is wonderful, that he never drank any thing, tho', notwithstanding, he urined as others do. The same famous author takes notice, that the great drinkers used to eat coleworts, to prevent drunkenness; neither are some men of our days much inferior to those celebrated antients. The Germans commonly drink whole tankards, and ell-glasses, at a draught, adoring him that drinks fairly and most, and hating him that will not pledge them. The Dutchmen will salute their guests with a pail and a dish, making hogsheads of their bellies. The Polander thinks him the bravest fellow that drinks most healths, and carries his liquor best, being of opinion, that there is as much valour in drinking as fighting. The Russians, Swedes, and Danes have so naturalised brandy, aqua vitæ, beer, mum, &c. that they usually drink our Englishmen to death, so that the most ingenious author of the *Vinetum Britannicum* concludes, that temperance (relatively speaking) is the cardinal virtue of the English.

It is very wonderful what Mr. Ligon and other American travellers relate of the cassava-root, how out of it the Americans do generally make their bread, and common drink, called parranow; yet that root is known to be a great poison, if taken raw; their drink, called mobby, is made of potatoes. But we will conclude all with Virgil, who, speaking of the many liquors in his time, says,

*Sed neque quam multæ species, nec nomina quæ sunt,
Est numerus.*



A DESCENT FROM FRANCE :

OR,

The French Invasion of England, considered and discoursed.

[From half a sheet, folio, printed at London, 1692.]



THAT there is, or at least has been, an intended invasion from France, headed by King James, is too apparent; and that the greatest encouragement to such an undertaking must be the expected,

if not promised succours ready to join him upon the descent, is as plainly evident. Now that there can be such a party of Englishmen, and those professing themselves protestants too (for the Romanists are no part of our wonder,) whose reason and sense can be so lost and depraved, as to conspire with such a design, is not a little stupendous.

The business of this paper, therefore, is to examine, what consequences they can expect, from the success of such an invasion; and what patriots they shall make themselves, in assisting the return of King James?

In the first place, do they flatter themselves, because, forsooth, the greatest part of our invaders, for the more plausible pretext, are composed of English, Scotch, and Irish, natives and subjects to the crown of England, that therefore King James's service (so poor a mask) is all the business of this expedition? Have we forgot since so lately, in Ireland, the French King could hardly hold the vizard on till the conquest of that kingdom, where the very Irish themselves began to be jealous (and with too much cause) of their pretended friends, but intended lords, the French? And that no *Anguis in Herbâ*, no French reserve, lies at the bottom of this invasion.

Secondly, Do they think this succour to King James, though in so important a service as resettling him upon his throne, can deserve any grateful return; and upon that encouragement they found the safety of their religion and liberties, in any promises of security from that obligation? Alas! is it so late since woful experience convinced them, that acknowledgment or gratitude are no part of a popish King's principle; witness the unkind return he made to that very church of England, that, more than once, were so exemplarily zealous for securing the crown upon his head, in their strenuous opposition against both the Bill of Exclusion, and Monmouth's Insurrection: And if both those deserving services, those accumulated obligations, were such feeble cobweb-lawns; shall any thing, done in his service now, make a stronger tie upon him? No, quite to the contrary. For example, the church of England had then twice obliged him, and never once offended him. Besides, there was not only a coronation oath, but his first voluntary declaration, at his assumption of the government, one would reasonably think enough to bind him to performance. But how little all those bonds signify, when the cancelling hand of Rome came into play; we have but too much reason to remember. And if all those ties, I say, could not hold then; what can we hope for, when there neither is, nor can be any tie at all to hold him now? For example, suppose the blind and mistaken frenzy of some of our protestant zealots (if that name can be proper for them) could remount him to his throne; what shall they deserve for it, any more than the title of unprofitable servants? Their turning him out from the throne, together with the remembrance of the dear Irish blood shed by them, and the rest of our faults, are such capital transgressions, that the restoring him into it again will not be half our expiation. And supposing he publishes the most mollifying declaration upon his landing, that all the eloquence of Rome can put together; shall that oblige him? No, so far from it, that it neither is, nor can

be any more than a scroll of waste paper. For supposing the contents of it should run in these flattering insinuations, viz. What wonderful clemency he would shew us upon our return to our allegiance, and with what moderation he would reign over us, upon our re-admitting of him to his throne, with all the most solemn protestations, and what not. Now as it is unlikely, that King James should ever return without opposition, and undoubtedly a very strenuous one; it being impossible we should be all drawn in, with the specious bait of sweet words, and fair promises; and consequently, he must have a blow for it. Supposing, nevertheless, I say, his party so strong, and his success so great, as to recover his kingdoms: Upon such a recovery, whatever he promises, in his declaration, is, from that moment, null and void. For the consideration is not performed, and consequently, the obligation cancelled. For instance, he comes not in by our submission, and return to our allegiance, but by force and conquest. And as such, not only his declarations, but his very coronation-oath, without the stretch of a mental reservation, are all actually absolved. And if law, nor oaths, service, nor fidelity, as above-mentioned, were able to keep his Romish zeal in any bounds or limits before; what shall the loosening of them all expect now? And consequently what driving Jehu must we look for, when that black day comes (which heaven of its mercy keep far from us.) And whatever private gratuities or favours some particular eminent protestants hands may possibly receive for their signal services in this revolution, nothing of sense, but must conclude us the miserablest nation and people in the world.

Besides, could we look for miracles, and expect a reign of clemency from him, our religion and civil rights secured, what a crew of Irish dear-joys, that come over with him, are here to be rewarded, all preferment and honours, nay, the fat of the land to be cantoned out amongst them. And consequently the power in these confiding hands, the whole nobility, gentry, and commonalty of England must live under the check and awe of tories and rapparees, and submit to all the insults of miscreants and vagrants; and well we compound so cheap.

Nay, though some people fancy we shall at least enjoy this blessing of being eased from taxes by his return; it is so much a mistake, that, in the other extrem, that very shadow vanishes too. For what must this expedition cost the French King, and what must all his Irish arrears, and other infinite unaccountable sums, amount to, which must all lie upon this ruined nation to satisfy, with a very courteous compliment into the bargain, if the French King will graciously and mercifully please to demand no more. Nay, perhaps, the whole charge of his several years naval preparation; (for had King James continued on his throne, most of all that expence had been saved) must lie at our door, a score too terrible, even to think of; and, take it altogether, a very grateful payment out of the protestant pockets, to so prodigious a champion of the protestant religion, as King Lewis.

But for once (though contrary to common sense) granting we should allow all in his favour, that the most zealous Jacobite can pretend, viz. That King James, upon his return to the throne, shall to a tittle perform every particular article in his very declaration, as plausible sower as

it may be penned, viz. We will suppose, that the French King shall disclaim, directly or indirectly, all pretensions whatever to England; that the restoration of his friend King James is his only part and design in this expedition; and King James, on the other side, shall abjure all manner of violation to the laws, shall support the protestant religion, and (making a sea-mark of his former wreck) shall peaceably keep up to the full observance of so generous a profession; granting all this, I say, and whatever other imaginary security, his dreaming party can form to themselves; nevertheless, in the fairest face, let us observe the dismal and tremendous effects of his restoration. It is known to the whole world to what the French ambition tends, viz. universal monarchy. And it is as notoriously famous, what desolations and ravages the arms of France have made, and how formidable that successful destroyer is, even to the whole united powers of Europe. And as his present Majesty King William is, possibly (without vanity) the leading champion of the whole confederacy, and all little enough to make head against France; upon King James's return to the throne, here is not only so potent an arm as the alliance of Britain lopped off from the confederacy, but added to the strength of France. For though, in his reign before, he only stood neuter, with little, or no other assistance, to his idolised grand Lewis, than his heartiest vows and prayers for the success and prosperity of that incroaching enslaver of mankind. Yet now he will lie under a more pressing obligation; and the least return even of common gratitude, for his remounting him on his throne, will be to list under that tyrant's standard, and joining the arms of England, to the finishing and crowning the whole designs of that universal aspirer. And as the whole confederacy, already, is little enough to match him; upon this revolution in England, it is impossible to expect less than that the whole cause of Christendom must sink, and all Europe truckle beneath him. And whilst the English hands bear so great a part in this fatal turn (to give it no harder name) what is it but a making ourselves the monsters of mankind, the inevitable instruments and tools to that grand cut-throat of Christendom? And what has some little palliation on his side, as having the pretence of renown and honour, in the quest of laurels and enlargement of empire, &c. will on our part amount only to butchery and desolation, for meer butchery and desolation's sake. The glory, if any, will be Lewis's, and the infamy England's. Infamy indeed (if we meet with no worse reward) when we consider what a barbarous part we must act in the yoking and shackling of Europe. But suppose it ends there, and that will be the only brand in the English escutcheon; and that Lewis, in his grasp of universal Empire, shall exclude England from any part of his feudatories, and tributaries, viz. he shall make golden promises to King James, and once in his life (his first virtue of that kind) keep faith, and no worse follow (a very unlikely flattery) yet what an eternal shame to the old English honour, the sleeping dust of our Third Edward, and Fifth Henry, and indeed the whole British chronicles, is our portion, in aggrandising of France, to that prodigious bulk and growth, and dwindling ourselves to that diminutive and despicable state and condition, as are, and must be, the unavoidable consequences of King James's restoration.

Granting the Jacobites, therefore, all their own delusions can shape, that King James shall forget and forgive; shall rule by law, and turn a saint upon a throne: And that the disinterested Lewis shall have no other designs upon England, but purely King James's assistance; yet still the most, they can look for, is perhaps, to enjoy a little English liberty (upon their own supposition) during the short remnant of King James's days, whilst his gray hairs, perhaps, shall fill the seat. But I wonder any reasonable man, that pretends but to common sense, can think it possible, that France should ingross the dominion of Europe, and England ever hope to continue the only exempt from the universal yoke; is there that frenzy so mad as to fancy it? No, all our best hopes will be to be swallowed last, and the annexing of Britain, a province to France; and consequently to groan under all the slavery and vassalage of a French government, is the undoubted fate of England; and hereby the restoration of King James, in its favourablest aspect, brings no less fatality along with it, than entailing of misery upon us, to the end of the world; and all the honour, our protestant restorers will reap, is to be the ruin and curse of their whole posterity, their very names and memories loathed and abhorred to all succeeding generations.

ADMIRAL RUSSEL'S LETTER

TO

THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM:

Containing an exact and particular relation of the late happy victory and success against the French Fleet.

Published by authority. In the Savoy, printed by Edward Jones, 1692. Folio, containing eight pages.

Portsmouth June 2, 1692.

MY LORD,

SINCE your Lordship seems to think, that an account, in general, of the fleet's good success is not so satisfactory as one setting forth the particulars; I here send it, with as much brevity as the matter will admit of. I must confess I was not much inclined to trouble you in this nature, not being ambitious to see my name in print on any occasion;

but, since it is your Lordship's commands, I am the more inclined to give you the best information, I am able, of the action, having seen several printed relations not very sincere.

Wednesday, in the evening, being the eighteenth of May, standing over for Cape de Hogue, I ordered Captain Gillam, in the Chester, and the Charles galley, to lie at such a distance to the westward of the fleet, that they might discover any signals made from me.

Thursday the nineteenth, standing with a small gale S.S.W. the wind at W. and W. and by S. hazy weather, Cape Barfleur bearing then S.W. and by S. from me distant about seven leagues, between three and four in the morning, we heard several guns to the westward, and, in a short time, I saw the two frigates making the signal of seeing the enemy, with their heads lying to the northward; which gave me reason to think the enemy lay with their heads that way; upon which, I ordered the signal to be made for the fleet's drawing into a line of battle; after which, I made the signal for the rear of the fleet to tack, that, if the enemy stood to the northward, we might the sooner come to engage. But, soon after four o'clock, the sun had a little cleared the weather, and I saw the French fleet standing to the southward, forming their line on the same tack that I was upon; I then ordered that signal for the rear to tack to be taken in, and, at the same time, bore away with my own ship so far to leeward, as I judged each ship in the fleet might fetch my wake or grain; then brought to again, lying by with my fore-top-sail to the mast, to give the ships, in the fleet, the better opportunity of placing themselves, as they had been before directed. By eight o'clock we had formed an indifferent line, stretching from the S.S.W. to the N.N.E. the Dutch in the van, the red in the center, and the blue in the rear. By nine o'clock, the enemy's vanguard had stretched almost as far to the southward as ours, their admiral and rear-admiral of the blue, that were in the rear, closing the line, and their vice-admiral of the same division stretching to the rear of our fleet, but never coming within gunshot of them. About ten, they bore down upon us, I still lying with my fore-top-sail to the mast. I then observed Monsieur Tourville, the French admiral, put out his signal for battle. I gave order that mine should not be hoisted, till the fleets began to engage, that he might have the fairer opportunity of coming as near me, as he thought convenient; and, at the same time, I sent orders to Admiral Almonde, that, as soon as any of his squadron could weather the enemy's fleet, they should tack, and get to the westward of them; as also to the blue, to make sail, and close the line, they being at some distance a-stern. But, as soon as the fleet began to engage, it fell calm, which prevented their so doing. About half an hour after eleven, Monsieur Tourville, in the Royal Sun (being within three-quarters musquet-shot) brought to, lying by me, at that distance, about an hour and a half, plying his guns very warmly; though I must observe to you, that our men fired their guns faster; after which time, I did not find his guns were fired with that vigour as before, and I could see him in great disorder, his rigging, sails, and top-sail yards being shot, and no body endeavouring to make them serviceable, and his boats towing of him to windward, gave me reason to think he was

much gauled. About two, the wind shifted to the N.W. and by W. and, some little time after that five fresh ships of the enemy's blue squadron came and posted themselves, three a-head of Monsieur Tourville, and two a-stern of him, and fired with great fury, which continued till after three. About four in the evening, there came so thick a fog, that we could not see a ship of the enemy's, which occasioned our leaving off firing for a little time, and then it cleared up, and we could see Monsieur Tourville towing away with his boats to the northward from us; upon which I did the same, and ordered all my division to do the like; and, about half an hour after five, we had a small breeze of wind easterly. I then made the signal for the fleet to chace, sending notice to all the ships about me, that the enemy were running. About this time I heard several broadsides to the westward; and, though I could not see the ships that fired, I concluded them to be our blue, that, by the shift of wind, had weathered the enemy; but it proved to be the rear-admiral of the red, who had weathered Tourville's squadron, and got between them and their admiral of the blue, where they lay firing some time, and then Tourville anchored with some ships of his own division, as also the rear-admiral of the red with some of his. This was the time that Captain Hastings, in the Sandwich, was killed, he driving through those ships, by reason of his anchors not being clear. I could not see this part, because of the great smoke and fog, but have received this information from Sir Cloudesley Shovel since. I sent to all the ships that I could think were near me, to chace to the westward all night; telling them I designed to follow the enemy to Brest; and sometimes we could see a French ship, two, or three, standing away with all the sail they could make to the westward. About eight, I heard firing to the westward which lasted about half an hour, it being some of our blue fallen in with some of the ships of the enemy in the fog. It was foggy, and very little wind all night.

Friday the twentieth, it was so thick in the morning, that I could see none of the enemy's ships, and but very few of our own. About eight it began to clear up; the Dutch who were to the southward of me, made the signal of seeing the enemy; and, as it cleared, I saw about thirty-two or thirty-four sail, distant from us between two and three leagues, the wind at E.N.E. and they bearing from us W.S.W. our fleet chasing with all the sail they could make, having taken in the signal for the line of battle, that each ship might make the best of her way after the enemy. Between eleven and twelve, the wind came to the S.W. The French plied to the westward with all the sail they could, and we after them. About four, the tide of ebb being done, the French anchored, as also we in forty-three fathom water, Cape Barfleur bearing S. and by W. About ten in the evening, we weighed with the tide of ebb, the wind at S.W. and plied to the westward. About twelve, my fore-topmast came by the board, having received several shot.

Saturday the twenty-first, we continued still plying after the enemy, till four in the morning. The tide of ebb being done, I anchored in forty-six fathom water, Cape de Hogue bearing S. and by W. and the island of Alderney S.S.W. By my topmast's going away, the Dutch squadron, and the admiral of the blue, with several of his squadron,

had got a great way to windward of me. About seven in the morning, several of the enemy's ships, being far advanced towards the Race, I perceived driving to the eastward with the tide of flood. Between eight and nine, when they were driven so far to the eastward that I could fetch them, I made the signal for the fleet to cut and follow the enemy; which they all did, except the aforementioned weathermost ships, which rid fast, to observe the motion of the rest of the enemy's ships that continued in the race of Alderney. About eleven, I saw three great ships fair under the shore tack and stand to the westward; but, after making two or three short boards, the biggest of them run a-shore, who presently cut his masts away; the other two, being to leeward of him, plied up to him. The reason, as I judge, of their doing this was, that they could not weather our sternmost ships to the westward, nor get out a-head of us to the eastward. I observing that many of our ships hovered about those, I sent to Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the red, who was in the rear of our fleet, to keep such a number of ships and fireships with him, as might be sufficient to destroy those of the enemy; and to order the others to follow me, I being then in pursuit of the rest of the enemy. An account of the performing that service I do not trouble your Lordship with, he having given it you already. About four in the afternoon, eighteen sail of the enemy's ships got to the eastward of Cape Barfleur; after which, I observed they hauled in for le Hogue. The rear-admiral of the red, vice-admiral of the blue, and some other ships, were a-head of me. About ten at night, I anchored in the bay of le Hogue, and lay till four the next morning, being

Sunday the twenty-second; and then I weighed, and stood in near the land of le Hogue; but, when we found the flood came, we anchored in good sandy ground. At two in the afternoon we weighed again, and plied close in with le Hogue, where we saw thirteen sail of the enemy's men of war hauled close in with the shore. The rear-admiral of the red tells me, that the night before he saw the other five, which made up the eighteen I first chased, stand to the eastward.

Monday the twenty-third, I sent in Vice-admiral Rooke, with seven men of war and fireships, as also the boats of the fleet, to destroy those ships; but the enemy had gotten them so near the shore, that not any of our men of war, except the small frigates, could do any service; but that night Vice-admiral Rooke, with the boats, burnt six of them.

Tuesday the twenty-fourth, about eight in the morning, he went in again with the boats, and burnt the other seven, together with several transport ships, and some vessels with ammunition, the names of which ships I am not yet able to give your Lordship any other account of, than what I formerly sent you, which are as follow:

		Guns.
Soleil Royal	Count de Tourville,	104
L'Ambitieux	{ Chev. de la Villete,	104
	{ Vice-admiral of the	
	{ Blue.	
L'Admirable	Monsieur Beaujeau,	90
La Magnifique	{ Mons. Cottologon, Rere-	76
	{ Admiral of the Blue.	

		Guns.
Le St. Philipp,	Monsieur Infreville,	76
Le Conquerant,	Du Magnon,	76
Le Triumphant,	Monsieur Bellemont,	74
L'Etonant,	Monsieur de Septime,	80
Le Terrible,	Monsieur Septvilla,	80
L'Amiable,	Monsieur de Raal,	68
Le Fier,	Monsieur Larsethoir,	68
Le Glorieux,	Le Ch. de Chateaumoorant,	60
Le Sereieux,	Monsieur Bernier,	60
Le Trident,	Monsieur Monteaud,	56

As the prisoners report, a three-deck ship burnt by accident, and the following, sunk; how true I do not know.

Le Prince,	Monsieur Bagneuz,	60
Le St. Paril,	Monsieur Ferille,	60

Tho' these be all the names that I have been able to learn, yet I am sure there are sixteen ships of consequence burnt.

Wednesday the twenty-fifth, I sailed from le Hogue, ordering the admiral of the blue, with a squadron of English and Dutch ships under his command, to run along the enemy's coast as far as Havre de Grace, in hopes that some of the before-mentioned five ships, that stood to the eastward, might have been got thither; but he informs me, that, upon his appearing before that place, he could perceive but one or two small vessels. The number of the enemy's ships did not exceed fifty men of war, by the best information, from fifty-six to one-hundred and four guns; and though it must be confessed, that our number was superior to theirs, which probably at first might startle them, yet, by their coming down with that resolution, I cannot think it had any great effect upon them. And this I may affirm for a truth, not with any intention to value our own action, or to lessen the bravery of the enemy, that they were beaten by a number considerably less than theirs; the calmness and thickness of the weather giving very few of the Dutch, or the Blue, the opportunity of engaging; which, I am sure, they look upon as a great misfortune; and, had the weather proved otherwise, I do not see how it was possible for any of them to have escaped us.

This is the exactest account that I am able to give you, which, I hope, will prove to your Lordship's satisfaction. Vice-admiral Rooke has given me a very good character of several men employed in the boats, and I have ordered him to give me a list of the names of such persons whose behaviour was remarkable, in order to their reward. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful

Humble Servant,

E. RUSSELL.

THE CHARACTER
OF AN
HONEST AND WORTHY PARLIAMENT-MAN.

A Folio Half-sheet, no date.

I HOPE the reader will not be so unwise, as to expect, that I should here entertain him with a pompous enumeration of all those imaginary virtues, wherewith the romantick modellers of a Platonick, or Utopian commonwealth, adorn their paper senators; when the character, even of a real Cato, would be altogether as useless in our times, as it is rarely found to be practised; and, consequently, as little regarded now, as he himself was, by the corrupt age wherein he lived. Not, but that our nation has, of late, produced as great heroes, as any antiquity can boast of, yet it cannot be imagined, that they are to be found in every little town or borrough.

As for my honest and worthy parliament-man, all the qualifications, that I desire to find in him, are only such as it would be the greatest affront imaginable to any English gentleman, to think him destitute of; that is, that he should be a man of sense, integrity, and honour. Let him but follow their dictates, and then all the duties which we may reckon, or think of, to be incumbent on him, will be as easily performed by him, as they are demonstrable to be the obvious and natural consequences of such principles.

As for his religion, he is a sincere, as well as open professor of that which by our laws is now become essential to his office, I mean that of the Church of England. Nor is he of it, because it is established by law, or that he was bred in it; but, before he settled his opinion, he maturely examined its first principles, and found them agreeable to the Divine Will, and right reason; he discovered the folly and errors of those who oppose any points of its doctrine. And, being thoroughly satisfied in the fundamentals, for its discipline, he intirely submits himself to the judgment and authority of those, to whose conduct and discretion, the government of the church has been in all ages committed.

But though he be a zealous churchman himself, yet he is so far from persecuting those who dissent from the established religion, purely for conscience-sake, that he is ready to pity their weakness, have compassion on their infirmities, and express the greatest tenderness imaginable for their persons, whenever that time shall come, when it will be his chance to meet with those, whose scruples arise rather from a real defect of their understandings, than some worldly interest or desire of filthy lucre, an obstinate, peevish, or self-conceited humour, or the vain-glorious spirit of contradiction.

As for his sentiments in state affairs, in which, next to his religion, his greatest desire is to be orthodox; before they fix, he always tries them with the touch-stone of reason; and, consequently, thinks it lawful for him to be a Latitudinarian in judgment, in relation to civil matters: I mean, so far as not to expect to find an infallible judge, amongst either Tories, Whigs, or Trimmers. He takes up opinions upon trust from no party, nor condemns any, because they are of it, who differ from him in other things. And, therefore, he could not but smile, to see, in our late times of dissension, so many, in all outward appearance, honest and thinking men, continually jog on, like a gang of pack-horses, after the leaders of their several parties; and though they wander after these blazing, but deceitful lights, into never so many crooked and bye paths, yet, with an implicit and blind faith, still believe themselves to be in the right way.

For his own part, his only aim is at the honour, safety, and interest of his country. On this mark, he keeps his eye constantly fixed; nor can the dreadful frowns of an enraged prince, or the horrid clamours of a possessed multitude, ever be able to remove him from his point. He finds that his beloved virtue brings such solid, though invisible rewards along with her, that he is equally insensible to the promising smiles of fawning great ones that would tempt, and the terrible menaces of the fiercest demagogues, that would force him to forsake her. He can securely, without any fear of infection, deride the folly, and pity the madness of those who forfeit their honesty, to found their happiness upon the unstable basis of court favours, or popular applause.

He truly enjoys all that freedom in his actions, which he thinks his duty to procure for, and defend his countrymen in. He is wholly a stranger to the servile ambition of gaining the favourable opinion of others; nor can he tell what it is to fear the censures of any. He is directed, influenced, or byassed by none; and, whilst he is engaged in his country's service, he thinks the most glorious epithets, the world can fix upon him, are those of a rigid, inflexible, ill-natured, honest man.

When he discovers that any have designs contrary to the publick good, let their authority and power be never so great, he opposes their opinions, with all the courage and zeal his generous principles can furnish him with, without any respect to their persons. But when the time comes, wherein the right side shall turn uppermost, as after all revolutions it ever will at last, he is then so far from trampling upon his fallen adversaries, that he becomes, I mean, as a private man, most tender of their persons, without any respect to their opinions.

He is altogether unacquainted with that base and degenerate passion, called hatred. Yet, there is one sort of men, whom he thinks worthy of the utmost degree of his contempt and scorn; I mean, those false and treacherous friends who have formerly gone along with, nay, much before him, in the same cause; those pretended zealots for their country and religion, who, for their own paultry interest, or some by-ends, made it their business to set us together by the ears, with their noisy clamours against popery and slavery; but, when the danger was become real, and just hanging over our heads, when our church and state weré

designed for immediate ruin, with the same mercenary breath, servilely offered themselves to be employed as tools, in the destruction of them both. These, he conceives, ought to have a mark put upon them, as the worst of traitors; he takes them to be the vilest of men, or rather (to use the expression of one, who, perhaps, may think himself concerned here) to carry 'nothing of men, that is, Englishmen, but the shape.'

But I now find myself necessitated, to take my hand from off the tablet, lest, instead of compleating the portraiture of an honest parliament-man, I should insensibly touch upon them, who deserve another character. My intention then being, like my honest patriot's, willing to offend no man, I shall take my leave of him at present, with this remark only, That a nation, where such as he preside at the helm, will, without doubt, be altogether as happy, as if it were steered by Plato's philosophising governors, or governing philosophers.

A PRIVATE LETTER

SENT FROM ONE QUAKER TO ANOTHER.

The following letter (which was really sent from a country Quaker, to his friend in London) I here publish, not with design to reflect on the Quakers, but that the reader may see I am so impartial, that I will insert every thing wrote either by Churchman, Presbyterian, or Quaker, &c. that I think deserves it.

Friend John,

I Desire thee to be so kind as to go to one of those *sinful men in the flesh*, called an *attorney*, and let him take out an *instrument with a seal fixed thereunto*, by means whereof we may seize the *outward tabernacle* of George Green, and bring him before the *lamb-skin men* at Westminster, and teach him to do, as he would be done by. And so I rest thy friend in the light.

R. G.

A VIEW
OF
THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST:

Wherein the true Causes of the Civil War are impartially delineated, by
Strokes borrowed from Lord Clarendon, Sir Philip Warwick, H.
L'Estrange, and other most authentick and approved Historians.

London, printed in Quarto, containing twenty-eight pages.

IT is a melancholy reflection, that the best things, through the perverseness of our nature, are generally corrupted to the worst ends; and that the liberty we enjoy in England, under the best of queens, and the best-constituted government, should, by some licentious and servile writers, be abused to the defaming honest patriots, and branding publick-spirited nations; which naturally tends to the bringing in slavery: for nothing can more effectually destroy our happy constitution, than the heats and animosities industriously raised and fomented amongst us by a party of designing men, who, under pretence of vindicating the memory of the royal martyr, asperse and calumniate those who endeavour to compose our differences.

A sad instance of this we find in the usage the Reverend Dr. Kennet, Doctor in Divinity, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, and Minister of St. Botolph's without Aldgate, has lately met with, upon account of an excellent sermon by him preached before his parishioners, on the thirty-first of January last, and since made publick in print, to clear the misapprehension of some few who heard it, and to silence the confident, though false, report of a far greater number who did not hear it.

The publication of this sermon has, in a great measure, had a contrary effect to what that reverend divine ought reasonably to have expected. For, though it has undeceived many honest people, yet, at the same time, it has given birth to several libels, in which his innocent expressions are maliciously made to signify what the author never had in his thoughts.

The first thing, excepted against by the doctor's unfair censurers, is the title, as well as the subject of his sermon, endeavouring to insinuate to the world, 'That civil war is an expression that palliates the crime, rather than any ways agreeable to the solemnities of the day.' How this can give offence to any, is hard to be imagined, since the word 'civil war' was ever used as synonymous with rebellion, even by the warmest sticklers for that unfortunate prince; as Dr. Kennet himself does, in several places in this very sermon.

However, which of the two words, civil war, or rebellion, is the properest, history alone can determine; and therefore let us listen to historians.

‘ Things were now going fast on (says Dr. Welwood *) towards lessening the confidence betwixt the King and parliament; and yet there were not wanting endeavours, on both sides, to accommodate matters by soft and healing methods, when the King’s coming to the house of commons in person, to demand five of their members, whom he had ordered the day before to be impeached of high-treason, did put all into combustion, and gave occasion to the house to assert their privileges. This was the most unlucky step King Charles could have made at that juncture, and the indiscretion of some, that attended the King to the lobby of the house, was insisted upon, as an argument, that the King was resolved to use violence upon the parliament; which, it is to be presumed, was a thing far from his thoughts. Whoever they were, that advised the King to this rash attempt, are justly chargeable with all the blood that was afterwards spilt; for this sudden action was the first and visible ground of all our following miseries. For, immediately upon it, there was nothing but confusion and tumults, fears and jealousies every where, which spread themselves to Whitehall in the rudest manner, so that, his Majesty thinking himself not safe there, he retired with his family to Hampton-court. The King leaving the parliament in this manner, there were scarce any hopes of a thorough reconciliation. But when, after a great many removes from place to place, his Majesty came to set up his standard at Nottingham, there ensued a fatal and bloody war; which, it is reasonable to believe, was never designed by either side. Each party blamed the other for beginning this war, and it is not easy to determine, which of them began it. Though the King made the first steps that seemed to tend that way, such as, raising a troop for a guard to his person, summoning the gentlemen and freeholders of several counties to attend him in his progress to the north, and ordering arms and ammunition to be bought in Holland for his use; yet the parliament did as much at the same time, for they likewise raised guards of their own, and took care that the magazine of Hull should not fall into the King’s hands. So that the King and parliament prepared themselves insensibly for war, without considering, that these preparations must gradually and inevitably come to blows in the end. — During the whole course of this unnatural war, it was hard to divine what would be the fate of England, whether an absolute, unlimited monarchy, a new huddled-up commonwealth, or a downright anarchy. If the King should prevail, the first was to be feared; if the parliament, the second was to be apprehended; and, if the army should set up for themselves, as afterwards they did, the last was inevitably to follow. All which some of the best men about the King wisely foresaw, and trembled at the event of every battle that was fought, whoever happened to be the victors. It was the dread of these misfortunes, that hindered the lords and commons, whom the King called to Oxford, to assume to themselves the name of the Parliament of England, and from declaring those

* Welwood’s Memoirs, p. 67, & seq.

met at Westminster REBELS; though the King again and again importuned them to it, and took their refusal so ill, that, in one of his letters to the Queen, he called them in derision his Mungrel Parliament.*

Thus far Dr. Welwood. Let us now hear the account the Earl of Clarendon gives of the beginning of the civil war *. 'The rebellion of Ireland, says that noble historian, which was highly detrimental to the King's affairs that began to recover life, broke out in all parts of the kingdom, during his Majesty's stay in Scotland, and made a wonderful impression upon the minds of men, who were induced to believe, that it was influenced by the court; the scandal of which aspersion stuck upon the Queen's skirts. Some time after, the King commanded his attorney-general to accuse the Lord Kimbolton, and five commoners, of high-treason; and, the next day, his Majesty, attended by his ordinary guard and some few gentlemen, came to the house of commons; and, commanding his attendants to wait without, himself, with the prince elector his nephew, went into the house, to the great astonishment of all, to demand the impeached members: but finding, as he said, the birds were all flown, he returned to Whitehall, and the house, in great disorder, adjourned till the next day. When the Lord Digby, the only person that gave the counsel, found the ill success of the impeachment in both houses, he advised the King to go the next morning to the Guildhall, and acquaint the mayor and aldermen of the grounds of it. As he passed through the city, the rude people crouded together, crying out, "Privilege of parliament, privilege of parliament." However, the King, though much mortified, pursued his resolution, and, having dined with one of the sheriffs, he returned to Whitehall; and, the next day, a proclamation came forth, for the apprehension of the accused members, forbidding any persons to conceal, or entertain them. These proceedings of the King created a wonderful change in the minds of all sorts of people; all the former noise of plots against the parliament, which before had been laughed at, was now thought to be built upon good grounds; and what hitherto had been only whispered of Ireland, was now talked aloud, and published in print. They, who with the greatest courage had thwarted seditious practices, were now confounded with the thoughts of what had been done, and what was like to follow. Though they were far from imagining the accused members had been much wronged, yet they thought they had been called to an account at a very unseasonable time; and the exposing the dignity and safety of the King, in his coming in person, in that manner, to the house of commons, and going the next day to the Guildhall, where he met with such reproaches to his face, added to their anger and indignation: all which was justly charged upon the Lord Digby, who was before less beloved than he deserved, and was now the most universally hated of any man in the nation; and yet continued in his Majesty's confidence.—When the King perceived how ill his accusation against the five members succeeded, and that all, who expressed any signal zeal to his service, would be removed from him, under the notion of delinquents, he resolved the Queen should remove to Portsmouth, and that himself would

* See Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.

go to Hull (*where his magazine lay*;) and that, being secured in those places of strength, whither his friends might resort and be protected, he would sit quiet, till the angry part could be brought to reason. But this resolution was discovered to the leading members, who obtained orders from the parliament, for securing Hull and Portsmouth; for which reason, and a promise from several lords, that they would vigorously unite to support the regal power, together with the extreme fear the Queen had of danger, that counsel was laid aside, and it was concluded the Queen should transport herself to Holland, there to provide arms and ammunition; and the King retire to York, and listen to no particulars, till he knew how far the alteration would extend. Hitherto the greatest acts of hostility, excepting Sir John Hotham's denying the King entrance into Hull, were no more than votes and orders; but now the King saw he was so far from having Hull restored, that the garison there increased daily, so that Sir John Hotham was better able to take York, than his Majesty to recover Hull; and therefore he thought it now high time to follow their example, and put himself into a posture of defence. Hereupon, such gentlemen, as were willing, listed themselves, by his Majesty's appointment, into a troop of horse, of whom the Prince of Wales was made captain; which, with one regiment of trained-bands, was his body-guard. As soon as they heard at London, that the King actually had a guard, these votes were published by both houses: "That the King, seduced by evil counsellors, intended to make war against the parliament: that, whensoever he did so, it would be a breach of the trust reposed in him, contrary to his oath, and tending to the dissolution of the government: and that whosoever shall serve him, or assist him in such wars, were traytors, by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and had been so adjudged by two acts of parliament, 2 Rich. II. and 1 Hen. IV." These votes were sent to the King at York, with a petition, that he would disband his new-raised forces, and content himself with his ordinary guard; otherwise they should hold themselves bound with their utmost care to serve the parliament, and secure the publick peace."

Upon the King's denying their demand, they began to provide for the raising of an army: and here the same noble author thinks it not amiss to consider the method of God's justice, 'That the same principles should be used to the extorting all sovereign power from the crown, which the crown had a little before used to extend its authority beyond its bounds, to the prejudice of the just rights of the subject. A supposed necessity was then thought reason sufficient to create a power of taxing the subject, as they thought convenient, by writs of ship-money, never known before; and a supposed necessity is now more fatally concluded a good plea to exclude the crown from the exercise of any power, by an ordinance of parliament, for ordering the militia, never before heard of; and the same maxim of 'Salus populi suprema lex,' which had been used to break in upon the liberty of the people, was applied for the destroying the rights of the crown. The King (pursues our author) conceiving the rumours spread abroad might induce many to believe he intended to raise a war against his parliament, he professed in council, and said, "He declared to all the world, that he ever had an abhor-

rence to such designs ; but that all his endeavours aimed at a sure settlement of the protestant religion, the just privileges of parliament, the liberty of the subject, the law, peace, and prosperity of this kingdom." However, about this time, the King, by the advice of some eminent judges and lawyers, issued out a declaration concerning the militia, asserting the right of the crown in granting commissions of array for the better government thereof, and dispatched those commissions into all counties, expressly forbidding any obedience to be paid to the ordinance for the militia by both houses, under the penalty of high-treason. This only exasperated the paper-combates in declarations, each party insisting the law was on their side ; to which the people yielded obedience ; as they saw it for their conveniency. Some men, well-affected to the crown, and averse to the extravagant carriage of the House of Commons, could not conceal their aversion to the commission of array, as a thing unwarrantable by law ; and many believed, if the King had applied himself to the old known way of lords lieutenants, and their deputies, it had been more beneficial to his service ; for the people, having never heard of a commission of array, were easily blown up to a jealousy by the specious suggestions of the houses. Some time after, the King made a vain attempt upon Hull, and, upon his return to York, found himself, by an accident that fell out, under an absolute necessity of declaring war. The accident was, that Colonel Goring, governor of Portsmouth, had declared for his Majesty, and refused to obey the parliament ; who had thereupon sent Sir William Waller, with an army under his command, to reduce that town. The King's affairs received a considerable reputation, in that so important a place as Portsmouth, and so good an officer as Goring was returned to his duty ; whereupon, he forthwith published a declaration, in which he recited all the insolent rebellious actions of the two houses against him, forbidding all his subjects to pay any obedience to them ; and at the same time published his proclamation, " requiring all men, who could bear arms, to come to him at Nottingham, where he intended to set up his royal standard ; which all his good subjects were obliged to attend." Thus far the Earl of Clarendon. By all which passages it appears, that, after reciprocal provocations given, and many unwarrantable things done on both sides, two contending parties, in the same nation, rose up in arms, endeavouring the one to conquer and destroy the other ; and what is this but a civil war ?

The authors of the libels published against Dr. Kennet are so unfair, as to suspect the praises he bestows, in the first page of his sermon, upon King Charles, whom he sincerely and justly calls ' the martyr of the day, and one of the most virtuous and most religious of our English princes,' as if, thereby, he only intended to convey the deadly poison more easily and effectually. But, to pass over these malicious slurs, let us proceed to the vindication of the Doctor's general positions ; the first of which is, ' That a French interest and alliance was one of the leading causes of the King's murder.

To prove this, Dr. Kennet justly * remarks, ' That there was that frame and constitution in our ancestors, that their true English hearts

* See his Sermon, p. 7.

and continually some secret aversion and antipathy to that neighbouring nation; and that England and France, like Rome and Carthage, stood always jealous and reviling one another. The old English aversion, continues he, seems to have begun with the Norman conquest; when our good fore-fathers, then lately secured by the best laws and liberties in the world, were invaded and subdued by a pretender from France; and they soon felt that foreign yoke to be so hard and grievous, that they would gladly have shaken it off; but, the more patience they were forced to, the more they hated those insolent new lords and masters, calling often for their old liberties and the laws of King Edward. This anger, and sort of aversion to the French, did continue fixed and rooted in the minds of our right English forefathers; and it was this inbred spirit of emulation, that so often led our English armies into the bowels of France, and, in the reprisals of honour, conquered that kingdom more than once, but never once more suffered this kingdom to be conquered by the French.' To deny this would betray an absolute ignorance of our English history, and therefore I shall not go about to illustrate it by examples.

It is certain, that nothing could ever allay the natural aversion, the English have to the French, but the conformity in religion with some of the latter; and it was only upon that score, that the nation was well pleased with the seasonable assistance, which Queen Elisabeth yielded, from time to time, to the reformed of France. And, by the succours that politick princess was all along sending to the United Provinces, she put an invincible bar to the progress Spain and Rome were then making towards universal empire, and kept the balance of power even between the two great monarchies of Europe.

But the next prince, * James the First, did not tread in her steps, while he governed. ' National, or the protestant interest was no where pursued; secret negotiations were carried on with the Pope; the protestants were not only oppressed in Germany, but reduced to the last extremity; and besieged in Montauban by Lewis the Thirteenth, and in Rochelle by Count Soissons and the Duke of Guise; and all, that was done towards their relief from hence, was by a mediation carried on without any vigour. And, which gave the people dreadful apprehensions, Spain, in those days, was still formidable, and an over-balance for all the rest of Europe; whose designs, instead of being opposed, were promoted by England, and the King meanly courted an alliance with his greatest enemy. The fear of universal monarchy awakened the whole kingdom, and brought on that parliament, which was assembled in 1621; where very plain remonstrances were presented to the throne, setting forth the dangers that threatened the nation, who still had a fresh sense of the calamities their ancestors had suffered, under the reign of Queen Mary. But Spanish gold had charmed our court; and that parliament was dismissed in anger, and several of the principal members were imprisoned, who could not sit silently and see their country lost. Thus this old prince chose rather to follow the dictates of his own will, and the pernicious advice of his favourites and ministers, than the faithful

* See D'Avenant's Essay on Balance of Power, p. 8. Sect. 7.

and disinterested counsel of his parliaments, who addressed to him to arm, and to enter into such leagues as might oppose the growth of the Spanish monarchy. But he entertained secret hopes, that so potent an alliance, as that with Spain appeared to be, would make him more powerful over his own people; and so, notwithstanding the representations of his Lords and Commons, in order to accomplish this match, he broke some of those wholesome and necessary laws, made against papists, which at last proved fatal to him and his posterity; for, by his rough dealings with the House of Commons, he then sowed the seeds of that discontent, which ended in the ruin of his son. The general clamours of the people, and their fear of the power of Spain, produced in that reign another parliament, which sat in 1623, and then the Spanish match was broken off.

Hercupon, the states general of the United Provinces recommended a protestant lady to King James; but that prince, being resolved to have the daughter of a great King for his son, did fatally turn his eye to Henrietta Maria, daughter of France.

'The marriage-treaty was not so fair, smooth, and plausible in the progress, as in the entrance. For the French, perceiving that King James desired the match unmeasurably, abated of their forwardness, enlarged their demands in favour of the papists, as the Spaniards had done before; and strained the King to the concession of such immunities, as he had promised to his parliament he would never grant, upon the mediation of foreign princes*.' Cardinal Richelieu, who began to have the sole management of the French King's affairs, in concert with Spada, the Pope's nuncio, took all imaginable precautions, by this treaty, to advance the Romish religion and interest, hoping, as indeed it proved, that the ecclesiasticks, the queen was allowed to bring over with her, would propagate the popish faith; and that the descendants of that marriage, who were to be under the tuition and government of their mother, till they came to the full age of thirteen, would by that time have sufficiently imbibed her religion, and should in time sit upon the English throne; which the protestants of this kingdom felt to their sorrow; for, of Henrietta's two sons †, who reigned after their father ‡, one || did all along secretly favour the Roman catholicks, and, '§ after a continued dissimulation, and a most scandalous life,' died in that ** persuasion; and the other ††, 'though not so dissolute in his manners, did not scruple to own his true sentiments, and, notwithstanding his solemn promise to maintain the protestant religion, by law established, endeavoured by open force to destroy it.'

The conclusion of the marriage treaty was attended, in France, with many outward and voluntary expressions of joy, as, bonfires, and illuminations; but it was only by express orders from the privy-council, that the like was done in London. For as Dr. Kennet says very justly, 'our English people never could heartily approve any royal match into the court of France; and, wherever any such match was entered into by our former governors, it seems to have been against the genius of our

* See Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II p. 52. † Charles and James. ‡ Charles I.
 § Charles II. ¶ See Le Vassor Histoire de Louis XIII. ** Popish. †† James II.

people, and therefore fatally against the interest of these princes.' He instances the two unfortunate reigns of Edward the Second, and Richard the Second, whose marriages into that court had the consequence of a calamitous life, and an untimely death, to these two monarchs.

'There was somewhat of the like pernicious influence,' adds Dr. Kennet that worked upon the tragedy of this day. Our royal martyr, by taking a royal consort from the Bourbon family, did apparently bring over some evils and mischiefs that disturbed his whole reign: For, within less than one year, the French servants of that queen grew so imperious and insolent, that the King was forced to discharge them, and to humble them by a return into their own country.'

'A very sad doom it was certainly to the French, says one of our English historians; but, as the animadversion was extreme severe, so their offences were in like degree heinous. The bishop of Mende, the queen's almoner, stood charged for putting intolerable scorn upon, and making religion itself do penance, by enjoining her majesty, under the notion of penance, to go barefoot, to spin, and to wait upon her family servants at their ordinary repasts, to walk on foot in the mire on a rainy morning, from Somerset-house to St. James's; her confessor, mean while, like Lucifer himself, riding by her in his coach; but, which is worst of all, to make a progress to Tyburn, there to present her devotions for the departed souls of the Papists, who had been executed at that place, on account of the gunpowder treason, and other enormous crimes. A most impious piaculary, whereof the King said acutely, that the action can have no greater invective than the relation. The other sex were accused of crimes of another nature, whereof, Madam St. George was, as in dignity of office, so in guilt, the principal; culpable she was in many particulars, but her most notorious and unpardonable fault was, her being an accursed instrument of some unkindness between the King and Queen. These incendiaries once cashired, the Queen, who formerly shewed so much waspish protervity, soon fell into a mode of loving compliance. But, though this renvoy of her Majesty's servants imported domestick peace, yet was it attended with an ill aspect from France, though our King, studying to preserve fair correspondence with his brother, sent the Lord Carleton, with instructions to represent a true account of the action, with all the motives to it; but his reception was very coarse, being never admitted to audience. Lewis dispatched Monsieur the Marshal de Bassompierre, as extraordinary ambassador to our King, to demand the restitution of the Queen's domesticks; which he at last obtained for most of them.'

'It † was this match,' adds Dr. Kennet, 'that began to corrupt our nation with French modes and vanities; (which gave occasion to Mr. Prynne, to write that severe invective, called *Histrio-Mastix*, against the stage-plays) to betray our counsels to the French court; to weaken the poor protestants in France, by rendering ineffectual the relief of Rochelle; nay, and to lessen our own trade and navigation. These ill effects, beyond the King's intention, raised such a jealousy, and spread such a

* H. L'Estrange in his *Reign of King Charles* disposed into *Annals*. † Dr. Kennet's *Sermon*, page 9 and 10.

damp upon the English subjects, that it was unhappily turned into one of the unjust occasions of civil war: Which indeed began more out of hatred to that party, than out of any disaffection to the King. The people thought themselves too much under French counsels, and a French ministry, or else, they could never have been drawn aside into that great rebellion. This interest, when suspected to prevail, brought the King into urgent difficulties; and in the midst of them the aid and assistance, which that interest offered him, did but the more effectually weaken him. On this side the water, the French services betrayed him; and on the other side, the French policies were at work to destroy him.'

And indeed, as Queen Henrietta had a mighty, if not a supreme influence over King Charles's counsels, so did her mother, Mary de Medicis, who came over by her invitation, administer great cause of jealousy to this nation. 'The people (says the same* historian I mentioned before) were generally malecontent at her coming, and wished her farther off. For they did not like her train and followers, which had often been observed to be the sword or pestilence, so that she was beheld as some meteor of ill signification. Nor was one of these calamities thought more the effect of her fortune than inclination; for her restless and unconstant spirit was prone to embroil all wheresoever she came. And besides, as Queen Henrietta was extraordinary active in raising money, among the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, to enable King Charles to make war against his subjects of Scotland, so was she extreme busy in fomenting the unhappy differences between his Majesty and his English parliament.'

'The French, says the Earl of Clarendon †, according to their nature, were much more active and more intent upon blowing the fire. The former commotions in Scotland, had been raised by special encouragement, if not contrivance, of the Cardinal Richelieu; and by his activity all these distempers were carried on till his death, and by his rules and principles afterwards. Since the beginning of this parliament (in 1640) the French ambassador, Monsieur la Ferté, dissembled not to have notable familiarity with those who governed most in the two houses, discovered to them whatsoever he knew, or could reasonably devise, to the prejudice of the King's counsels and resolutions; and took all opportunities to lessen and undervalue the King's regal power, by applying himself on publick occasions of state, and in his Majesty's name, and to improve his interest to the two houses of parliament, which had in no age before been ever known. Besides these indirect artifices in the French ambassador, very many of the Hugonots in France were declared enemies to the King. And, as this animosity proved of unspeakable inconvenience and damage to the King, so the occasion, from whence these disaffections grew, was very imprudently administered by the state here. Not to speak of the business of Rochelle, which, though it stuck deep in all, yet most imputed the counsels of that time to men that were dead, and not a fixed design of the court. They had a great quarrel,

* H. L'Estrange's Annals of King Charles, page 158.
Page 71, 72, 73, 74.

† History of the Rebellion, Vol. II.

which made them believe, that their very religion was persecuted by the Church of England. Queen Elisabeth, finding and well knowing what notable uses might be made of the French, Dutch, and Walloons, who, in the time of King Edward the Sixth, transplanted themselves into England, enlarged their privileges by new concessions; drawing by this means great numbers over, and suffering them to enjoy the exercise of the reformed religion after their own manner. And so they had churches in Norwich, Canterbury, and other places, as well as in London; whereby the wealth of those places marvellously increased. The same charters of liberty were continued to them, during the peaceable reign of King James, and in the beginning of this King's reign. Some few years before these troubles, when the power of church-men grew more transcendent, and indeed the faculties and understandings of lay-counsellors more dull, lazy, and unactive, upon pretence that the French, Dutch, and Walloons exceeded the liberties which were granted to them, and that, under the notion of foreigners, many English separated from the church, the council-board connived at, whilst the bishops did some acts of restraint, with which these congregations grew generally discontented, and thought the liberty of their consciences to be taken from them; which caused in London much complaining of this kind, but much more in the diocese of Norwich, where Dr. Wren, the bishop there, passionately and warmly proceeded against them; so that many left the kingdom, to the lessening the wealthy manufacture there of kerseys and narrow cloths.—And whereas in all former times, the ambassadors, and all foreign ministers of state, employed from England, into any parts where the reformed religion was exercised, frequented their churches, gave all possible countenance to their profession, and particularly the ambassador Lieger at Paris, had diligently and constantly frequented the church at Charenton, and held a fair intercourse with those of that religion throughout the kingdom, by which they had still received advantage. The contrary to this was now with great industry practised, and some advertisements, if not instructions, given to the ambassador there, to forbear any extraordinary commerce, with the men of that profession. And the Lord Scudamore, who was the last ordinary ambassador there, before the beginning of this parliament, not only declined going to Charenton, but furnished his own chapel with such ornaments as gave great offence and umbrage to those of the reformation there, who had not seen the like. Besides that, he was careful to publish upon all occasions, that the Church of England looked not on the Hugonots as a part of their communion: Which was likewise too much and too industriously discoursed at home.—They of the Church of England, who committed the greatest errors this way, had undoubtedly not the least thoughts of making alterations in it, towards the countenancing of popery, as has been uncharitably conceived; but unskillfully believed, that the total declining the interest of that party, where it exceeded the necessary bounds of reformation, would make this Church of England looked upon with more reverence. And so the Church of England, not giving the same countenance to those of the religion in foreign parts, which it had formerly done, no sooner was discerned to be under a cloud at home, but those of the religion abroad were glad of the occasion, to

publish their malice against her, and to enter into the same conspiracy against the crown, without which they could have done little hurt to the church.

‘Many tender lovers of their faith and country, says Dr. Kennet*, might well deplore the unhappiness of that alliance, with France, which gave no small occasion to the calamity and the curse of this day; for it was from thence, that did arise the apprehensions and fears of popery: Popery that irreconcilable enemy, not only to our reformed faith and worship, but to our civil rights, liberties, and properties, to our established laws, and to our settled constitution. It was for this wise and good reason, that our first reformers would never bear with any express toleration of popery, nor with any long connivance at it. That excellent young Josiah, King Edward VI, would not dispense with his own sister to have publick mass in her own family. Queen Elisabeth indulged them no longer than while there were some hopes to reclaim them. Her next successor, King James, was a champion against popery, and strenuously opposed it, both as a wise governor, and a learned writer; and this gave peace and happiness to the greatest part of his administration. But, when toward the decline of it, he fell into a treaty for a match with Spain, and, during that treaty, did in a manner suspend the laws against the papists, and gave his subjects an occasion to believe, that one article of that match was to be a toleration of popery, this gave such universal jealousy and discontent to his people, and the parliaments of them, that it threatened apparent danger; and, if that treaty had not broke off, and thereby eased the minds of people, we know not what might have been in the end thereof. For certainly his royal son, the martyr of this day, might justly impute many of his troubles to these fears and jealousies of popery. And they really began with the French alliance, where one article was to have a publick chapel, and priests and mass for the queen and her household. This gave an opportunity of open resort to all papists, foreigners and natives; this gave shelter and protection to swarms of Jesuits and other emissaries from Rome; this gained an interest at court for pardons and for patents of profit and preferment to the leading Roman Catholics; this brought over one or two Nuncio’s from the pope, to attend upon the Queen. In short, this did give countenance to popery; and therefore did cast a damp and dread upon many sincere protestants; and did put them into such terrible apprehensions of the Romans coming to take away their place and nation, that this strength of fear too much began the civil war, and helped to carry it forward to the innocent and sacred blood shed upon this day.’

In all these, Dr. Kennet speaks with the most authentick and faithful historians: ‘The jesuits, seminary priests, and other recusants, says † H. L’Estrange, presuming protection, by reason of the late match, contracted so much insolence, that at Winchester, and many other places, they frequently passed through the churches in time of divine service, houting and ho-lo-ing, not only to the disturbance of that duty, but

Dr. Kennet’s Sermon, page 11, 12, 13, 14. † Annals of King Charles’s Reign, in the year 1625, page 89.

scorn of our religion; yea, and one popish lord, when the King was at chapel, was heard to prate on purpose louder, in a gallery adjoining, than the chaplain prayed, whereat the King was so moved, that he sent this message to him: Either let him come and do as we do, or else I will make him prate farther off.

In the year 1627, a notable discovery was made of a college of jesuits at Clerkenwell, of which the same * author gives us this account. 'The first information was given by one Crosse, a messenger to Secretary Coke, whereupon he sent the sheriff to attack them; who, coming with a formidable power, found all the holy foxes retired, and sneaked away; but, after long search, their place of security was found out, it being a lobby behind a new brick-wall wainscotted over; which, being demolished, they were presently unkenelled, to the number of ten. They found also divers letters from the pope to them, empowering them to erect this college, under the name of *Domus Probationis* (but it proved *Reprobationis*) *Sancti Ignatii*; and their books of accounts, whereby it appeared they had five-hundred pounds per annum contribution from their benefactors, and had purchased four-hundred and fifty pounds, per annum.'

Among their papers, says † Mr. Rushworth, was found a copy of a letter written to their father rector at Brussels, discovering their designs upon this state; of which I shall transcribe these remarkable passages: 'Let not the damp of astonishment seize upon your ardent and zealous souls, in the apprehending the sudden calling of a parliament: we have not opposed, but rather furthered it. You must know, the council is engaged to assist the King by way of prerogative, in case the parliamentary way should fail. You shall see this parliament will resemble the pelican, which takes a pleasure to dig out with her beak her own bowels. The election of knights and burgesses has been in such confusion of apparent faction, as that which we were wont to procure heretofore, with much art and industry (when the Spanish match was in treaty) now breaks out naturally, as a hotch or boil, and spits and spews out its own rancour and venom. That great statesman, the Count of Gundomar, had but one principal means to further his great and good designs, which was to set on King James, that none but the puritan faction, which plotted nothing but anarchy, and his confusion, were averse to this most happy alliance and union. We steered on the same course, and have made great use of this anarchical election, and have prejudicated and anticipated the great one, that none but the King's enemies, and his, are chosen of this parliament. We have now many strings to our bow, and have strongly fortified our faction, and have added two bulwarks more. Now we have planted that sovereign drug Arminianism, which we hope will purge the protestants from their heresy. The materials, which build up our bulwark, are the projectors and beggars of all ranks and qualities: Howsoever, both these factions co-operate to destroy the parliament, and to introduce a new species and form of government, which is oligarchy. These serve as direct mediums and instruments to our end, which is the universal

* Page 75. † Rushworth's Collections, part I. page 676

catholick monarchy. Our foundation must be mutation, and mutation will cause a relaxation, which will serve as so many violent diseases, to the speedy destruction of our perpetual and insufferable anguish of body. The arminians and projectors affect mutation: This we second, and inforce by probable arguments. In the first place, we take into consideration the King's honour, and present necessity; and we shew how the King may free himself of his ward, as Lewis the Eleventh did. As for his great splendour and lustre he may raise a vast revenue, and not be beholden to his subjects, which is by way of imposition of excise. Then our church catholicks proceed to shew the means how to settle this excise, which must be by a mercenary army of horse and foot. For the horse we have made that sure; they shall be foreigners and Germans, who will eat up the King's revenues, and spoil the country, though they should be well paid. In forming the excise, the country is most likely to rise; if the mercenary army subjugate the country, then the soldiers and projectors shall be paid out of the confiscations; if the country be too hard for the soldiers, then they must consequently mutiny, which is equally advantageous to us; our superlative design is, to work the protestants as well as the Roman catholicks to welcome in a conqueror.

All this is confirmed by the testimony of the Earl of Clarendon: 'The papists', says that illustrious historian, who had for many years enjoyed a great calm, grew unthrifty managers of their prosperity: They appeared more publicly; entertained and forced conference more avowedly, than had been known before. They were known not only secret authors, but open promoters of the most grievous projects. The priests had forgot their former modesty and fear, and were as willing to be known, as listened to: Insomuch as a jesuit at Paris, designing for England, had the impudence to visit the ambassador there, and offering his service, acquainted him with his intended journey, as if there had been no laws for his reception. And, shamefully to countenance the whole party, an agent from Rome resided at London in great state. They had publickly collected money to a considerable sum, to be by the Queen presented, as a free gift from his catholick subjects to the King, towards carrying on the war against the Scots, which drew upon them the rage of that nation. In a word, they behaved themselves so, as if they had been suborned by the Scots, to destroy their own religion.'

Let us now listen to a foreign † historian, who has published his revolutions of England, with the particular approbation of the late King James, and who, being a jesuit, cannot be suspected of partiality to the protestants. 'The Scots, says he, finding themselves so strongly supported, had no sooner received an answer from the court, than there arose a thousand confused voices, crying out that all was lost; that the King, not contented with having taken away from the two nations both their liberties and goods, designed to lay a yoke on their consciences, and make an absolute change in religion. These complaints had not moved the generality of people, nor rendered the government sufficiently odious, according to the wishes of the discon-

* History of the Rebellion, part I. book II. † Father D'Orleans, his Revolutions of England. Vol. III. pag. 29.

tented, had it not been insinuated besides, that the King made great advances to popery, and resolved to make his subjects embrace it. Nothing was more false than this report. Charles was a protestant by inclination, and never loved the Roman catholicks; but that very error, tho' false, had such appearances of truth, as made it easily believed. We must do the Queen the justice to say, that she had, during all her life, a true zeal for the restoration of the catholick faith in England, and for the honour of the King her husband: but it cannot be denied, that sometimes she practised that zeal with somewhat more imperiousness, than the time allowed. Acted by that spirit, which results from the blood of those absolute monarchs, of whom their subjects require no other reason for their commands, than their will, she did not sufficiently consider, that she reigned in a country, where the most solid reasons are not always able to make the people follow the opinion of those who govern them. So limited an authority, and which must be managed with art, was looked on by the Queen as a slavery, from which she used all her endeavours to free the King her husband and herself. Therefore, without much regarding the nicety of the nation, she had constantly near her a nuncio from the pope, of whose character and functions none at court were ignorant. She entertained an open correspondence with the popish lords; she loudly, and sometimes roughly, made herself a party in any thing wherein the Roman church was concerned; and having with her a great number of ecclesiasticks, who had been restored to her by the peace, and who, some of them, had more piety than prudence, she had frequent disputes with the most zealous protestants, wherein the King, who loved her tenderly, indulged her humour, and even took her part, when she desired it of him. This conduct of Charles, in relation to his Queen, had already made him suspected of not being too good a protestant, whatever he did to appear such, when the zeal he shewed for the undertaking of Archbishop Laud, viz. the introducing the English liturgy in Scotland, increasing that suspicion, gave occasion to his enemies to publish, that he was a Roman catholick, and that, in concert with that prelate, he made it his business to reconcile England to the see of Rome. The conduct of Laud was such as made these suspicions probable: for tho' every body agrees now, that, like the King his master, he was a zealous stickler for the protestant sect, yet there was then reason not to think so of him, by the fondness that prelate had for ceremonies; by the advice he gave to young students, to read the fathers, rather than the protestant divines; by his denial to admit the decisions of the synod of Dort; and much more than all this, by the conduct of the Earl of Strafford, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, his intimate friend, and confidant of all his designs. — That prelate had procured him the government of Ireland, in hopes he should second his projects; and that Lord wisely foreseeing that Laud would raise all the presbyterians against the King, raised an army in that island, to maintain the royal authority; and though he was a protestant, as well as his master and friend, he had done the Roman catholicks the honour to believe them better affected to their prince, than the rest: and therefore had composed his army of them.

What the jesuit advances concerning Archbishop Laud, may be further illustrated by what Dr. Welwood says * of that prelate, 'That scarce any age has produced a man, whose actions and conduct have been more obnoxious to obloquy, or given greater occasion for it. There was, adds the doctor, one thread that run through his whole accusation, and upon which most of the articles of his impeachment turned: And that was, his inclination to popery, and his design to introduce the Romish religion: of which his immortal book against Fisher, and his declaration at his death, do sufficiently acquit him. And yet not protestants only, but even Roman Catholicks themselves were led into this mistake; otherwise they would not have dared to offer one in his post a cardinal's cap, as he confesses in his diary they did twice. The introduction of a great many pompous ceremonies into the church; the licensing some books that spoke favourably of the church of Rome, and the refusing to license others that were writ against it, were the principal causes of his being thus misrepresented. And, indeed, his behaviour in some of these matters, as likewise in the star-chamber, and high-commission-court, can hardly be accounted for, and particularly his theatrical manner of consecrating Catharine Creed church, in London; which is related at length by Mr. Rushworth, in the second part of his *Historical Collections*, vol. I. p. 72.

By all these it plainly appears, that the doubts and fears of popery were not groundless, and, according to Dr. Kennet's assertion, 'That they lost an orthodox and most regular prince the hearts of too many of his people; and almost robbed him of the next valuable blessing, his good-name. For, upon his tender compliance with his intirely beloved royal consort, his enemies took advantage to misrepresent him for a papist; though this was a calumny false and malicious.'

In the third place, † Dr. Kennet mentions the jealousies, the thoughts and dread of oppression and illegal power, among the leading causes of the King's murder: for, as he wisely remarks, 'Tyranny and oppression seem in their nature made to hate, and, yet to help forward one another. And former princes did rarely infringe the charter of publick liberties, without hurting themselves, and leaving a wound upon monarchy itself. For the least attempts towards slavery and exorbitant power raised up the appearance of a yoke, that our forefathers were not able to bear, and we are their offspring. Doctor Kennet is far from thinking, that King Charles ever proposed to injure the birth-right of his subjects. But, adds he, how happy had it been for the peace of that reign, if even doubts and suspicions had been wanting, if the body of a good-natured English people had but thought themselves secure in their legal rights and tenures, for then they could never have been seduced into that unnatural rebellion. They must of necessity first believe, that their liberties and estates were in some danger, and, under that prospect and persuasion, they must have been drawn in, for the meaning, at least, of self-preservation. How happy, if no tonnage or customs had been exacted, without a bill to be easily obtained for them! If no awing into loans and benevolence, if no projecting extraordinary supplies,

* Welwood's *Memoirs*, p. 61. † See his *Sermon*, p. 15, & seq.

without the readier aid of parliament; and especially if no levying of ship-money to the surprise and burthen of the people, who never had a notion of taxes, but as of money given by their own consent! These hardships (to call them by that name only) did serve to exasperate the minds of the people, and did prepare them by degrees to be led out first in riots and tumults, and then in troops and armies, against their lawful sovereign. And though it is certain, that the King himself did not hastily contrive or command any of those hard measures; but he had his ministers to propose them, and his very judges to approve them; yet, good prince, he answered for the account, and at the foot of it, with invincible patience, paid down his royalty and his life.*

In all this the reverend divine speaks with the most faithful and impartial historians. In this perplexed difficulty, says † one of these: 'At length his council agreed to set that great engine his prerogative on work: many projects were hammered on that forge, but that, which the council stuck closest to, was the issuing of a commission, dated the thirteenth of October 1626, for raising of almost two-hundred thousand pounds by way of loan; and, the more to expedite this levy, the commissioners were instructed to represent to the subjects the deplorable estate of Rochelle. These were plausible insinuations: but all would not smooth the asperity of this illegal tax; Rochelle and all other foreign considerations must stand by, when inbred liberty is disputed; so that the almost moiety of the kingdom opposed it to durance. Upon this account of refusal, prisoners, some of the nobility, and most of the prime gentry, were daily brought in by scores; I might almost say by counties, so that the council-table had almost as much work to provide prisons, as to supply the King's necessities.' "The assessment of the general loan, says ‡ Mr. Rushworth, did not pass currently with the people; for some persons absolutely refused to subscribe their names, or to say, they were willing to lend, if able. Whereupon the council directed their warrant to the commissioners of the navy, to impress those men to serve in the ships ready to go out in his Majesty's service.—— The non-subscribers of high rank and right, in all the counties, were bound over by recognisance, to tender their appearance, at the council-table, and performed the same accordingly, and divers of them were committed to prison; but the common sort to appear in the military yard near St. Martin's in the Fields; before the Lieutenant of the Tower of London, by him to be there enrolled among the companies of soldiers; that they, who refused to assist with their purses, should serve in their persons." 'Among the rest †, Sir Peter Hayman, refusing to part with loan-money, was called before the lords of the council, and commanded to go into his Majesty's service into the Palatinate.

'Among other means of raising money, says Dr. Welwood ||, that of loan was fallen upon; which met with great difficulties, and was generally taken to be illegal. One Sihthorp, an obscure person, in a sermon preached at the assizes at Northampton, would make his court by asserting not only the lawfulness of this way of imposing money by loan,

* H. L'Estrange's *Reign of King Charles*, p. 63, 64. † *Historical Collections*, p. 1, Vol. I. p. 423. ‡ *Id.* pag. 431. || *Welwood's Memoirs*, p. 43.

but that it was the indispensable duty of the subject to comply with it. At the same time Dr. Manwaring, another divine, preached two sermons before the King at Whitehall, in which he advanced these doctrines, viz. "That the King is not bound to observe the laws of the realm, concerning the subjects rights and liberties; but that his royal word and command, in imposing loans and taxes without consent of parliament, does oblige the subject's conscience, upon pain of eternal damnation. That those, who refused to pay this loan, did offend against the law of God, and became guilty of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion. And that the authority of parliaments is not necessary for raising of aids and subsidies."

'Every body knew that Abbot was averse to such doctrines: and, to seek an advantage against him, Sibthorp's sermon, with a dedication to the King, was sent him by order of his Majesty to license. Abbot refused, and gave his reasons in writing; which Bishop Laud answered, and with his own hand licensed both Sibthorp's and Manwaring's sermons. Upon this Archbishop Abbot was confined to his country house, and suspended from his function; the administration of which was committed to Bishop Laud, and some others of his recommendation.'

How happy had it been for King Charles, if, in his time, instead of such divines as Sibthorp and Manwaring, none had ascended the pulpits, but men of the principles of Dr. Kennet, who has a right notion of our English constitution; 'which, if carefully preserved, holds out in the most regular health and safety; but, if once put out of order, it is hard to set right again!'

Let us now attend how the Earl of Clarendon relates * the grievances and oppression of this reign: 'The proclamation, says he, issued out at the dissolution of the second parliament, afflicted many good men so far, that it laid their ears open to the insinuations of those who made it their business to infuse an ill opinion into men, that by it the King declared, he really intended we should have no more parliaments; and, the danger of such an inquisition being by this notion removed, ill men were not only encouraged to all license, but even those who had no propensity to ill, imagining themselves above the reach of ordinary justice, learned by degrees to look on that as no fault, which was like to find no punishment. Provisional acts of state were formed to supply defect of laws; so tonnage and poundage, which had absolutely been refused to be settled by parliament, were collected upon merchandise by order of the council-board; antiquated laws were revived, and with rigour executed;—The law of knighthood, which, tho' founded in right, was in the method of its execution very grievous; the laws of the forest, by virtue of which, not only great fines were imposed, but yearly rents designed, and like to have been settled by contract; and lastly, for an everlasting supply upon all occasions, a writ directed in form of law to the sheriff of every county in England, to send a ship amply provided for the King's service; and with an instruction, that, instead of a ship, such a sum of money should be levied upon each county; with directions, how those that were refractory should be proceeded against, from

* History of the Rebellion, part I. book I.

whence that tax was called ship-money, were not the only unjust, scandalous, and ridiculous projects at that time set on foot.—And here the use the judges were put to in this, and like acts of power, redound much to the mischief and damage of the crown and state, in whose integrity and innocence the dignity of the laws mainly resided; the mysteries of which, when they had measured by the standard of what they called ‘general reason,’ and explained by the wisdom of state, they justly deserved that irreverence and scorn, with which the House of Peers afterward used them.

‘Though the nation, in general, bore no ill-will to the church, either in the point of doctrine or discipline, yet were they jealous that popery was not sufficiently discouraged, and were easily persuaded to believe any thing they had not been used to, and which they called innovation, was admitted purely to please the Papists. The archbishop * had all his life-time vigorously opposed Calvin’s doctrine, and thereupon his enemies called him a Papist.—He retained, when he came into authority, too sharp a memory of those by whom he had been persecuted; and was but too guilty himself of the same passion he complained of in his adversaries; that, as they accused him of popery, for maintaining some doctrinal points they disliked, so he looked on some persons as enemies to the discipline of the church, because they agreed with Calvin in some points of doctrine. He was a man of great courage and resolution, and resolved to make the discipline of the church felt, as well as spoken of, applying it without any respect of persons, as much to the greatest, as meanest offenders. There were three persons, Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, most notorious for their avowed malice to the government of the church, which in their several writings they had published. One of them was a divine, the other a common lawyer, and the third a doctor of physick; and, though neither of them had any interest or esteem with the worthy part of their several professions, yet, when they were all sentenced and exposed like common rogues upon scaffolds, to have their ears cut off, and their faces and foreheads branded with red-hot irons, men began no longer to consider their manners, but the men, and each profession imagined their education, degree, and quality, had raised them above the reach of such infamous judgments, and treasured up wrath for the time to come.’

‘The convocation,’ says the same author in another place †, ‘was, after the dissolution of the last parliament, continued by a new writ, and sat under the proper name of a synod; made canons, which men thought it might do, and gave subsidies, and enjoined oaths, which, without doubt, it could not do; in a word, did several things, which, in the best of times, might have been questioned, and were therefore certain to be condemned in the worst; and drew the same prejudice upon the whole body, to which only some particular clergymen were before exposed.’

‘The high-commission court was erected in the first year of Queen Elisabeth, and was of great use for the maintaining the peace and dignity of the church, while it was exercised with moderation. But, of late, the great power of some bishops at court, had made it overflow its

* Laud. † History of the Rebellion, Book II.

banks, and thereupon gained it many enemies. The Star-Chamber Court was of late grown so exorbitant, that there were few persons, who had not suffered by it. For they had enlarged their jurisdiction, from the cognisance of riot, perjury, and the most notorious misdemeanors, to the vindicating all proclamations and orders of state, to the maintaining illegal commissions and grants of monopolies, so that no man was free from the lash of it, any longer than he resolved to submit to those, and such like extraordinary courses.

Fourthly, among the causes that conspired in the murder of King Charles the First*, Dr Kennet mentions 'the growth of immorality and prophaneness, which were unhappily objected to the reign of this prince, though he was himself a very devout and conscientious prince. And really, adds that reverend divine, it was no wonder, if, under the covert of popery, a spirit of prophaneness did more sensibly obtain. It is not want of charity to say, what we see with our eyes, that the principles of popery are adapted to a looseness in morals; and that therefore the general practice of the members of that church is strict in nothing but little outward observations. We are not to believe all the complaints that serious persons made of the dissoluteness of the King's army at that time. It was a juster objection †, that the prophaneness of the English stage began then to be more scandalous, than it had been in former times. So very scandalous, that, in pure indignation, a learned tract was written against this growing evil, or, as in its own title, against the intolerable mischiefs and abuses of common plays and play-houses. But this reproof of impiety did so offend the French party, and made them so incense the Queen, that the author, Mr. Prynne, was prosecuted and stigmatised for it, with a severity that was thought to be cruel.'

All this is confirmed by the testimonies of historians. 'In the year 1618, says H. L'Estrange (in his annals ‡ of King Charles's reign) King James published a declaration, tolerating sports on the Lord's day, called Sunday. This declaration then caused so many impetuous clamours against it, as it was soon after called in; and was, this October (1633) revived and ratified by King Charles. The express design of this was, to restore the feasts and dedications of churches, commonly called wakes, to their ancient solemnity, and to allow the use of lawful pastimes in the lower row upon that day. It was also argued in favour of it, that there was in the kingdom a potent tendency in many to Judaism, occasioned by the dangerous doctrine of several puritans, especially of one Theophilus Brabourn, an obscure and ignorant school master, asserting the perpetual and indispensable morality of the sabbath of the fourth commandment. Again, in others no small inclination to popery, occasioned by the rigour and strictness of sabbatharian ministers, in denying people recreations on the Sunday. But all these plausible insinuations operated little to a welcome entertainment. Nor was there any one royal edict, during all King Charles's reign, resented with equal regret. The fault was least his Majesty's, and not only ill counsel, but ill custom was to blame. For, too true it is, the divinity of the Lord's day was

* See his Sermon, p. 22, 23. † Hist. Mastix, 1633. ‡ p. 128, 129.

then new divinity at court, where, the publick assemblies once over, the indulgence of secular employment and recreations was thought so little disservice to God, as not only civil affairs were usually debated at the council table, but also representations of masques were rarely on no other than sabbath nights. And all this fomented by both doctrine and practice of men very eminent in the church; which seemed the greater prodigy, that men, who so eagerly cried up their own orders, and revenues, for divine, should so much decry the Lord's day for being such, when they had no other existence, than in relation to this.*

'Prophaneness, says * another author, too much abounded every where. Luxury in diet, and excess, both in meat and drink, was crept into the kingdom in an high degree, not only in the quantity, but in the wanton curiosity. And, in the abuse of those good creatures which God had bestowed upon this plentiful land, they mixed the vices of divers nations, catching at every thing that was new and foreign. As much pride and excess was in apparel, almost among all degrees of people, in new fangled and various fashioned attire; they not only imitated, but excelled, their foreign patterns, and, in fantastical gestures and behaviours, the petulances of most nations in Europe.

'The clergy, says † the same writer, were wholly taken up in admiration of the King's happy government, which they never concealed from himself, as the pulpit gave them access to his ear; and not only there, but at all meetings, they discoursed with joy upon that theme; affirming confidently, that no prince in Europe was so great a friend to the church as King Charles; that religion flourished no where but in England; and no reformed church retained the face and dignity of a church but that. Many of them used to deliver their opinion, that God had therefore severely punished the Palatinate, because their sacrilege had been so great in taking away the endowments of bishopricks. Queen Elisabeth herself, who had reformed religion, was but coldly praised, and all her virtues forgotten, when they remembered how she cut short the bishoprick of Ely. Henry the Eighth was much condemned by them, for seizing upon the abbies, and taking so much out of the several bishopricks. To maintain therefore that splendor of a church, which so much pleased them, was become their highest endeavour, especially after they had gotten, in the year 1633, an archbishop after their own heart, Dr. Laud. Not only the pomp of ceremonies was daily increased, and innovations of great scandal brought into the church; but, in point of doctrine, many fair approaches were made towards Rome; as he, that pleases to search, may find in the books of Bishop Laud, Montague, Heylyn, Pocklington, and the rest. And, as their friendship to Rome increased, so did their scorn to the reformed churches beyond the seas; whom, instead of sending that relief and succour to them, which God had enabled this rich island to do, they failed in their greatest extremities, and, instead of harbours, became rocks to split them. Archbishop Laud, who was now grown into great favour with the King, made use of it especially to advance the pomp and temporal honours of the clergy, procuring the lord treasurer's place for Doctor

* May's History of the Parliament of England, Book I. p. 19. † Book I. p. 22, 23, 24.

Juxon, bishop of London; and endeavouring, as the general report went, to fix the greatest temporal preferments upon others of that coat: Inso-much as the people merrily, when they saw that treasurer, with the other bishops, riding to Westminster, called it the church triumphant. Doctors, and parsons of parishes, were made every where justices of peace, to the great grievance of the country in civil affairs, and depriving them of their spiritual edification. The archbishop, by the same means which he used to preserve his clergy from contempt, exposed them to envy; and, as the wisest could then prophesy, to a more than probability of losing all: As we read of some men, who, being fore-doomed by an oracle to a bad fortune, have run into it by the same means they used to prevent it. The like unhappy course did the clergy then take to depress puritanism, which was to set up irreligion itself against it, the worst weapon which they could have chosen to beat it down; which appeared especially in point of keeping the Lord's Day; when not only books were written to shake the morality of it, as that of 'Sunday no Sabbath,' but sports and pastimes of jollity and lightness permitted to the country people upon that day, by publick authority, and the warrant commanded to be read in churches; which, instead of producing the intended effect, may credibly be thought to have been one motive to a stricter observance of that day; and many men, who had before been loose and careless, began, upon that occasion, to enter into a more serious consideration of it, and were ashamed to be invited, by the authority of churchmen, to that which themselves, at the best, could but have pardoned in themselves, as a thing of infirmity. The example of the court, where plays were usually presented on Sundays, did not so much draw the country to imitation, as reflect, with disadvantage, upon the court itself; and sowre those other court pastimes, and jollities, which would have relished better without that, in the eyes of all the people, as things ever allowed to the delights of great princes. The countenancing of looseness and irreligion was, no doubt, a great preparative to the introducing of another religion: And, the power of godliness being beaten down, popery might more easily by degrees enter. And tho' it were questionable, whether the bishops and great clergy of England aimed at popery, it is too apparent, such was the design of Romish agents; and the English clergy, if they did not their own work, did theirs. A stranger of that religion, a Venetian gentleman, out of his own observations in England, will tell you, how far they were going in this kind. His words are, "The universities, bishops, and divines of England do daily embrace Catholick opinions, tho' they profess it not with open mouth, for fear of the puritans. For example, they hold that the church of Rome is a true church; that the Pope is superior to all bishops; that to him it appertains to call general councils; that it is lawful to pray for souls departed; that altars ought to be erected: In fine, they believe all that is taught by the church, but not by the court of Rome."

'By all these it is very * evident, that the liberty, and the delight, then taken in plays and opera's, did help sadly to corrupt the minds and

manners of our people, and to let in that looseness and irreligion, which served to suggest the wickedness and villainies, soon after acted in the civil war.

Fifthly, and lastly, 'Dr. Kennet justly * reckons hypocrisy as another lamentable cause of King Charles's murder: for, no doubt, many sincere Christians came in with a good meaning to one side of the unhappy quarrel, as well as to the other. But the prime engines, and the workers of them, on the prevailing side were most of them men of craft, and dreadful dissemblers with God and heaven. What artificial fasts! What procuring prayers! What deluding speeches! What abuse of holy scripture! What a noise of cursing Meroz, of fighting the Lord's battles, of binding Kings in chains, &c.! Nay, and how, at last, was the fatal blow given, by an utmost stretch [in hypocrisy, by one † commander putting off ‡ another, more tender and loyal, with a sham pretence of seeking God in prayer, while, in the mean time, the royal blood was shed, and the other's plea, to spare it, was then to no purpose.'

All parties allow, that Cromwell was the chief promoter of the King's murder; and that hypocrisy was his characteristic quality, is also acknowledged by all. 'His whole army, says Sir Philip Warwick, in his memoirs, was of men who had all either naturally the phanatick humour, or soon imbibed it. A herd of this sort of men, being by him drawn together, he himself, like Mahomet, having transports of fancy, and withal a crafty understanding, knowing, that natural principles, tho' not morally good, will conduce to the attainment of natural and politic ends, made use of the zeal and credulity of these persons, teaching them that they engaged for God, when he led them against the King. And these men habited more to spiritual pride, than carnal riot, or intemperance, so, consequently, having been industrious and active in their former professions, where natural courage wanted, zeal supplied its place; and, at first, they chose rather to die than fly; and custom removed fear of danger; and afterwards finding the sweet of good pay, and of opulent plunder, and of preferment, the lucrative part made gain seem to them a natural member of godliness.

'The bloody independents, says the same § author, drew the curtain, and shewed how tragical their design had been from the beginning. There are no words in the army, but that the King had been a man of blood, and therefore must be presented to blood.

'If the puritans, says the ** French historian, I quoted before, adventured on this blow, it was only in expectation of an occasion to attempt a more decisive one, by extinguishing the royal authority, with which episcopacy should fall. I say the royal authority, not the King's person and dignity: for we must do the puritans the justice to own, that they never intended to carry their crime so far; and that they only prepared the victim, which a more bloody sect sacrificed. — It is hard †† to determine when this inhuman design was formed by the sect of the independents, for so they were called, because they pretended to carry the evangelical liberty further than the puritans. These new sectaries were at first no otherwise distinguished from the presbyterians, than, (as, in

* See his Sermon, p. 23, 24, 25. † Cromwell. ‡ Lord Fairfax. § p. 232. ¶ p. 309.
** M^r D'Orleans's Revolutions of England, Vol. III. p. 42. †† p. 112, 113.

all religious societies, the zealous and fervent are distinguished from the lukewarm, and the strict from the remiss) by a greater averseness to pompous ceremonies and pre-eminences in church and state; by a greater zeal to reduce the practice of the gospel to its pristine purity; by prayers, conversations, and discourses, which seemed to be the result of enthusiasm and inspiration. Their opinions about independency (for they rejected not only bishops, but even synods) procured them a peculiar appellation, and rendered them suspected to the presbyterians, with whom they had some disputes. But, notwithstanding this opposition, the independents, adding artifice, flattery, promises, and good offices to their affected air of sanctity, made such a progress, that they formed a numerous sect of those that had been imposed upon by their hypocrisy; and a formidable faction of ambitious and mercenary men, whom they gained in all the other sects, by their address and policy. It was one among the latter, who afterwards became the chief of the whole cabal, and who was so already, without being taken notice of. A man born without any natural propensity to evil, or any inclination to virtue; having an equal facility to practise all virtues, and to commit all crimes, according as either suited with his designs. By this stroke, Oliver Cromwell will easily be known. His excellent talent for war, already so fatal to the King's party, having added much lustre to his qualification for business, gained him such ascendant over all those of his faction, that he was become the very soul of it. Modesty and devotion, which, of all the virtues he wanted, were those he could best dissemble, had the more solidly established that superiority, as it gave the least offence to the independency professed by that sect, in a man who seemed not to affect it, but rather to have nothing in view, besides the good of religion and the publick.

Thus it appears, from all the irrefragable testimonies already cited, That, with plainness of truth, the Reverend Dr. Kennet has enquired into, and marked the most visible causes of the civil war, which ended in the murder of King Charles.

Since, by laying before us the true causes of that unnatural civil war, which terminated in the destruction of the monarchy, and the martyrdom of the monarch, he wisely cautions both those who govern, and those who are governed, carefully to avoid any thing that might tend to break, or hurt, our present happy constitution, which God preserve.

A

TRUE DESCRIPTION AND DIRECTION

Of what is most worthy to be seen in all Italy,

ORDERLY SET DOWN,

In sure manner, as that the Traveller may not oversee or neglect any thing that is memorable in those Countries, but may compass that Journey at an easy and reasonable Charge, and in a short Time, signifying how many Miles from one place to another as followeth. First, what is to be seen principally in Venice, and from thence to Rome, Naples, Sicily, and until you come to Malta, from thence back again another Way to Genoa, and Milan.

MS.

V E N I C E.

THE city of Venice hath sixty-two parish churches, and forty-one monasteries of friars and nuns. There are, in Venice, as many unels as streets, over which there are eight-hundred open bridges to

The city of Venice is, in circuit, eight Italian miles; and, although es in the sea, yet, nevertheless, it is defended from the raging waves reef, by a natural bank under the water, compassing the city round out, like unto a constant wall, which repels the storms of the sea, t they cannot assail the city; there are about the city twenty-five nds inhabited by spiritual persons.

When you come to Venice, enquire for the White Lion, or Black ttle, or else for the Wletta, where (in my time being there) dwelt an it, named Signior Bongratz, which is the chiefest of the three: there a shall have one appointed to go with you, or else take a gondola, row to the arsenal, or house of artillery.

The House of Artillery.

Before you go to the arsenal, or house of artillery, you must crave enee to see the same, of certain particular gentlemen, deputed to ve the custody thereof; and, as then, you must leave your weapons the porter's lodge, until you come out again.

When you are within, there will be one appointed to go about with u; but my council is, that you provide yourself with single money,

to bestow here and there, according to the custom. First you go over a bridge, through which the ships and gallies do pass, which are to go to sea; over against that, there is a house, wherein are two-hundred persons daily, who do nothing else but make corslets and harness, that are used in the ships and gallies.

Another house, hard by that, wherein there are daily working two-hundred persons, making nothing but anchors, and other irons, for the gallies and great ships. A little farther, you shall be led into a cellar, wherein are sixty great vessels, filled with wine, which they give to the workmen, as much as they desire to drink, every day, and you also may drink as much as you please.

Moreover, there are six extraordinary great galleasses, which have been in the battle of Lepanto.

There are also forty-six galleasses, all ready furnished, save only two, laying the ordnance thereupon. Right over-against that, you shall be led into a gallery, about five-hundred paces long; therein are made the cables and ropes for the ships and gallies; hard by that, is another house, in which are forty kettles and ovens, to make salt-petre; bestow there to drink.

Then, a little back again, there is a great house, in which there are two rooms; in the first, is all manner of furniture to arm seventy-four thousand men into the field; here also give to drink. In the other room, there are long guns, pikes, and other armour, to furnish into the field one-hundred and seventy-four thousand men; give to drink. Coming down again, you shall see, in another room, six-hundred pieces of great ordnance, lying on wheels; also, hard by, a mortar, that carries a bullet of six-hundred pounds weight.

Hard by that room, there is another, wherein do lie as many bullets and ordnance, as will serve for two-hundred gallies, which are all ready to be used; drink-money more; there are bullets and ordnance to furnish thirty-six galleasses, there pertaining to every galleass forty-eight pieces of ordnance. Drink-money.

A little further, there is another house, where are three-hundred pieces of ordnance, which were won from the Turks in the Armada, together with the colours, and twenty-four bells of the Low-Countries; drink-money.

The galleasses are in length thirty-seven paces, and the gallies thirty.

When you have gone about, and seen the gallies, you shall come to the extraordinary brave ship, Bucentauro, which is painted within and without, and richly overgilded. Therein are excellent fine benches made, on which may easily sit two-hundred persons. In that ship doth the Duke of Venice, together with the whole signiora, or council, go, in long crimson-velvet gowns, every year on the Ascension-day, in great triumph, and princely state, to the sea, to a port near a strong fort called Alio: and there the duke doth wed himself to the sea with a very rich and costly ring, for an established dominion. The ring is given to a page of honour, who casteth it into the sea, and, as then, the duke returns home again, and from the two strong forts, is rung a main peal of ordnance for joy. When a duke is chosen, no man man know to who

the election will fall, for it is done by lots, and, therefore, bootless for any covetous man to strive for it, by bribing or gifts.

As you go forwards, you shall see a great house, under which are three rooms; therein may easily be made ready two-hundred ships and gallies with sails. Drink-money.

Go up the stairs, and you shall come into a room, wherein are two-hundred old-women, daily mending old sails, and sometimes, when need requires, there are seven-hundred daily working.

Further, there are three rooms, one above another; therein may be furnished and armed twenty-thousand men to sea, and there you shall see an admirable number of old harness, used in former times.

Then enquire for the great hall, called Real, in which the lords, in times past, did use to sit in council, but now used for stately banquets and feasts, when some great potentate or prince comes thither.

In the said hall, you shall see flitz-bows, corslets, and broad rapiers, together with other weapons, sufficient to arm two-hundred thousand men; and also, you shall see the colours, which were gotten from the common enemies of Christendom, the Turks.

Not far from thence is a house, wherein do lie so many oars, ready made, as will serve for eighty gallies.

Further, another house, wherein are oars, ready made, for above one-hundred gallies, which were used in the armada aforesaid; on every oar must row eight or nine persons. In the same house, the signiora did sit in council, because the duke's palace was set on fire, by lightning, or a thunderbolt.

There are two-hundred good and sound gallies, all ready furnished, save only the ordnance to be laid therein, and so put out to sea; and also about two-hundred and fifty, which are daily repaired, and made ready. Drink-money.

In this house of artillery, are twelve great towers, upon which there is kept the watch every night; and, every hour, there goeth a gentleman (appointed by the lords) the round, with thirty-six sufficient armed men, about the house of artillery, to visit the sentinel. The house of artillery is compassed round about with walls, and other buildings, like unto a strong town.

In the same, there are four-hundred masters and servants, who continually do make great ships, and prepare them to be ready. There are belonging to this house of artillery eight thousand persons, fit for all manner of trades. This house of artillery, in my opinion, is as big as the city Canterbury. Now it will be time for you to go home to your lodgings, friendly taking leave at the gates, and, with thanks, bestowing some such reasonable reward, as to the company of gentlemen-travellers, who went in with you, may be found fitting. And thus much concerning the incomparable house of artillery in Venice.

Hereafter follows what is chiefly to be seen within the City of Venice.

Go forward from the house of artillery to the water, or channel, and there you shall see many brave and great ships of war.

Not far from thence, a great house, built only to make biscuits for the galleys. Therein are fifty ovens, and all Dutch bakers; there pertain to these ovens fifty bakers, but, if it be needful to set out galleys with bread, then there must be one-hundred of them.

Further you will see a new monastery, named Santo Sepulchro, which is naturally like to the holy grave in Jerusalem.

Then you shall come to the Duke's Palace; there take a gondola, and row over to St. George's Monastery, which is built so pleasantly, and with such various cloisters and gardens (which remain winter and summer) as that you have not seen the like; especially the convent-hall, wherein the monks do dine and sup. This monastery hath as great a circuit about it, as a reasonable town.

Over-against that is yellow wax bleached, worthy the seeing. Drink money.

Then you shall go to the Capuchins Monastery, which, in times past, was built in perpetual memory, at the charge of Prince Nicholo di Ponte, ordered on the day of his death; upon which day, there is yearly made a great ship-bridge, that the people may not be troubled to go so far about thither in pilgrimage to offer.

Then row over the channel to St. Stephen's, where you shall see a great spacious place, and there all duels are fought, being a privileged place, where no serjeant or officer dare meddle with them; and also, hard by the church, there is a stable, besides which there is not one stable more within the whole city of Venice.

After which, going homewards, you may ascend up to St. Mark's steeple, from whence you may very pleasantly behold the whole city. As the King of France came thither out of Poland, he rid up this steeple, with his horse, as high as the bells do hang. It was built anno 1146, at which time the Paduans and Venetians were at wars. The ships may be seen from this steeple thirty miles. After, go into the minting-house, which is hard thereby, as also the library, which you shall take great delight to see. Coming out thence, you will see two great pillars erected, which are cast; between those the malefactors are executed.

Also, just thereby is an extraordinary great house, wherein is kept in store double-baked biscuit, ready for any armada which is to be set out to sea; and hard by that house is the place, whereout are delivered all their billets, or passes, that intend to travel.

Then go to the Duke's Palace, and up the stairs you shall see two great statues, or pictures of Adam and Eve, of white marble-stone; and, when you come to the top, there is, on your left hand, a quade piece, over-gilded and fastened into the wall, on which is written engraven the manner, day, and hour of the King of France's coming thither out of Poland. Go up higher the stairs, towards the great chamber, wherein is usually held a general council; which, being compleat, consists of sixteen-hundred lords and counsellors, all from the most ancient nobility descended; where they sit in comely order the duke sitting uppermost, and on each side of him twenty-four clarissimi, or lords, all in long red velvet gowns; out of which one is elected, when the duke dies, and they cast lots for the election.

The upper cieling of this council-chamber is of wood most excellently carved, and richly gilded with pure Zechini gold; the histories and artificial pictures are wrought upon very costly linnen, with oil colours. They do constantly affirm, that this chamber cost above four tons of gold, which, in English money, is above one hundred-thousand pounds sterling. Hard by the same is another chamber, almost like unto it, which sometimes is used for a council-chamber.

This palace of the Duke's, about thirty-two years past, was set on fire by a fiery squall, and burnt; it was covered with lead at that time, but now with copper; for furnishing of which, there were sent for very artificial masters out of Germany. They say, that the covering of this palace cost three hundred-thousand crowns.

When you come out of the palace, you shall see, on St. Mark's place, two columns or pillars of marble-stone erected, which Emanuel, emperor of Greece, sent thither for a present; for, at such time as the Venetians made an agreement with the King of Sicily, the said emperor was much displeased therewith, but afterwards, they having pacified his anger, he presented them with three columns or pillars, two of which stand on St. Mark's Place; the third miscarried, and fell into the water, which could never be recovered again. And, as concerning the other two, there was at that time no man to be found in all their dominions, that could set them up on end; wherefore they made proclamation, that, whosoever could erect them, he should be well rewarded for his pains. Upon which, one came out of Lombardy, who told them, that he would venture his head, that he would set them up on end, if they would let him have such things as were necessary for that purpose; which he had, and did effect it accordingly. And, for his reward, he did desire, that it might be lawful for any man, that would, to play at dice between the said pillars, notwithstanding the dice were false; and also, that the Venetians would give him free dwelling amongst them, with a competent living; all which was granted unto him. If it chanceth, that any man in their jurisdiction doth raise a mutiny with the Turks, or doth attempt any treachery against the city, then there is a gilded pole laid over-thwart the two pillars, and a gilded halter put upon the offender's neck, and he hanged thereupon.

Here I will relate a strange kind of theft, which was done in former times at Venice.

When Borsius, brother to the Duke of Ferrara, came to Venice, and went to see the treasure at St. Mark's, there was a certain Candiot, named Sammatius Scariot, who, being appointed to wait on the Duke, went in also to see the treasure; and, when he saw the riches thereof, he thought with himself by what means he might come secretly unto it, and for that purpose suffered himself to be locked in the treasury; and, making loose a marble-stone in the wall, behind the altar of the innocent children, he carried the dust in his lap, and laid it behind a little pair of dark stairs in the church. By day he went always away, and came again towards evening, so long, until he made a hole in the treasure-chamber; and, in the day-time, he fastened the stone so cunningly into the wall, that no man could mark it. He carried out one rich jewel after another, six nights together, and at last was resolved to take

Right without the church doth sit upon a horse cast of bell-metal, all over gilded with pure ducat gold, Bartholome Coglioni of Bergen, captain general to the Venetians; by whom Padua was taken in for the signiory of Venice. The said general afterwards, on his death-bed, did earnestly intreat the Venetian state, in any wise hereafter, to discover their secrets to none, as they had done to him, saying, that, if he had been disposed, he could have overcome them. The signiory, for his true service, did cause his statue to be erected there on a horse, as aforesaid.

In the famous city of Venice there are eight-thousand gondolas, and amongst eight-hundred bridges, there are but two of wood. There are also divers laudable companies, or fellowships, touching which it is not here necessary to write in particular. The principal ones are those, near a monastery called Alli Servi, and by Al Ponte de More.

Further, it is but little a way over to Murano, where the purest chrystal glasses are made. So soon as you land on your left-hand, at a corner house, you shall see a glass-maker that hath a whole castle of chrystal, with ordnance on the bulwarks and bastions, as also towers of defence, which is to be sold for twelve-hundred crowns.

In Murano almost all the inhabitants are glass-makers, appertaining to the Venetians, who have their trading therewith. You shall also see very fair gardens with running water-works, and brave statues, especially one above the rest, belonging to a great gentleman named Emo, now dead, which is wrought so artificially, as is scarce to be believed, unless it be seen.

Then, in rowing home again, you will see a monastery on your left-hand, wonderous fairly built in the water by a Venetian courtesan, whom did love a Venetian gentle *homo*, who lived together like a man and wife; he died before her, and left her all that he had, for which she promised him to build a chapel, in perpetual memory of them both, to have their funerals therein; which chapel cost more than sixty-thousand crowns the building; it is all of white marble-stone, and covered with copper. There are adjoining thereunto four towers of bell-metal, within it is costly set forth, with admirable pictures and histories, of white alabaster oriental, and without are cut out of white marble-stone both their statues or pictures, according to the true proportion of their bodies. After that, she retired herself to a very strict and penitent kind of life, and, before her death, she made her will, having left behind her six-hundred crowns, all which she bestowed upon poor people in hospitals and spittals, and for maintenance of widows and orphans, and appointed a yearly revenue, to that monastery adjoining to the chapel, ever to endure, to the end there might be solemnised yearly vigils for the sake of both their souls.

Hereafter follows what is to be seen between Venice and Ancona, from thence to Santa Maria Loretto; and also how many miles one place is from the other.

You may take a gondola, or ship, and go to Chiozza, a very pleasant town of the Venetians; it lies also in the sea, built with very fair houses.

rom thence to Ornaci, an inn, eight miles; then to Coro, an inn, ghteen miles; there you may have horses to hire from Coro to Volani, a inn, eighteen miles; from thence to Magnanaca, an inn, nine miles; at is a very bare and simple lodging; from thence to Primara, an inn, fteen miles; from thence to Ravenna, twenty miles. Ravenna is an ncient city, which lies on the sea, pertaining to the pope. From thence o Al Savio, an inn, ten miles; from thence to Cesanniro, a little town, en miles; to Belacre, an inn, fifteen miles; there you may have horses o hire. So to Rimini, a town of the pope's, ten miles; so to Coriano, n inn, eight miles; to Cattolica, an inn, ten miles; to Pesaro, a town, en miles, which town belongs to the Duke of Urbino, built with very air and large streets, walls, and bastions, and an exceeding strong castle ying on the sea. It is well provided with all manner of victuals, espe- cially with good wine; the duke hath there a very fair palace, and keeps his court therein; it is a very pleasant place, wherein every thing is to be had at a reasonable rate. From Pesaro to Fano, a town nine miles, belonging to the pope, through which no man must presume to pass, unless he will go on foot; it is a very ancient city. From thence to Sinigallia, nine miles; it is also the said duke's; a very strong castle on the sea border, wherein the duke continually maintains a garrison; from thence to Casa Brusciata, an inn, nine miles; it lies upon the stream of the sea; we received there excellent good entertainment. From thence to Ancona, seventeen miles.

A N C O N A.

When you come to Ancona, which is a famous city, you shall see a Porta Triumphal, which the Emperor Adrian caused to be built, for a memorial. This city hath a very fair haven of the sea, like unto which there are not any found; for there are brought together divers sorts of commodities from Sclavonia and the Levant; there are brought also brave Turkish horses, and all manner of wares. There is likewise a great traffick, and they do bring many Moors and Schiavons together, to be sold; and, above the rest, there are no want of Jews that travel to and fro, and also have their dwellings in that city.

In the aforesaid city, doth lie the body of Sant Ciriaci Advocati, buried in a little church on a high rock, which is commonly called Sant Ciriaco; and, when the weather is clear, you may discover from thence Schiavonia, and the ships upon the sea.

This city lies but three miles from Monte Alto, where Pope Sixtus Quintus was born.

The famous city Ancona is adorned with excellent fair buildings, and palaces, well provided of all manner of necessaries, to be bought at a very cheap price, and it is well defended by great walls round about. In like manner there is a strong castle hard above the city, made so invincible with bastions and with ordnance thereupon planted, as that it is, in a manner, impossible to be assaulted or won; and, if in case it were, that the city should be gotten, yet could it not be kept, for, from

the castle, every thing therein would be destroyed. So soon as one pope dies, another is elected; the title of Ancona is written in his stile, for it belongs to the see of Rome.

Santa Maria Loretto.

When you go from Ancona towards Santa Maria Loretto, which is fifteen miles, you will see an extraordinary pilgrimage and devotion; especially, note when you come into a long straight street, which reacheth up to the church, you shall see nothing but shops, wherein are made only pater-noster beads. When you come into the church, you shall see, on both sides, long tables standing, on which there are written directions and admonishments, after what part every body may prepare himself to the confession, on each table being written four several languages, to the end, no man may alledge an excuse, that there is no priest to understand his language, for there is ordered to every table a priest that speaks the same language.

When you approach near the choir, or querry, wherein is the chapel of our Blessed Virgin, which (as they say) was carried thither by the angels from beyond the seas, you shall see a rare building, over or above the said chapel, all of alabaster and marble stone, with excellent histories raised.

And, when you are come into that chapel, you shall see upon the great altar the Blessed Virgin, with the child Jesus in her arms, adorned with so many precious jewels, and lamps of gold and silver burning, that a man can scarce see either the Blessed Virgin, or the child.

Then enquire for the Christia, whereon do lie the male robes; there you shall see, on your right hand, the picture of the Margrave of Baden; and there is written the day on which he came thither, with six persons per post, to his devotions, in the year 1584, because, he, having received a deadly wound by a bullet, in the wars of the Low-Countries, did direct his prayers to the Virgin Mary, for her divine help for his recovery; after his prayers ended, he laid him down in bed. In the morning he felt nothing, but was whole and sound again; whereupon he delayed no time, but posted in all haste to this place, and, for thanksgiving, presented the Blessed Virgin Mary with twelve-thousand crowns, which is no fable.

Loretto is made very strong with many bastions and walls, with great ordnance, and store of ammunition, so that it is sure enough for the Turks coming thither to carry away their inestimable treasure, which (as they constantly affirm) is valued at above five millions of gold, freely given and presented out of mere devotion.

Now, that which is on the way, between Maria Loretto and Rome, is scarce worth the seeing. I will therefore only describe the ways from one place to another; and, in my opinion, you were better turn back again from Loretto, and take the nearest way to Ferrara, and from thence, the open highway to Rome, whereby, both charges and time may be saved.

The direct way from Loretto to Rome.

From Loretto to Recanata three miles, which is a fine pleasant town, built longwise, on a hill, with fair houses and stately vineyards, planted ereabouts; you need not go through the town, unless you please, but may go hard by the wall. From thence to Macerata, a little pretty town, herein is an university, fourteen miles; then to Tollerentino, a little town, nine miles; then to Alla Mancina, a little town, seven miles; then to Piandignano, an inn, seven miles; thence to Varchiano and its hamlet, nine miles; thence to Alla Passo de Spoleto, an inn, eight miles; thence to Spoleto, a fine city, lying on a hill, belonging to the pope; it hath been, in times past, dangerous to travel thereabouts, but now not so, ten miles; from thence to Stretura, an inn, eight miles; thence to Terni, a pleasant town, eight miles; thence to Harni, a strong town, it lies high on the one side, and the river Harni runs hard by it, seven miles; from thence to Ottricolo, a little town, eight miles; not far from this, you must set over the Tyber, nine miles; from thence to Tignano, a very good lodging; here leave an old town, called Civita Castellana, on your left hand, it is thither sixteen miles; from thence to Castal Nuovo, a little town, seven miles; thence to Primo Torto, an inn, seven miles: from thence to the holy city, Rome, seven miles. This is the way from Loretto to Rome, if you please to go the same; otherwise, you may take it in your return back again from Rome.

After follows the direct way from Ferrara to Malta, and what is to be seen between them.

FERRARA.

When you are come to Ferrara, lodge at the Bell; they will enquire you in the gate, what things you carry about you; but tell them, you are scholars, or students; and if you have cloke-bags, or mails, you must bring them into the weigh-house, where they open them.

If you desire to see the city, you must enquire for the Dutch guard; where you shall have one appointed to go about you for a small reward. First, you go to the Duke's Palace, or castle, that hath four fair towers, upon which do strike two clocks. The palace hath within a square court four-square, which is very stately set out with the descents of the most famous emperors, and dukes that have governed there; as also adorned with excellent fair rooms, and pleasant gardens.

After, let him shew you the duke's garden of pleasure and art, called the Vedere, wherein you shall take great delight to see it, insomuch you shall admire thereat, garnished with pleasant springs, that both winter and summer remain green; all manner of birds, wild beasts, and an extraordinary house of pleasure. Further the house of artillery, joining to the duke's palace, wherein are many pieces of great ordnance, worthy to be seen.

The city is furnished with an excellent fair market-place, where all necessities sufficiently are to be had, especially all manner of costly fish.

There are also a great number of Jews, and extraordinary fair broad streets, very stately, set out with fair palaces, and excellent brave buildings, and, above all the rest, the city is round about strengthened with strong walls and bastions.

Hereafter follows the way from Ferrara to Bologna.

From Ferrara to Poggio, an inn, nine miles; from thence to Pietro in Casale, six miles; thence to Fundi, a little town, nine miles; from thence to Bologna, nine miles.

B O L O G N A.

Bologna is an exceeding fair city. When you come thither, lodge at the Golden Angel, where you may horse conveniently to Rome. But there will be need of some policy, by reason that many times there are horses de ritorno, so that you may have them for six or eight crowns a-piece, and also men with you, to bear the charges of the horse and yourself, till you come to Rome, without taking care of any thing, but only to eat and drink, to sit up and light; and, in case your horse tires, they must immediately provide you another.

This great and famous city is built with very stately palaces and houses; it hath wonderful fair streets; when it is rainy weather, you may go under the houses, and not be wet at all.

Go towards the governor's palace, who is commonly a cardinal, appointed by the pope to govern; it is an exceeding brave palace, with a large circumference.

The governor keeps continually two-hundred switzers, and a cornet of spear-horsemen to guard his person; they are duly paid their salary every month.

Every day, about the time of meals, do come the musicians and trumpeters to sound and play, as if he were a temporal prince; they stand without the palace in an open gallery, towards the market-place.

The trumpeters with a kettle drum were, for a memorial, ordained thither by the Emperor Charles the Fifth. The sackbuts and cornets for a memorial, by Pope Gregory the Thirteenth.

The Switzers and horsemen have their dwelling in the governor's palace, and, when he goes out to take the air, they must all attend him as if the pope were there himself.

Right against the market-place, on the outside of the palace, you shall see the statue of the said pope, together with the seat, all of bell-metal.

By the palace is the house of justice or prison, where is given every morning to the offenders the stroppa de corda, in publick view; and

the malefactors are wound up exceeding high, their arms being wrung round about, very fearful to behold.

In this city are great merchandising with silk wares, and silk worms that spin, and they make their principal damask, and, especially, there is an active and brave gentry.

There is also a very pleasant, fair, and great market-place, always provided with all manner of necessaries, at reasonable small rates, whatsoever a man desires.

You shall also see a number of fair and civil gentlewomen in this city, especially those that are nobly descended, who shew themselves very courteous towards strangers. There is continually going up and down with chariots and coaches, day and night. Go also towards the Asces Tower, and you shall see two towers together, which are not above four paces asunder: one of them is four-cornered, raised very high, all of brick, which six men may fathom about, but the height is one-hundred and thirty fathom; upon the same is continually the watch kept day and night; the other tower is built on purpose, as if it were falling down, and therefore they were forced to take a great deal of it down, the citizens, that dwell near thereunto, fearing the fall of the same, and to spoil their houses. It is yet forty fathom high.

This city is called the Mother of Learning, by reason of the famous university therein; but now, for six or eight years, it hath suffered shipwreck, because the governor, which Pope Gregory the Thirteenth set to govern there; did cause a Dutch gentleman, of good rank, to be cast into prison in the night-time, by reason of certain weapons which were found about him, and commanded three stroppa de corda to be given him openly upon the market-place. Wherefore all the Dutch nation departed presently from thence; for which the pope might rather have given many thousand crowns, than that it had been done, about which the governor fell into the pope's high displeasure.

There is not, in all Italy, to be seen such an excellent and fair college as is there, with fine pleasant rooms and pillars of marble stone, wherein no prince may think scorn to dwell, although at this time Padua hath the name; but I like Bologna much better, for every thing is to be had at a low rate.

Right over-against the college is the chiefest church, called St. Petronia, which is exceeding fair, but as yet not finished, neither, as is thought, will be in haste.

Further enquire for St. Dominico, a monastery of Dominican monks; go into it, and, when you come near the door, you shall see an altar wrought with such cunning and art, as that there is not the like to be seen in the universal world. Under that altar doth lie buried St. Dominick; and certainly the monastery is so extraordinary fair, that far and near is not the like. The Dutch nation have their burials therein.

Further do not neglect to see St. Michael, a stately monastery lying on a hill near the city, most worthy to be noted; and, when it is clear weather, a man may see so far as Ferrara. Round about this monastery do grow cypresse-trees, like unto a little wood, yielding so excellent a sweet smell, as that a faint heart may be quickened therewith; and

there is a continual resort thither of men and women, as well for pleasure as devotion's sake, for, winter and summer, it remains green all alike.

Further desire to see St. Salvator, which is a monastery of monks, and is the fairest built monastery in all Bologna.

Further St. Francisco, in which there are monks of the Franciscan order, is also well worthy to be seen. And then, if you desire to see artificial and curious altars and pictures, you must go into St. Jacob's church; it is a monastery of the Augustines order. There is in this city to be heard as excellent good musick, as almost in any other place in Italy, especially at St. Celestin's.

The city is wonderous fair, and there runs a fine river through it, called Reno, on which all manner of provision is conveyed into the city. The city is also great and spacious, and, nevertheless, all round about begirt with a marvellous fair wall.

It is credibly reported, that the pope hath every year out of this city three-hundred thousand crowns income.

Hereafter follows the way from Bologna to Florence.

From Bologna to Pianora, a hamlet, eight miles; from thence to Loiano, a hamlet, eight miles; thence to Pietra Mala, a little town, eight miles; thence to Rofreddo, a hamlet, seven.

Thence the ways do part by a bridge on the left hand, to Pratolino, three miles from thence, on the right hand, the direct way to Florence, where the great duke hath so pleasant a recreation, as is no where else in all Italy to be seen.

P R A T O L I N O.

When you come thither, enquire if the great duke be there; then go to the gardener or keeper of the palace, and salute courteously, promising him something. First he will lead you above into the palace, which is built four-square; when you come into a room, you shall go right forwards into four rooms which have correspondence into four corners, which are six rooms, among which is one wherein the duke and his duchess do lie, on two beds, when they are there; but those beds are accounted the simplest amongst all the rest, and very low.

The other rooms are exceeding fairly furnished, and adorned with rich and costly arras, of clean gold and silver, wherewith the chambers are hung.

And, according as the hangings are in every chamber, so are likewise the beds hung and trimmed correspondently.

The chambers decked with extraordinary fair statues, pictures, and tables of alabaster, and other rich stones.

Then go also up the stairs, and you shall come into the like rooms, where, in four-squares are sixteen rooms, where beds do stand; the

implest amongst them did cost furnished ten-thousand crowns. Then you may bestow something upon the keeper's wife, or him that did lead you about.

Further you must go from down a pair of stairs, where you shall see a fair grotto and vaults, richly set with coral, mother of pearl, and other rich stones, fastened into the wall so thick, that a man can scarce see any part of the wall; therein are also tables of marble-stone and alabaster, and also the benches very cunningly wrought, in inlaid work. If a man doth sit down at one of the tables, the water doth spout from below and above, and on every side, as if it rained mainly; and, when one thinks to rescue himself from the wet, then he comes just into the bath, all wringing wet; they spare no man, of what degree soever.

When you come out again, you shall see the garden right before you, like unto a broad street, on both sides, springs of water; the garden is made with all manner of young plants, that are green winter and summer. There is a great tree whereon the duke uses to dine and sup; from that tree, the duke can see both his palaces in the town; the one wherein he keeps his court, the other is called Pithi. Then go right over against the palace, into a garden, and is the duke's chapel, wherein mass is celebrated; it is round like a heathenish temple wainscotted within and without, with cypress wood, and round about there grow cypress trees.

Further you shall see the statue of a water-god of white marble-stone, that hath, in length, four fathom; from him doth fall all the water, that comes into the artificial water-works.

About five miles from Pratolino, there hath been a very fair ground, all green meadows, but on each side, high hills, where the waters do come together; those grounds hath Duke Cosmus the Second caused to be trenched about four miles in circuit, so that it is now like unto a sea, from whence all the waters at Pratolino do spring; from Pratolino, are five miles to Florence.

FLORENCE.

When you come within half a mile of Florence, and are many of you in a company (for it is never otherwise) send one before that is a practicus, to stay for you under the gate of the city, by the customers; then they will enquire of him the cause of his staying there; he may answer, that he stays there for certain students that are coming after on horseback, all wearied, not being used much to riding (for they do look very narrowly, what things passengers do carry about them, whereby much time is lost) but, because they may not be long in searching, put presently a piece of money, into one of their hands, without many words, speaking somewhat boldly to them, and, as then, they will let you pass; there are always many people looking very diligently to the business, and to espy if any thing be found amiss, whereby a man may judge, that much deceitful practice is there used.

When you come into the famous city of Florence, lodge at the Crown; there is also besides a Dutch hostery, called the Fusti, but there is continually used much excess in drinking.

Florence is a most excellent brave city; comparable to the same there is none, neither in Italy, nor elsewhere.

If there be none amongst yourselves that is acquainted with the custom of the city, then desire your host to help you to one, or you may have one of the Dutch guard to go with you.

Then go to the great duke's palace; hard thereby is the Dutch guard. The duke maintains continually one-hundred of them to wait on his person; they dwell all together, and are drawn up to the watch every evening very bravely.

The palace is a famous building, where is a steeple so high, that one would say it is built in the air without foundation. Go into the palace up the stairs on your left hand, and you shall see an extraordinary great hall, wherein the duke doth dine and sup openly; go after that out again, and on your right hand, you shall see also a very great hall; there are every year presents given to the duke on St. John Baptist's day (who is patron to the Florentines): After which is a fine act solemnised, where the duke sits in publick state, and under a tabernacle do sit the states and country townsmen in their order, and colours, the standards bowing themselves before him with such ceremonies as if they were to do homage. Then the duke goes to his palace to dinner, and afterwards the duke sets up a certain prize, about which the common people do dance, at which sport the duke beholds them.

You shall see in this hall very brave statues, and as you come out there is, on your right hand, the duke's natural picture; right before the palace, as you go to the Dutch guard, you will see very fair statues, as artificially made as if they were living. There is also a very fair water-chest or fountain, with stately pictures of bell-metal, as also of marble-stone, continually spirting water, standing exceeding pleasantly upon the fair and great market-place. Then go up over where the statues do stand, where the duke hath a very pleasant garden, and hath caused a water-work to be raised up on high, that it is a wonder, how it was possible for the water to be brought thither. When the duke is disposed to be merry, then he keeps his table there, by reason of the excellent cool air; from thence he hath but a little gallery to go into his palace. From thence go right forward, and you will come into a very long gallery, called Belvedere, which is adorned with most principal statues. On the side of the Belvedere, hath the Duke Cosmus caused a chapel to be built (to which he can go secretly, and not seen, from and to his palace) which is set out with wondrous brave alabaster pictures, with a costly altar, and the said chapel round about ceiled with mother of pearl; under this gallery you shall see, in a prospective glass, an excellent fair room, underset with brave strong pillars, in which is the chancery or council kept; there is in all Italy not the like to be seen. Go also towards the old bridge, called Ponte Vecchio; on the same are built haberdashers shops all over, and there runs a rich navigable river underneath, called the Arno. When you come over that bridge, enquire for the palace, called Pitti, which is an exceeding fair

building, all of square stone, very high and great, built four-cornered, with a court paved all over with square free-stone. There are in the same kingly rooms, and chambers, continually furnished wonderfully. Thereupon is also a great and brave garden, and therein a little wood, all of cypress trees, where do also grow all manner of meats, or the most costly birds and fowls. The duke hath oftentimes pleasant port in the same; there grow also all manner of the delicatest fruits, which a man may imagine, and most part of the garden is continually green.

There are also stately fountains therein, with brave and costly statues, and the duke can go over a gallery from thence to his other palace, where he keeps his court, that no man can see him coming; then go back again to a bridge, called Ponte Novo, which is built all of white marble-stone, square pieces.

When you come over that, you shall see, on your left hand, a very great stone pillar, on which sits an angel, with a pair of scales and a word in his hands, which the great Duke Cosmus erected after he had got the victory of Siena from the Lord Strozzi.

Then, when you go a little more forward, you shall come into the said Peter Strozzi's palace, whereby you will conceive the greatness of that man, and his power, in not fearing to set himself against the duke, intending to have made himself duke. He hath had also more like palaces in the city.

Further go to the palace, called Cassina, where the duke doth maintain all manner of artists of all nations; for the duke taketh great pleasure therein, he himself having learned two or three of those artificial sciences, and doth oftentimes use to work amongst them.

Not far from thence you shall come to a house, wherein are kept certain tame leopards, lions, bears, and other beasts, all which you may see for a small matter bestowed.

NUNCIATA,

Called, our Holy Mother.

There you shall see a great devotion for pilgrimage, in which place there are so many miracles done and seen, as that it is impossible for me to write of them all; only you shall see the true signs and tokens, as they say, of the popes, Emperors, Kings, and princes, and other great persons, who (through their strange faiths, and devout prayers) have been helped and cured. This Nunciata hath also an excellent hospital, into which there are seldom taken any, but only such as have relation to the duke's court; which hospital is a most pleasant place, where the sick are attended with great diligence, and provided with very sweet and cleanly bedding.

Then go out from thence through the straight street, and you shall see the cathedral church, which is a rare building, all of red and white marble-stones, on which is a round steeple, built so straight that no

man would believe it to be so exceeding high; and on the top is a golden globe, or ball, wherein myself, with eighteen persons more, have stood, and, if they would fit themselves handsomely, there may well stand twenty-four. Hard by the said church is another great tower, wherein is a clock; the same steeple or tower is built from the bottom to the top, with marble-stone, and gilt with divers colours; it doth not touch the church, but is built so, that one may go round about it. Right against the church is a round temple, called St. John, the Florentine patron, which temple hath three doors, or gates of bell-metal, with exceeding fair raised figures, and histories, and especially there is cast upon the same the whole Old Testament; they do confidently affirm that the same does come from Jerusalem.

Then, going towards your lodging, the Crown, there is not far off the church of St. Laurentio, wherein is buried Queen Johanna of Austria, the Emperor Maximilian's daughter, wife to the great Duke Cosmus, together with her children, where you shall see a wonderful fair epitaph. By reason of the death of this great princess, the poor people in the city were driven to an extreme lamentation, and sorrowful bewailing, for they lost a mother of her; she, having presented unto her, from the prince her husband yearly, twelve-thousand crowns for a new year's gift, did not make use thereof, for any lust or pleasure, but did distribute the same altogether, for God's sake, to the said poor. In this church are to be seen the epitaphs of the Dukes of Florence and their predecessors, as also an excellent Bibliotheca of four-thousand eight-hundred written books in parchment, very fairly bound.

This city is built with stately palaces and very fair houses; the streets are wonderous fair, and paved all with four-square stones that no filth or uncleanness may abide thereon, and, though it rains much, within one quarter of an hour it is dry again. The city is also furnished with all manner of trades and merchandises, and especially with silks, and costly rich cloth of gold and tissue, which are made there, comparable to which there are none in all Italy. There do also frequent a valiant sort of knights and gentry, which are employed in service against the common enemies the Turks. You shall also see there two very strange castles or forts; the one lies on a plain ground near the city wall; the other on a high hill upon the city; wherein are in garison all Spaniards, it being so ordered by Charles the First, Emperor, that the Duke Cosmus should maintain only Spaniards; which is observed to this day, and no other nation may be entertained therein.

Here followeth the way to High Siena.

From Florence to Casciano, a little town, eight miles; from thence to Barbatino, four miles; from thence to Tavernelle, a little town, four miles; from thence to Poggioponzo, a little town, that lies under a fort named Poggis imperiale, four miles; from thence to Staggia, a little town, four miles; from thence to High Siena city, six miles.

H I G H S I E N A.

An exceeding fair city lying on a high ground, fastened in round out with strong walls. When you come into the city, lodge at the olden Angel, where you will find good and stately entertainment; and, you desire horses to Rome, you may have them at return for a small matter, and those that will bear your charges, till you come to Rome. Go to the market-place, which is wide and fair, and a water-chest, at the upper end; take a diligent view of that water-chest; as you go along it of the market-place, you shall perceive it like unto a Jacob's muscle, by reason of the red bricks wherewith the place is paved, and pieces of white marble stone mingled amongst them, that it doth naturally resemble a muscle. Then go to the head and principal church called S. Domenico or Cathedral, which is so richly built, that, in all Italy, is scarce to be like, all of white and black marble-stone within and without, and a people like unto it, so that a man may say, the whole building is like a costly jewel, by reason of the pleasant and rich materials thereof. And therein you shall see all the popes lively pictured, and the church adorned with very fine altars; and against the church is an especial fine hospital, where the poor pilgrims and other strangers are harboured and entertained with good and wholesome meat and drink, sweet bedding, and other necessities, three days and three nights freely. There goes a great charge and expence thereupon, and, in case the yearly income will not serve, then the city must give supply. The city is plentifully served with all manner of good victuals; partridges; pheasants, hares, and all sorts of fowl, are to be had for a small matter; especially, the students, where they board, are very excellently well served with all courteous and affable behaviour. There is also exceeding good wine, and fine bread; the wine, in summer time, being so cool, that a man can scarce drink it, when they first bring it out of the cellar, but it must stand a while.

There is not, in all Italy, spoke the language more pure than in this city and thereabouts; the plain country swain delivers it as elegantly, as the chiefest in the city. And, above other things, I may not forget to praise the exceeding beauty and well favouredness of the women kind in this place, being wonderful well fitted for kind and lovely conversation, graced with comely apparel, and, especially, they are in general skilful in riding, and do sit well on horseback. You shall also see a brave university, frequented by all nations, many noble persons living there, for their learning's sake, and more of the Dutch nation, than any other. There is also just on the city a marvellous strong castle, or fort, which the great Duke Cosmus caused to be built, as he had brought this city under his power, and overthrown Lord Peter Strozzi; which castle is sufficiently furnished with great ordnance and all manner of ammunition, against which the citizens cannot lightly rebel; the garison is all of Italian soldiers. And, let it rain never so fast or long, it is dry again, throughout the whole city, within the space of half an hour.

Hereafter follows the way from High Siena to Rome.

From Siena to Lucignano, a little town, six miles; thence to Buon Convent, a little town, five miles; thence to Vornieri, a little town, seven miles; from thence you may see the exceeding strong fort, called Monte Alcinoo, three miles; on the side, when you come to Tornieti, do not lodge at the sign of the Stars, but go a little further down to the Half-Moon, which is a better lodging. From thence to St. Quince, eight miles; thence to Alla Paglia, an inn, four miles; thence to Ponte Cintino, a market-town, eight miles; when you ride from Alla Paglia, enquire if it hath not lately rained, before you pass over the water, for therein do lie hid great stones, the water oftentimes coming on a sudden with such force, that it carries both horse and man. From Ponte Cintino to Aquapendente, four miles; before you come thither, you must pass over a bridge of stone, which the pope Gregory the Thirteenth caused to be built. In this town, you shall find most delicate, fresh, and cool drink-water, and excellent good wine and lodging. It is also the key of the pope's country. From Aquapendente to St. Laurence, five miles. It is a fine little town, where do grow marvellous pleasant wines, especially the red wine. From thence to Bolsina, a little town, four miles, where doth grow also exceeding good wine, and it lies on the sea border. In this sea do lie two islands; on either is built a church, the one is called Santa Martana, the other, Versontina, wherein is interred the body of St. Christma. In this sea are taken very good fishes, pike, carp, and eels. From thence to Montefiascon, five miles.

MONTEFIASCON.

This town lies upon a hill, formed like a staggon, from whence the town is so called. There doth grow the best muscadine in all Italy; in which wine, a certain prelate drank himself to death, and lies there buried, on whose grave-stone are cut these words following:

Dominus meus mortuus est.

Which epitaph his servant made: He was sent always by his master before, when he travelled, for this end, to taste the wine in divers places, and, where he found this good muscadine, he, on the door wrote, EST, which was the token for his master to know that there was good wine; and so, Est, as he espied the same written on the doors, there he always lighted and renewed his drinking, whereby he lost his life. From Montefiascon to Viterbo, a city, eight miles.

VITERBO.

This is an ancient city, pertaining to the Cardinal Farnesio. It is adorned with very fair and artificial water-works, worthy the seeing.

And, when you have taken sight of this place, my advice is, to take you out as you came in, and then ride, on your right hand hard by the town wall, to the Cardinal Gambara. Thither you have three miles, where you shall, by the said cardinal, be courteously entertained; for myself, with sixteen other gentlemen, certain years past, went that way, and the cardinal, having notice thereof, caused our horses to be taken and set in his stables, and gave orders to shew us into princely chambers, to be lodged that night; and, at supper time, we were all invited to a very rich feast, the banquet being served all in rich plate. On the morrow, the cardinal's cousin led us into the palace and garden, to see the same, which is adorned with wonderful rare water-works, statues, and growing things, that are green winter and summer. And, as we were minded to take horse and depart, we were then again earnestly intreated, and invited to a very costly dinner, the said cardinal himself using us very graciously, and merrily desiring of us, That, at such time as we should arrive home again into our own countries, we would not omit to desire (in his behalf) any of our friends, that should have occasion to come that way, that they would not pass by his house without calling in, and then to accept of his poor entertainment.

Now, as we were ready to depart, we agreed to bestow twenty crowns on his servants, of which the cardinal got notice, and gave express charge, that, upon pain of corporal punishment, they should not receive any thing of us. From thence to Caprarola, which is a very excellent fair palace, pertaining to Cardinal Farnesio, being from Cardinal Gambara's palace, seven miles.

CAPRAROLA,

Is a wonderous stately palace, thirty miles from Rome, and not above two miles out of the way; very fairly built, four square; wherein are excellent brave statues, and pleasant gardens, with curious and artificial water-works. When you go up, you shall see princely lodgings, with all manner of rich hangings, and with beds and tables of precious stone. And, when a man goes into one chamber (the same being left open) he shall look into five others, and see in four corners twenty rooms, stately furnished, especially the portraiture and significator of the four winds, as artificial, as is possible to be made. Give there somewhat to drink. From thence to Monte Rosa, a market-town, three miles; and, before you come to Monte Rosa, you may go through the cardinal's park, wherein are many deer, and other strange beasts. From thence to Buccano, an inn, six miles. There hath been, in times past, dangerous travelling that way, when it was a wood, the banditti harbouring themselves therein; it pertains to the Lord Paulo Jordan of Bracciano; which wood he caused to be cut down, that so now there is safe travelling the place, being at this time a pretty market-town, and lies on a little sea, wherein are excellent fish. From thence to Alla Storta, a market-town, eight miles: from thence to Rome are seven miles.

R O M E,

Which is called the Head City of the whole World.

When you come to Rome, enquire for the Black Bear, or Sword, both which are lodgings for strangers, where you shall have good entertainment, and be well used; but most commonly the chiefest persons lodge at the Sword on Monte Giardano, in Italian, Alla Spacta. The host will order one or other to go with you to see the city; and my advice is, if you desire to see things worthy your notice, that you go first of all to the castle in a boat, or on foot; for a coach, you shall give not above a crown and an half for the whole day.

 A N G E L C A S T L E.

And first you crave license of the colonel, who will appoint one to head about; you may bestow something on him, and he is commonly one of the soldiers in garison. Then, leaving your weapons in the porter's lodge, he will bring you up to the first rampart, where are two houses of artillery, full of excellent armour, to arm about six-hundred horsemen with cuirasses, and one-thousand soldiers on foot. Then go through the three watch-towers upwards, where are very stately chambers and rooms, in which doth dwell the colonel; hard by are two other rooms, with ammunition to arm twelve-hundred musqueteers. There desire to see the rope-ladder, with which the great Roman gentleman, L. Cæsare Gaetano, did let down himself from the castle, and almost had clear escaped out of prison; the same ladder lies in a chest, standing in a certain room, where is a fall-trap; and when they intend to dispatch an offender (some great person) secretly they bring him into the said room, where, stepping unawares aside, he doth suddenly fall down, most fearfully, upon sharp iron pricks and saws, that cut him all in pieces; you will wonder to see it. The foresaid L. Gaetano had almost released himself out of that prison, if the governor's boy (who helped him) had not sorely fallen, which made him cry aloud; which the sentinel no sooner heard, but presently raised the watch, who got him, and brought him in again, and gave notice thereof to the pope; whereupon, the pope gave order to cut off the nobleman's head at midnight following, and the boy was hung out over the city walls. Let him also shew you the prison for great and noble persons, wherein is a pleasant bath; hard by which, is a secret trap, to let one fall upon sharp irons. Over against that is a fair chapel, wherein mass is celebrated. Further, go upwards, where you shall see an angel, made of white marble-stone, presenting this signification. As, on a time, Pope Gregory the First went in procession, having the picture of Sancta Maria Ara Celi in his hands, and coming to this Angel Castle, he looked upwards, and saw an angel standing there, where this angel of marble-stone now standeth, with a naked sword in the one hand, and, in the other, the sheath; and when the angel put the sword into the sheath, the plague did presently cease, which had reigned a long time before

in the city. Hard by this angel of marble-stone, doth stand a wonderful great and high ship mast, on which is hung a great flag of triumph, on a principal feast-day, when, also, is rung a thundering peal of great ordnance. Hard by, do lie two pieces, that carry seven Italian miles. Then you go back again, through a narrow gallery, where, on your right hand, is a door, that leadeth to the pope's house of victuals; and, a little beneath, another door of iron, that goes in where the pope's treasure is, and the whole city's of Rome. Then give the soldier, that went about with you, something to drink, that his other fellows may not see it, else he must part it with them. Then you come again to the watch-gate, where the weapons are given you; contribute somewhat amongst you to bestow upon them to drink, and then the drummer strikes up lustily. And, when you come to the outmost watch-gate, where are the ancient, lieutenant, and other officers, bestow something on them, and so take your leave. This castle is, by nature, so strong, that, as yet, it was never gotten by any enemy. It was first built for a mausoleum to the Emperor Adrian, a place of funeral; afterwards it was made a strong fort. There are, at this time, raised about it five great and main bastions, or ramparts. The city of Rome hath been seven times overcome, but the castle never. By the castle, is a church, called Sant Transpontina, wherein are two pillars, on which, as they say, St. Peter and Paul were scourged. Go a little further to St. Peter's Place, near whereunto lies the Emperor's ambassador, in a church called St. John; where is a table of white marble-stone, on which our Saviour Christ was circumcised, which was brought from Jerusalem to Rome. This stone should have been carried further, to another place (four horses drawing thereat) but, as it came to the place where it is now, the horses would draw no more, notwithstanding they were beaten so long, till they fell down and died; and, therefore, this church was built there, in perpetual honour and memory, and it was lifted up, and laid on an altar. Every year, on Good-Friday, are celebrated their solemn Vigil, and there is made a fair sepulchre. Within the Angel Castle are exceeding fair palaces, wherein the cardinals do keep their courts. Then go to St. Peter's Palace, where you will see a marvellous great and high pyramid, erected upon the market-place, which Pope Sixtus V. caused to be transported thither, at the charge of six-thousand crowns; and, besides, did give three thousand crowns to the master that brought it thither, and erected it, and dubbed him a knight of the Golden Fleece, from which honour he receives a yearly stipend.

The said pyramids, in times past, did stand for Julius Cæsar Augustus Circo. And, in former times, when an Emperor, or other great potentate, died, they used to burn their corpse to ashes, and put them in a great golden globe, and set that on the top of the same, or such like pyramid; but the foresaid pope did take down the globe that stood thereon, and, instead thereof, caused his own arms to be set upon the same, for an everlasting remembrance. Then go forward to the guard of the Switzers, where the pope maintains two-hundred for his guard, which are paid monthly; and, if any of them gets a son, and the child is but eight days old, then he hath his duty-pay like his father.

*SANTO PETRO,
The Pope's Palace, and Church.*

Hard by the Switzers guard, is the pope's palace. Enquire first for the Bibliotheca, and, just as you come in, on your right hand, dwelleth the gentleman that oversees the same. Salute him, and he will appoint you one to go about, and open the rooms, which are seventy-one; then you shall see the most excellent books, the world not yielding the like, and are all written. In the first room, you shall see three books, which Virgil did write, and are sixteen-hundred years old; you shall also see, in certain chests, wonderful excellent books, especially one, written with clear Arabian gold; insomuch that, in those days, there would be scarce means found to write the like, in regard it is written, as if it were raised or cast upon the book.

There are worthy to be seen, also, the rolls, or the tables of Moses, on which are written the ten commandments, given from God. Moreover, you shall see certain Indian books, written with barks of trees, but not with letters, only figures. You shall see likewise, lying in chests and settles, many books covered all with red velvet, and with gold and silver clasps; other books, that have been former popes prayer-books. In another room, you shall see an infinite number of printed books. Then, friendly taking leave, bestow something to drink. Then go up into the palace, and you shall see, in three most fair galleries, whole Europe stately portrayed. And, in the uppermost gallery, is excellently represented the manner of Pope Gregory the First's procession; in which the arch-angel, St. Michael, shewed himself to the pope, standing above in the castle St. Angelo. When you come down again, ask for the Belvedere, a marvellous fair gallery, five-hundred paces long; at the upper end of which, is an exceeding fair statue of Cleopatra, well fitted for an artificial springing water-work. Go a little further, and there are certain chests locked, wherein do lie such excellent and principal artificial statues, as the like cannot be seen in all Rome. Above the same, are other rooms, wherein did dwell the prince of Gelder's son, and also died there; but after what sort, or what death, I could never learn.

Then enquire for the pope's gardener, who will shew you wonderful stately things, and will direct you how to come to the pope's exceeding fair gallery: Give him something to drink. Then go back again through the Belvedere, and, when you are out of that, enquire where the pope keeps his consistorium or council, which is commonly every Monday and Friday, in the mornings; and courteously saluting the guard of Switzers, who are appointed there to attend, they will let you in, where you may see the pope, with all his cardinals, and how they kiss his feet. When you come out from thence, you shall see a wonderful fair chapel, into which the pope himself doth oftentimes resort; and, before the same, is a stately hall, in which you shall see, most curiously portrayed, the last day of judgment, wrought by that excellent artificial painter, called Michael Angelo Buonareto, a Florentine, whose like was not to be found. Then you shall go out of the chapel, into the *great hall, named La Sala Beale*, wherein the pope gives audience to

ambassadors or orators, which is always done publickly, that every man may hear, and is therefore called *Consistorium publicum*. Then you shall go from the hall, down a very stately pair of stairs; on the right hand, there is a door, through which they go into the sacristy, a prelate having the custody thereof, he is called *sacristano*; you must ask leave of him to see the same. In this sacristy are kept the pope's robes, which he useth to say mass, and are forty several pieces, each one worth thirty-thousand crowns, and, in particular, that which was presented by the King of Portugal, to Pope Gregory the Thirteenth, which is valued at eighty-thousand crowns. Then go into the next room, on the right hand, where is a wooden chest, in which is a golden cup, wherewith the pope celebrates mass, and many others, which I omit to write of; only that cup which the great Duke Cosmus gave to Pope Gregory the Thirteenth, the weight of which is twelve ounces of gold, the cover set all over thick with diamonds and rubies; on the same is the name *Jesus*, set with diamonds, the length of a finger. That cup is of great value; and in the same is a golden spout, through which the pope communicates, when he celebrates mass. Further you shall see certain chests full of silver candlesticks pertaining to the altars, twelve apostles in the height of a man, and perfuming vessels, and other rich plate: bestow somewhat to drink. You may try to see the pope's chamber of treasure, but it is a very difficult thing to get leave; where are certain chests, in every of which, is kept the treasure that each pope did leave, shortly before their deaths; it is not possible to be described. I had the fortune to get in with a princess great with child, whereby I had a sight thereof. You may courteously intreat the *L. Guarda Rabba* to help you in, which he may do if he pleases. After which you shall see the pope's wonderous fair gallery, which Pope Gregory caused to be made, being adorned with incomparable stately works of painting of figures, pictures, and histories, all over gilded. This gallery is three-hundred paces long, and more, where the pope does often recreate himself, walking up and down.

When you are out of this gallery, you shall come into the pope's first chamber, where there is an excellent, great, and fair looking-glass. A far off, a man shall see a stately palace or castle, and, as you draw nearer unto it, you shall see therein the pope as naturally as if he were present; after which, go under the glass, and you shall see yourself, the pope vanishing away. Go further, into the pope's chambers, wherein he lies, all which are hung with red velvet, richly embroidered, golden ridges and tenter-hooks, and the ground covered all with red velvet. There is hard by a little chapel, in which the mass is read when the pope is sickly. Then taking leave, for honour's sake, offer some reward, but nothing will be received; then go down again to the great hall, and, if you will, go presently into St. Peter's church, turn on the left hand, and then you shall see the place where St. Peter lay in prison.

The church of St. Peter, hard by the pope's palace, is one of the seven head churches.

When you come into the church, there is, on your right hand, a white walled gate, called *La Porta Sancta*, which every twenty-five

years is beaten down by the pope with a golden hammer, and opened. Then all the cardinals do take that hammer, and strike thereupon; at which time, many thousand people, that came thither from far, do approach the said porta or door, to get a piece thereof, which they carry home, and reserve the same most warily, esteeming the same for a sacred thing. Go forwards, and you shall see two gates of brass, which, as they say, were brought from Jerusalem. More inwards, there is, on your left hand, an altar, on which is laid before the people, to behold, the head of St. Andrew the Apostle. Over against that, on your right hand, is laid upon an altar the spear wherewith the side of our Blessed Saviour was pierced, and also the sponge wherewith they gave him to drink, and also the holy sweating-cloth of St. Veronica, all which are shewed the people on high feast-days. Further, in the midst of the church, on your left hand, is an altar named Sanctum Sanctorum, at which (when they carry the pope down from his palace, into the chapel called Capella Paulina, where do lie buried half the bodies of both the apostles, Peter and Paul) the pope is set down, and doth his devotion, which continues half an hour.

Then go out into the building, where, on your right hand, is a marvellous fair chapel, called Gregoriana, which Pope Gregory the Thirteenth caused to be built, shortly before his death, which cost five-hundred-thousand crowns and more, as they affirm; and therein lies buried the body of St. Gregory the First, whom Pope Gregory the Thirteenth caused to be transported thither out of another church. And, afterwards, Gregory the Thirteenth was buried by him.

Right before this chapel stands a pillar, about which is made an iron grate, where are done many miracles; for they do say, for a certain truth, that our Saviour Christ did use to lean on that pillar at Jerusalem, when he preached in the temple. Against the same, you shall see an exceeding rich tomb, in which Pope Farnesius the Third is buried, all of bell-metal naturally. Right before the old church, named Capella Paulina, are certain marble-stone pillars, which were brought from Jerusalem. At the altar in that chapel, doth the pope himself celebrate mass on high feast-days, if he be not indisposed; and, under the same pillar, lies the other half part of the apostles Peter and Paul. Moreover, in the new building, are four chapels, one of which Pope Gregory caused to be finished before his death; the other three should have been finished by the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the King of France; but, hitherto, there is not one of them finished. This pope is resolved, as they say, to accomplish the same, together with the new building of St. Peter's, which is so incomparable a building, that in the universal world cannot be found the like. Before you depart from St. Peter's church, desire to see the pope's stable, wherein are thirty snow-white nags or hacknies, and a milk-white ass, on which the pope uses to ride; and, for a small reward, they will make ready one of the same, trimmed and furnished, as if the pope were ready to ride thereon, wonderfully stately.

Every year, on St. Peter's Day, doth the King of Spain's orator present the pope with such a white nag; and when, on that day, the pope is carried from his palace to the church, there stands his said

Majesty's orator ready with the nag before the church door, until his holiness is near; then they stand still with the pope, who gives his blessing, and presently the white nag falls down on both his fore knees before the pope; and then they carry his holiness into the church, and the said orator delivers the nag to the pope's steward, with a red velvet purse, which it carries about his neck, wherein are twelve-thousand crowns for a yearly tribute.

Then go from St. Peter's to Campo Santo, where the Dutch nation have their church, and you shall see a ground encompassed with a little wall four square, which ground, as they credibly affirm, was brought from Jerusalem in the four pillars of bell-metal, which stand before the altar at St. John Lateran. They say, if a pilgrim be buried in that church yard, being a Roman, he cannot consume or decay; but any other nation, in twenty-four hours, are quite consumed; which is daily to be seen, and much wondered at. This Campo Santo is an hospital, ordained by Queen Anne of Austria, where are fed, every dinner-time, thirteen pilgrims, of which a great number do assemble themselves every morning, standing ring-wise. Out of them the priest selects thirteen, and brings them into a fair room, and places one of them, as resembling our Saviour, in the midst, and on each other, six others, who are excellently well served at a long table, signifying the twelve apostles.

The whole dinner-time, a priest doth read out of the holy writ, at the table, two other ministers attending, to fill wine, and to set meat in order; and, when they are satisfied, hand-water is given them, and those that desire bread to carry with them, do receive it; and then, with thanks, they take their leave. Then go further, if you be inclined to go to Santo Spirito, an hospital, and enquire for Cardinal Ccsius's palace, which hath wonderful fair rooms, richly furnished, and adorned with brave statues.

SANT SPIRITO,

An Hospital, made by the Pope.

When you come in, you shall see right out before, on both sides, three-hundred beds standing, all hung with very fair curtains, the bedsteads carved, night-gowns, pantables, and other necessities in order placed by every bed. So soon as a sick body comes thither (for none are refused) he is set on a bench, until the doctors and surgeons are brought to him, with the apothecaries, by whom the sick are visited. He is presently accepted, his bedding appointed, and immediately a clean sweet shirt is given him. His cloaths are laid up, till he recovers, or dies; and, as soon as the sick person is any whit amended, they give him another lodging, where he is well attended fourteen days, and more, until he be well recovered. In this hospital are thirty persons always maintained, only to give diligent attendance on the sick that resort thither.

In the midst you shall see as many beds, as in the room you came in at; and there is an altar and tabernacle, where mass is read to the sick.

every morning. Both sides are hung with arras in winter-time, in summer with gilded leather, from the ground to the top. There are continually found, in this hospital, above three-thousand persons, as children, nurses, widows, and other poor people, that are there maintained. This hospital, as is credibly reported, hath had every year, income, more than two-hundred thousand crowns; but the popes of late have taken it away, so that the yearly revenue now is one million seven-hundred thousand crowns. Then go further to see the fair spittal, which is a very pleasant building, adorned with stately pillars; in which building an Emperor may not be ashamed to keep his court. It is as big as a reasonable town.

Now, having seen the whole castle, I would advise you to hire a coach, and so, in order, to take a view of the most principal things in the churches, as followeth:

When you go out of the gate Sant Spiritus, look behind you on the left hand, and you shall see that wonderful swift river, the Tiber, which runs through the city, and also the Vestigia, on which the bridge Trionfal did stand, as the Romish Emperor went from the Vatican in all state and pomp over the same; and from thence to Campo Doglio, where doth stand the Senato Romano, or council-house. Further, you will see, from the Porta Santo Spirito, towards the Angel-Castle, an excellent fair street; go through the same, and on your right hand, at the foot of a hill, called Monte Jehan Nicolo (where the Emperor Julius Cesar had his circus, and the Pyramis, which is on St. Peter's place) where at that time was a monastery, named Honofro, pertaining to the Cardinal Madrazi.

Go forwards through the gate, and on the right hand you shall see, right against the hill, a monastery, named St. Petri Montorio, where is built a chapel, like a round temple, very pleasant to behold; go down from thence, and there is an altar, and two pillars of marble stone, between which, as they certainly affirm, St. Peter the apostle was martyred and crucified; from thence you may plainly behold the whole city of Rome. Then go back to St. Maria Trastevere, where are wonderous brave columns, and an ancient church. Under the great altar is a place, where was a spring of very costly oil at the time when our Saviour Christ was born; after whose birth the spring did lose itself, and ceased, and therefore the church was built on that place. Further, go towards the two bridges; one of which, named Insula, is fastened in with clear white marble-stone, naturally resembling a great ship, wherein doth stand in the midst a Pyramis, named Ponte de quatro Capi. Go over the bridge towards the Jews town, and you shall see on your left hand an antiquater, which was, in times past, Theatrum Marcelli; it is, on the one side, as yet unruinated. Then inquire for Santa Maria del Portino, wherein you shall see, behind the great altar, a pillar that shines and lights like a torch day and night, which should have been transferred to St. Peter's, but, this being so ancient a church, the pope, without breaking the orders, may not take it away. Not far from thence is Pontius Pilate's palace, built of red bricks, being, in those days, a curious fine work; it is almost altogether ruinated, and no man can safely dwell therein, by reason of

continual Hurly-burles, or terrible appearances. Over against the same, you shall see two ancient temples, the one long-wise, called the Temple of the Sun, the other round the temple of the Moon, built in time past in honour of the planets; they are much decayed, by reason of bad weather and long standing.

Go further, and see the mighty great hill, Monte Palatino, which is one of the seven hills of Rome. Underneath, hard by a church, you shall see a great marble-stone, round like a mill-stone, having two eyes, a nose, and a wide mouth, *La Bocca della Verità*, in English, The Mouth of Truth; for, in those days, the people used to run thither to inquire after unknown things, as, complaining of adultery, or such like; the party suspected, putting his finger into that mouth, did swear his innocence; and he or she that did swear falsely, the mouth did bite off his finger. *Credat qui volet*.

The church, on which this stone doth lean, is very ancient, and in which St. Augustine kept school. Go also further, and you may look into the Tiber, where, in time past, did stand the bridge, named *Pons Supplicum*, upon which that valiant Roman, *Horatio Cocles*, did fight, and alone withstood the Tuscans so long, till the bridge fell down behind him; whereby the city of Rome was preserved; he himself, with his horse, leaping over the bridge into the river, was saved, having thereby manfully overcome the enemy.

Go towards St. Paul, on your right hand, and you shall see a great hill, raised up only with potsheards, and other strange earth; for, as, on a time, the Emperor would tax the world, he did desire that from every part thereof each one should bring him for a tribute a pot full of earth to that place; and so the hill was made, as aforesaid. In the time of Pope Pius the Fourth, they did use now and then to set up pales and rails on that ground, and gave some rich prize to be won; then brought wild buffaloes and bulls, on which they hung powder and squibs, setting them on fire, when they would run amongst other buffaloes, making them furious; and then the Romans would take each of them a pale, and he, that should overcome and kill one of those buffaloes, did receive a prize.

Then go to St. Paolo alla Porta, where doth stand an ancient pyramid, half part of which is built within the city, and half without. In the wall is a tomb twelve-hundred years old; and they say, that the first pope of Rome lies buried there. Go further towards the gate through a long street, and you shall see by the way a little church by which St. Peter shewed himself, as St. Paul was led out to suffer and to die, and there St. Peter took his leave of him. You may read on the wall of the church, in what most pitiful manner the two apostles departed, insomuch as whoso doth read it can scarce forbear weeping.

ST. PAUL'S,

Is a mighty great church, built by the Emperor Constantine, in honour of St. Paul's head, which was found there at that time. Without

the church are four holy gates, which every twenty-five years are once opened. When you come into the church, on your right hand, is an altar, which was a well when St. Paul was beheaded, and before the church was built, into which well those that had compassion of Paul did cast his head, which being found, the church was there built. Take a view of the church, which is adorned with forty-eight mighty great marble-stone pillars, of all manner of colours, curiously wrought so great and high, that the like are not to be seen in all Rome.

In the midst of the church, you shall see a chapel, wherein Queen Bridget of Sweden did use to do her devotion. Right against that chapel stands a crucifix, and Queen Bridget had a little window in the chapel thro' which she might see the crucifix, where she did her devotion with such fervency, that the crucifix turned, and looked towards the window and stands so to this day; and there are great indulgences and pardons for sins, to be obtained every year, by such as do heartily and unfeignedly desire the same. Above the great altar do lie buried three innocent children, which were slain by Herod's command. There are also seven altars privileged; so that, if any person be loth to go as far as St. Peter's, they may here have as many indulgences and pardons for their sins, as they can have at St. Peter's. Then enquire for the sacristan and he will lead you into the sacristy, and shew you the relics upon the altar; he will shew you the arm of St. Arma, our dear loving mother with skin and bone, through a window of chrystal; the arm is fastened in with silver, which I myself have touched. Further you shall see the chain in which St. Paul was bound in prison, which chain, if any man puts it about his neck, he shall never, all the days of his life, be fettered in iron chains, nor imprisoned, as they say. There are also many other relics, as, the water wherewith Christ was baptised; certain stones wherewith St. Stephen was stoned; and also half the corpses of Peter and Paul.

At that time, when Charles the Fifth, Emperor, was at Rome, he desired the pope to grant him a request which he would ask, promising that he would desire neither land, nor money, nor any thing that was worth money. The pope demanding what it was, the Emperor said, he did only crave one of the links of St. Paul's chain; but the pope gave him no more than half a link, as is this day to be seen, the other half part remaining yet on the chain. Bestow something then to drink. Afterwards go towards the three fountains. There was St. Paul beheaded, whose head being struck off, it leaped three times, as they say, and at every leap it called Jesus; and presently after there sprung up three springs, which are now compassed about very pleasantly; and by each one doth hang a copper little pan, out of which the people use to drink. There stands a table by the same, on which is written, Whoso drinks out of those springs, shall attain everlasting salvation. The Romans do run thither barefoot in the morning early to drink: before you come to the three wells, you shall see a hill, on which there have been slain, by the tyrannical emperor's command, one-hundred-seventy-four-thousand martyrs; then go from the three fountains towards Sebastian's, which is one of the seven principal churches.

ST. SEBASTIAN'S.

This church stands on the way side without Rome, called Appia, whither is a continual resort of a wonderful number of pilgrims, especially in the time of Lent. Hard by a place called Catatumbæ, is a wall wherein did lie secretly hid the bodies of St. Peter and Paul, as they say, two-hundred and fifty years before any body could know what was become of them. On the same is built an altar with special privileges, at which intercession is made for the afflicted souls, that, as yet, are detained in purgatory.

Then desire a priest to go with you that hath a torch lighted, lest you lose yourselves in the grotto or vault, under which lies buried Calixtus, with one-hundred eighty-six-thousand martyrs. And in your going out you shall see an altar under which Sebastian lies buried. The priest will let you see divers other relicks; as, the measure and form, the length and bigness of our Saviour's feet, which he left on the hill at his holy ascension. Then go towards the city again by the way of Appia, where you shall come to a chapel, by which two ways do part: and there did St. Peter meet our Saviour, and said, 'Whither wilt thou go?' Our Saviour answered, 'I am come for thy sake, and to be crucified again.' Presently after our Saviour vanished away, and St. Peter went into the city of Rome, where he was very shortly after cast into prison, and put to death.

THERMÆ ANTONINÆ.

These Thermæ have been baths which the Emperor Constantine caused to be built at an infinite cost, and admirable curiosity, the water being led unto them twenty-seven Italian miles.

ST. STEFFAN REDONDO.

This was in times past a heathenish temple, pertaining to the Hungarian nation, but since costly built by Pope Gregory the Thirteenth, wherein are most excellently drawn and portrayed the death and tortures of all such martyrs as have suffered since the birth and passion of our Blessed Saviour, and under what tyrants they were persecuted.

This temple, in former times, was named Pantheum, by reason all the Gods were presented and honoured there; now there are many reformed Jews baptised therein, as you may see oftentimes. Then go towards John de Lateran, where heretofore the popes have had their residence.

JOHN LATERAN,

One of the seven capital churches. When you go towards the church, you shall see on your right hand a little court, where doth stand a stone

pillar of Perfidio, on which the cock did stand and crow thrice, before Peter denied our Saviour Christ. There is also a temple, wherein are very stately pillars, and, in the midst, is a little chest, made over a stone kettle, out of which the Emperor Constantine was christened, who was the first Christian Emperor. Then go forwards, and enquire for the sacristan of St. John; he will go before you with two burning torches, and shew you a chapel underneath the church, which is never opened but on great holidays; if you salute him courteously, he will open it for you. Therein is a table, at which our Saviour Christ did sit with his apostles, at the institution of the holy sacrament; it is of wood four square. You shall see also the staff with which Moses parted the Red Sea, and led the children of Israel through it; also the staff of Aaron, wherewith he governed the episcopal state. Then go out of the church, and you shall see a chair of stone; and, they say, when a pope is to be chosen, they set him on the same (being hollow) to see, whether he be fitted as a man. Hard by the same is a holy gate, which is opened once in twenty-five years. The cieling of this church is overgilded with pure gold. By the great altar are four pillars of bell-metal, exceeding fair, which were brought from Jerusalem, filled with holy earth, for they are hollow, and most curiously wrought. There are also shewed to the people, on great holidays, the heads of St. Peter and Paul, laid upon the altar; they are yet fresh to behold with skin and hair, as if they were living. In this church are many other relicks and holy things, of which I omit to write. It was built by the Emperor Constantine, and is very stately, and is adorned with pillars of marble-stone, of all sorts of colours.

Then go into the cloisters, where doth stand a table of stone upon four pillars, under which every man or woman, that comes thither, do measure themselves; but there was never any person yet found, that was just of that height; it was, as they say, the exact stature of our Saviour Christ. Further, there are three open doors and gates, which have stood in Herod's Palace, at Jerusalem, through which our Blessed Saviour went, as he was condemned to die. Moreover, above, in the gallery, over two fair half pillars, doth lie a beam, whereon is written, *Et petra scissæ sunt*, as in the text is mentioned, 'The stones clave in sunder, and the vail did rend;' from whence the two half pillars of marble stone are cloven so neatly asunder, that it is not possible, by the art and diligence of man, to do it more cleanly. They are also very curiously wrought. Over against that, is a little window, wherein the Blessed Virgin Mary did sit, as the angel Gabriel brought her the salutation from God. Hard by, are a pair of stairs, and it is forbidden, under punishment of losing body and goods, that no man must presume to go up and down the same on his feet, but on his knees. There are thirty-two stairs, over which our Saviour Christ went with Simon, as he was led to be martyred, and, upon those stairs, did drop bloody sweat, as a man may see perfectly to this day. Hard by the same, are other stairs, and, when you are half the way up, go on your left hand, and you shall come to a chapel, called *Sanctum Sanctorum*, where, upon the great altar, is the face of our Saviour Christ, which St. Luke pictured. In this chapel, is a piece of wood fastened into the wall,

being a piece of Noah's ark, which was brought thither. Then go to the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, as they call it, which is one of the seven churches, and governed by Cardinal Caraffa.

HOLY CROSS.

When you come into this church, ask for the sacristan, who will shew you a little glass, wherein is kept, as they say, the milk of the mother of God, besides many other relicks. Also the cardinal hath the key to a nail, that was struck through a foot of our Saviour Christ; also three thorns of the crown, that pierced his holy head; likewise the title, which Pilate writ on the holy cross, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. There you shall go down, under the altar, where the Cardinal hath the custody of many holy relicks.

Then go to St. Laurence, lying without the city walls, which is one of the seven churches.

ST. LAURENCE.

St. Laurence's church doth stand a mile from the place where his corpse was buried. The stone, on which he was broiled, is yet to be seen bloody and fatty, as it did drop upon the same, and no man can wipe it out. There is also a piece of the gridiron, upon which he was broiled; and here lies St. Stephen buried, and certain stones are there to be seen, wherewith he was stoned, and there is a great indulgentia.

ST. MARIA MAGGIOR,

One of the Seven Churches.

When you go to this most fair excellent church, on the outside about, you will wonder to see the admirable costly entry, built by Pope Gregory the Thirteenth. You shall also see one of the seven holy gates, which is but once opened in twenty-five years. Then go from thence, to John Lateran, which church is adorned with fair tombs; on the stile, where the chapel doth stand, there are also very stately columns, and the roof thereof is very richly painted, and over-gilt. There is, on the right side, by the great altar, a very fair chapel, built by Pope Gregory the Thirteenth; and, just thereby, is a mighty pyramid erected, which is like to that at St. Peter's. This chapel is also like to that where Pope Gregory lies buried, which he caused to be built; but this did Sextus the Fifth build, who lies there buried. The said pyramid, in former time, did lie a long while in the street of St. Rocha, parted in three parts; and Pope Sixtus caused them to be conveyed into his chapel. There have been two of these pyramids, which were erected in the Mausoleum of Augustus Cæsar, hard by his tomb;

but, as Rome was devastated, they were ruined. The Mausoleum yet is very delightful to behold, wherein doth dwell a Roman, by whom, a man may learn the particulars thereof. In the church Maria Maggior, you shall see the manger, wherein our Blessed 'Saviour did lie at Bethlehem, together with many other relicks, which the sacristan may shew you; otherwise, they are to be seen only on great holidays. In the choir, is a fair epitaph and tomb of Pope Nicholas the Fourth, which is wonderous stately and admirable, richly adorned. Before the choir, on the left hand, is an altar, under which St. Jerome lies buried. When you go out of the church, on the right hand, you shall see an altar, on which is written the original cause of the building of the church; namely, there were two married persons, that had no children, and were so rich, that they knew not what to do wherewith. In the twelfth night, in the month of August, they dreamed, that they should arise before day, and go up towards that hill, where it had snowed, and there they should build a temple; which they did accordingly, and began to dig, with their own hands; and the pope came, just at that instant, with his servants, with intent, as he had also dreamed, to build a temple there; and, therefore, it is yet the custom, every year, on the twelfth of August, for a memorial, to solemnise a great feast; and, from the top of the church, they let fall certain things, seeming as if it did snow. When you will go back again through the church, towards the holy gate, you shall see another church, named Santa Potentiana; therein is half a pillar of green marble-stone to be seen through a grate, on which our Blessed Saviour, Christ Jesus, was whipped. In this church are two wells, wherein the two sisters, St. Praxedis and Potentiana, did use to drop the blood of the martyr, which they took up with a sponge. Then go back again, through St. Maria Maggior, and, as you go down the hill on your right hand, there the Pope did visit, on a time, the seven churches. As he came by Cardinal de Monte Alto's garden, he enquired whose fair and pleasant palace that was; answer was made, The Cardinal de Monte Alto's. After which, Pope Gregory the Thirteenth did weaken his revenue, per annum, by four-thousand crowns; which cardinal was afterwards pope, and named Sixtus Quintus. Over against the same, you shall see an ancient church, called Pancratio, where, on a time, a priest did say mass, and did doubt, that it was no sacrament, and that our Saviour Christ was not in Ostia; and it chanced, as they say, that it fell out of his hand, on a point of the corner of the altar, being a white marble-stone, on which the Ostia left the print thereof; just as big, as it was from the corner, it fell upon a stair, on which likewise it left the print thereof, and the form very naturally, only the print did change itself into a blood-red colour.

Then go further to St. Maria de Monte, where is as frequent a pilgrimage, as at Maria Loretto. In the place where this church doth stand, there stood, in former time, a barn, and it was intended to have built a house there; and, as they began to dig, there was heard a mighty oracle, and therefore they digged more softly, where then was found the picture of the Virgin Mary; which being made known to the pope, he went and fetched the same with a solemn procession, and it is

kept still in honour of the Blessed Virgin; wherefore, Pope Gregory the Thirteenth caused, on the place, a church to be built at his own charges: This church is built all of marble-stone, most cunningly; and, in especial, the great altar, where the picture, that was found, is most richly adorned. In the said church, do hang divers tables, wherein is noted the miracles which, in former times, have been done here, and yet daily are done; those, therefore, that go in pilgrimage hither, and do pray with a strong and certain hope, are heard, and their suits obtained, as you yourselves may thereby be truly assured. There are daily Indulgentia plenaria and remission of sins. Then go to St. Peter in Vinculo.

ST. PETER IN VINCULO.

In this church you shall see an excellent epitaph and tomb of Pope Leo the Second, which is an incomparable piece of work, and all of white marble-stone, and alabaster; there is a statue of Moses, the eighth of two men, of one intire piece, and also other fair statues; the monks can shew you many holy relicks, together with the chain with which St. Peter was fettered in prison. Without in the cloisters, it is very pleasant winter and summer, being planted with orange-trees, and in the midst a mighty date-tree, like to which there are none found, either in Rome, nor in all Italy. The monastery is also situated wonderfully pleasant, being a building so well fitted, that the Pope might conveniently keep his court therein.

Over-against that, is the palace of the Lord George Cassarini Ursini, which is so rare and excellent a building as is wonderful to behold.

The Palace of Lord GEORGE URSINI together with the Garden.

The overseer of the same was in my time a Low-Country man; he will shew you such exceeding fair rooms, and chambers, as the like are scarce to be seen any where else; adorned with stately arras all of cloth of gold, and tissue; tables of precious stone, and beds richly furnished beyond comparison; statues and pictures portrayed so naturally, as that the beholders are enticed to embrace them in their arms, falling in love with them, they seeming laughing and living creatures. Desire to see the hindmost room, where the noble-man hath the oldest pieces of work made three or four-hundred years since, and other rare things whereof I omit to write; there is also pictured the tower of Babylon on a square piece, which cost above ten thousand crowns. This noble-man is of the ancient Roman race; his lady is the daughter of Cardinal Farnesius, so beautiful that, in Rome, she may not be compared; you shall see two very excellent fair gardens, graced with admirable pictures, and statues: bestow a little to drink. Go from thence as if you would

go towards your lodging, and enquire for the Cardinal of Florence's house, where you shall see a most excellent fair palace, but little. It is wholly to be compared to a fair jewel; you must intreat the keeper thereof, not to withhold any thing from your sight, promising him a reward, and then he will shew you orderly one thing after another, as rooms, chambers, and gardens, set forth and adorned with arras of gold and tissue, wonderous fair statues, and tables of precious stone. In sum, every particular as rich and costly as may be devised. Also, in the garden, a cage wherein are all kinds of birds making sweet harmony, divers rare water-works, and plentifully planted with cypress-trees, yielding a savour so admirable sweet, as the body therewith may be ravished. There are also mighty great vaults under ground, wherein they used to dine and sup in summer-time, by reason of the extraordinary heat, which are adorned with rare pictures, statues, and histories; the place in former time being a waste and ruined ground, and decayed wall, fallen from the temple of Peace, which stands just behind the same; being of a great antiquity, built by the old Roman Emperors, after Jerusalem was destroyed, thereby to signify that they had no need to maintain war, for they thought there was no nation in the world, that durst war against them. The building is so strong a work, that it was intended, it should remain as long as the world stood; but, as our Saviour Christ was born, the said temple fell, and yet, every Christmas night, there falls a great piece from the same.

COLUMNA TRAJANA.

When you desire to go up to this mighty great pillar, you must call to the stone-cutter, that dwells over-against the same, who hath the key thereto: But he will have something to drink, before he openeth the same.

They say, that this pillar was built by the Emperor Trajan, after he had won Jerusalem, in memory of his victory, all of white marble-stone, wherein are engraved orderly all the battles and victories, which he hath had. A man may ascend up to the top of this pillar in the inside one hundred and eighty-six stairs high, the stone-work being so orderly laid upon the other, that one would verily think the whole pillar was but one intire stone. I will give you warning of one thing when you come up: Sit and rest, before you look up to the top of the pillar, or before you go round about it on the outside, for I myself, unawares, was almost dizzied and ready to fall. From this column you may see over the whole city; then you may go towards the other pillar, called, *Columna Antoniniana*.

COLUMNA ANTONINIANA.

This pillar is like unto the other, built by the emperor Antoninus, after his obtained victories, in perpetual memory. Part of this pillar

fell down, by reason whereof no man could go up these many years; but the Pope, that was last, hath caused the same to be well repaired, and now they go up thereunto. Then go presently to the street, named, de Popolo, where the Cardinal Ferdinando de Medicis (he that is now great Duke of Florence) hath an exceeding fair and stately palace, and garden of pleasure. The palace lies on an hill, named Monte Trinitatis. First shall be shewn you the hall, wherein, you shall see mighty square pieces of stone, and, by the window, is a water-spout erected so high, that a man may wash his hands, standing in the gallery above; and from thence also you may look over the city of Rome. Then go from the hall into the sixteen chambers, or rooms, where you shall always look out of them into the others, if the doors stand open; which rooms are so richly adorned and furnished with arras of wrought gold and silver, as no Emperor, or Pope, hath the like; and, as the walls are hung, so are the beds dressed accordingly. The rooms are graced with rare tables of precious stone, and oriental pearl set therein, and also with brave statues and pictures. You shall see on a table a little temple, and, when a man puts his head into it, he shall think it were a church of a mile in compass, having certain hundred pillars, the prospective looking-glass therein causing the same. You shall see, in one of the rooms, a very fair sphere, fitted for astrology, which the great Duke Cosmus did use. Then go up the stairs, where are also exceeding stately rooms, adorned with mighty statues, costly arras and tables, and excellent rare pictures. There is a looking-glass, in which (standing a little space from it) you shall see plainly the city of High Siena, together with the manner of the besieging it; and, when you draw nearer unto it, you shall see the Great Duke naturally as if living; but, when you come just to it, you behold yourself only and alone. Then, going out of the palace, on your left hand, you shall see two lions, an eagle, a leopard, and other strange beasts. When you go a little further, you shall see a tower standing at the end of the garden, on the old city wall, where a man may go out of, and into the city, when he pleases; such a privilege hath never any man had in Rome, but only this Cardinal; for, as he was resolved to build a palace there, he shewed his grievance to the senators of the city, namely, that, the place being altogether a hill, it would be an infinite charge to bring it into a plain; neither did he know whither all that earth should be conveyed, that would be taken from the hill; and, therefore, he obtained leave of the Pope to break a hole through the city wall to carry the earth conveniently away, and to make a door to open and shut, at pleasure. They thought he should have enjoyed the convenience of that door, no longer than the time of his building, but he was too crafty for them, the door remaining there to this day. Go a little further, and there is a stone pit, where are very rare statues made and repaired; for, what antiquity soever the Cardinal can have for money, that he buyeth to adorn and furnish the said palace. Not far from thence, the Cardinal caused a hill to be made, and one-hundred and fifty stairs to go up; on the top, is built an excellent pleasant summer-house, with many rare green and fruitful trees, compassing the same, in which house he uses to dine and sup, when the weather is hot. There is, hard by the table, a fresh-water chest to cool his wine in; from that

place you may overlook the whole city of Rome. The hill is overgrown from the bottom to the top with cypress trees, which is as pleasant a prospect as man can imagine. The garden is adorned with such and so many artificial and rare water-works, plants, and statues, as would drive a man to admire; and, in truth, the like is in all Rome not to be seen. The Cardinal, on a time, invited certain noblemen to a supper in that garden, the drink only to which supper did cost sixty-thousand crowns; judge then what the whole feast did cost. The compass of the garden is two Italian miles, and very broad. Then do not neglect to go to the garden of a certain knight, named Nero; where is built a little palace, but wonderful stately, and a room made all of chrystal glass. Then go out of the gate del Popolo, about half a mile from Rome, where is the rare and pleasant garden of Pope Julius the Second, wherein are excellent artificial water-works; and there is a palace gloriously adorned with rare antiquities and statues, of the oldest and best in all Rome.

PALATIO FARNESIO.

If this palace had been finished, it were the biggest, fairest, and strongest of all others in Rome, with wonderful high rooms, which the Pope, Paulus Farnesius, caused to be built. Go in on the right hand under the vault, and there dwells the overseer that hath the key; he will show you every thing in order; bestow something upon him to drink. And, first, you shall see a mighty great hall, the sight of which will make you wonder, by reason of the great height, the ceiling being cunningly raised beyond comparison, all of cypress wood. In this hall is a long table of oriental marble-stone and alabaster, set with pearl, Lapis Lazuli, and other costly stones, which the Cardinal would not part with for eighty-thousand crowns. Then go into the other rooms, which are all royally furnished; and in the first room are the ancientest emperors naturally portrayed; therein is also an idol, which the Romans (heathenist opiniated) did adore. In this room are three great tables of oriental alabaster, set with divers other precious stones, glistening like a burning torch. Before this room on the right hand is a little chapel, and upon the altar a wonderful fair square, painted by that famous artisan Michael Angelo, a Florentine, and thereon the Last Day of Judgment, so exquisitely and cunningly, that no where the like may be found; bestow to drink. Go then down again into the court-yard, where you shall see six mighty statues, made by two perfect cunning masters, for a great wager, namely, two Commodi Imperatores, two Dea Flora's, and two Hercoli, worthy of each experienced beholder, which of them are made most cunningly. Not far from thence you shall come into another court, and there is a mighty ox, and three statues; a dog, a shepherd, and a concubine, nigh as if they were alive there present. These said pieces are made of one whole intire white marble-stone, which is an admirable piece of work, touching the particulars whereof there were much to be written. But the histories will largely declare the same, which are to be found in the Emperor Antoninus's Thermæ, having

stood there also on a time, which Pope Paulus Farnesius caused to be brought into this place aforesaid. A little further, you shall see two mighty great kettles of stone, which did stand also in the said Thermæ. Go over-against that place, and take a view of a bishop's palace, wherein are wonderous fair statues.

The Palace of the Bishops of Valencia in Spain.

There, in the first room above, stands a mighty fair statue, named Apollo, exceeding old, and yet no whit at all decayed, of oriental alabaster; the said bishop was offered, by the Cardinal de Medicis, twenty-four thousand crowns for the same; but the bishop would not take it. Then go over Campo de Fiore, where Cardinal Farnesius dwells.

PALATIUM FARNESII.

This is an extraordinary fair building, four-square below, and above, with mighty columns and pillars; the like are not in all Rome; and also wonderful fair galleries four-square about. And, when you go up the stairs, there stand two mighty Dea Flora's, of marble-stone, at which you will much wonder; whoso can carry them away, may keep them. In this palace is a fair church, which many people pass by unknown, and without seeing it, for it is built like to the palace; therein is an arm of the saint from whom the church is named. Take a sight of the Cardinal's stable, wherein are, most commonly, above an hundred and fifty brave horses.

The Jesuits Church, which the Cardinal built at his own charge.

This is a marvellous stately temple, covered all over with copper, exceeding high, great, and wide. In the choir stands an altar, which, together with the tabernacle, did cost about thirty-thousand crowns, with very fair and stately pillars of marble-stone. Also, the Cardinal caused, for forty-thousand crowns, gold coin or pence to be made, and also some of silver and brass, on which were stamped his picture. The same he laid, with his own hands, for a foundation; and afterwards such of his friends, as he had heretofore invited, did the like, for an everlasting memory. The building of this temple continued five years, all upon the cardinal's cost and charges. They affirm, that this temple cost a certain ton of gold the building. One ton of gold is reckoned at twenty-thousand pounds sterling.

Then go right out through the straight street, and you shall come to the Campodoglio.

CAMPODOGLIO, or the Romans Council-house.

In this Campodoglio, or Capitolium, did the Romans use to sit in council; it was afterwards made a strong castle, being in the time of war devastated, but repaired again by Pope Gregory the Thirteenth, and adorned with a fair clock-tower. Go into the court, and up an exceeding stately pair of stairs, before which are two great horses of marble-stone; and another above, in the court, of bell-metal, on which sits the Emperor Adrian, all over gilded with pure ducat-gold. Go into another court, and there lies a head on the ground, which is made very perfectly; it pertains to the head named Campodoglino; it was in times past a statue, standing there for an ornament, and it shall be erected again in like manner as it hath been. Many have laid wagers, that the face is not a man's length, but, being measured, it is longer; whereby one may guess how great the whole body hath been, and how much the erecting thereof cost. Go further, and you shall behold wonderful excellent histories and statues; then go beyond, where they sit in council, where are stately statues and glorious pictures, and in what manner the Roman Emperors in triumph have gone through the gate, when they returned home with laudable victories. You shall see also rare antiquities. Bestow something to drink. Then go right over-against the Campodoglio, into the Church, named *Maria Ara Cœli*.

SANTA MARIA, Ara Cœli.

This is a very ancient church, over-against which are stairs an hundred and forty-two steps high, on which you may overlook all Rome. When you come into the church, you shall see the cieling all over gilded with pure ducat-gold. There are wonderful brave and stately great pillars, all of marble-stone; there is an altar hand by the choir, where you shall see, upon a white marble-stone, two prints of feet, left by the angel Michael, in the Angel Castle, when he put up the naked sword, and presently vanished. Not far from thence, before the church was built, did St. Hieronymus (as they say) shew unto the Emperor Constantine the Virgin Mary, with the child Jesus in her arms, which was there also seen in the air; whereby the Emperor came to the acknowledgment of the Christian Faith, and from whence the church was named, and built by the said Emperor Constantine. Go afterwards out of that church down the stairs; there is a place, called *Capo Vacchino*, where was made a bridge, in times past, from the Campodoglio, over to the palace *Maggior*, where do stand three marble-stone pillars, one by another, over which the bridge was made. By the said three pillars, *Marcus Curtius*, with his horse, did leap down.

MARCUS CURTIUS.

They do constantly affirm, that by these three columns, in former times, was a mighty and ugly hole, which, for the space of a long time, did

yield a very noisome smoke and stink; and, whosoever did smell the same, he fell suddenly down, and died. And although they did oftentimes attempt, by casting into the hole many things, to choak it up, yet nothing did help, nor hinder the filthy savour thereof. But, on a time, there was heard a voice, that came out of that hole, saying, The hole would not be shut up, nor the noisome scent be asswaged, unless a Roman did leap thereinto with a horse.

Now, as Marcus Curtius (being a Roman of noble parentage and spirit) did understand the same, he made offer to the senate of the city, that (since the welfare of the city, and his native country, depended thereon) he would venture his life for the common good, and with his horse leap down, provided that one suit might be first granted unto him; namely, that, for the space of one whole year, he might have free liberty to accomplish his lust, and desire, with fair and beautiful women, and virgins, and that none, whom he should take liking of, might be denied him; which request was granted him by the Roman senate. So, after the year was ended, wherein he enjoyed what his heart could wish, he mounted on horseback, and leaped into that hellish fiery pit, which instantly did close of its own accord, and thereby that mischief was ceased. Right over-against the same, did stand the house of Cicero, where, as yet, you may see the old walls thereof. When you go from the Campodoglio, you shall see a port of triumph, which the Roman senate caused to be made for Vespasian the Emperor, as he came from Jerusalem, to Rome, through which he rid in most magnificent state.

Over-against the same, you shall see the Temples of the Planets near together.

THE TEMPLES OF THE PLANETS.

There are seven of those temples built by Pontius Pilate's house, in honour of the planets, but now they are devastated. And not far from them, there is built another temple, called *De la Pace*, or Temple of Peace, which fell in as Vespasian came from Jerusalem, and every Christmas since the birth of Christ, there hath fallen, and yet, as they say, a great piece doth yearly fall from the same. Then go towards the *Amphitheatrum Vespasiani*; you must pass through a triumph-port. Before the same without, there is an old decayed wall, where formerly the people did use to see the spectacles in the circus, and out of which wall did always run wine, of which the spectators did drink as much as they listed. This *Amphitheatrum* was built by the Emperor Vespasian, in which may sit conveniently and well accommodated 50,000 persons, to behold the rare spectacles. The Emperor himself, in this place, did overcome, and slew in fight, with his own hands, one hundred wild and furious beasts, in one afternoon; but he fought only with one at once, and one after another.

Right before the same you shall see a wonderful fair gate of triumph which the Emperor caused to be built, through which he went in mag-

nificent pomp. Then go to the *Thermæ Dioclesiani*, where are seven halls, coming into which you shall see on each side seven b where, in former time, the Emperor Adrian had his palace, and d there. It is somewhat dangerous to venture into the said halls, b under ground, for some have perished therein; then go the next day the *Thermæ*.

THERMÆ DIOCLESIANI.

These were built by the Emperor only for baths. They do write no Emperor, since, hath been of ability to build the like, conta so great a circuit, and adorned with so many columns and pills brass. The baths being furnished with most stately and rich and all other necessities beyond all comparison. Pope Gregor Thirteenth hath transferred this building to an hospital; in whic stand eight mighty pillars of marble-stone, each one so big, that can scarce fathom it about; in height they are ninety feet. Over-a the same, is a sweet and pleasant garden, wherein are divers memc things to be seen. Then go to Monte Cavallo, where is the marw fair palace, and garden of the Cardinal Carpi, now the pope's; i desire to see the same, address yourself to the gardener, who will you every particular in order, the palace being set out with adm fair rooms, and chambers, richly adorned with tables of precious and hangings of wrought gold and silver. In the garden are many st antiquities, most delightful to behold.

The palace and garden, are situated on a high hill, and yet have plentifully: give something to-drink.

The Pope's Palace and Garden, which was formerly the Cardinal ESTE.

You shall first see the garden which is marvellous spacious, Italian miles; the same is full of rare and costly fruits, like to are none in all Italy, besides many antiquities therein to be see this garden doth the pope oftentimes dine and sup; let them she the rare fountain, which has admirable and pleasant spring. Then go to the Grotto Sibylla, which is an incomparable pleasant adorned with mighty fair statues, giving water from them; ju this vault or grotto, the pope hath his chambers and dwelling. palace was built by Pope Gregory the Thirteenth, much large the rooms more richly adorned, intending to have the Cc rium kept therein, and not to go always so far as St. Peter' he lived not so long as to finish it. The next pope did accomplish water-works, in such sort, as it is to be admired how it was pos lead the water up so high. In the garden, a man may take pleasant view of the whole city.

MONTE CAVALLLO.

There you shall see two mighty horses of white marble-stone, made of one intire stone, as natural, as if they were living, insomuch that, in all Europe, may not be found the like. These horses did stand in the Thermæ Dioclesiani, on which two famous masters, that made them, did strive to shew their skill; a particular, worthy to be noted. Not far from thence is a smelting-house, and hard by, a horse cast of bell-metal, wonderful artificially, with the King of France sitting thereon, named Henry, most naturally, and were he living, the same should have been sent into France. The city is built round with strong walls, and mighty towers, standing near one another. The city of Rome is in compass about above five Dutch miles.

Hereafter follows what is to be seen without Rome.

TIVOLI, a Palace and Garden, three Dutch miles from Rome.

This is a marvellous stately palace. The keeper of it is a gardener; you shall see therein admirable rich furnished rooms, hung with cloth of gold and silver, and the beds adorned correspondently. Therein are also excellent fair statues, and tables of precious stone set with oriental pearl. In the great hall is an artificial water-chest. When the cardinal, in summer-time, doth dine in the same, the whole is made pleasing cold, by the spirting of water out of the said water-chest, from whence also, the wine standing on the table is quickened. The particular situation, of the whole city of Rome, and the pleasant prospect thereof, doth present itself fully to the spectators in this great hall. Then you may go down from the palace into the garden, where you shall be led into a vault, or grotto, where you shall see a terrible downfull of water, from whence all the other artificial water-works have their motions. Then you shall be led to a place, where you shall hear the organs play melodiously, as if an artificial master did play thereon; but the motion is derived from the water-spouts, continually spirting as long as the organs do sound, the water being spouted higher than the tops of the spouts, at least the height of six tall men. Go a little further, and you shall see a dragon with four heads, spouting water the height of six men, with so great a noise, as if many many musquets were continually discharged, the water being of so black a colour, that it resembleth an ugly smoke, fearful to behold. Then you shall see the Grotto, named Sibylla, full of admirable antiquities and statues. The grotto, both above on the ceiling, and all over on the sides, is richly adorned with oriental coral and mother of pearl. A little further you shall see the temples of the Seven Planets, naturally resembling those which formerly stood in Rome; they are not very big, but standing exceeding pleasant, the one hard by the other. Not far from thence is an artificial water-work, which being let go, the birds do sing, sitting upon twigs, so naturally, as one

would verily think they were all quick and living birds, which is occasioned by the water; and, when they are in the midst of their best singing, then comes an owl flying, and the birds suddenly, all at once, are still. Then go a little further, and you shall see twenty-four square stones, like chests, having on each side spouts, spirling water out against another; and, when the sun doth shine thereinto, the spouts and water do give a natural rainbow, notwithstanding the weather be clear; which is a very great wonder, and, whoso doth see it, would swear it were a natural rainbow indeed. Hard by are two excellent fine labyrinths, remaining green winter and summer: bestow something to drink, and then return to Rome again.

CHAPTER II.

Hereafter follows the way from Rome to Naples.

From Rome to Torre a Mezavia, an inn, six miles; from thence to Marina, a little town, six miles; from thence to Velletri, a pleasant town, where is made much boiled wine (take heed of it) eight miles; thence to Cisterna, a little town, pertaining to the Cardinal Sermoneta, six miles; from thence to Sermoneta (lying very pleasant on a hill, a fine town, and strong fort, from whence they ring a brave peal of ordinance, when they understand that some person of note passes by; you must travel hard by the same; the Emperor Charles the First did write with his own hand, and on the altar, the year and day of his being there, but none of his soldiers were suffered to go up) seven miles; from Sermoneta to Casa Nova, a good inn, eight miles; thence to Ala Badia, an inn, eight miles; thence to Terracina, a town of the pope's, and there ends the pope's jurisdiction, nine miles; thence to Fondi, a little town (but, before you come thither, there is, by the way, a strong watch kept, being Neapolitans, who will make search what each traveller carries with him) it is named Alla Portella, six miles; when they search you, take that course which is usual at the places of custom, or at the gates, viz. grease one of them in the hand with a bribe, and they will presently dismiss you. From Fondi to Molla, a great market town, laying hard by the sea, where is exceeding good wine, and admirable cool fresh water; you may, in summer-time, dine and sap in a garden, under citron and orange trees; you may pluck of them as many as you please; there are excellent good fish also, free for every man to take.

Then go right over-against that, and enquire for the mighty strong fort, named Gaeta; it is about half a mile thither.

CHAPTER III.

GAETA, A CASTLE.

This is the key of the kingdom of Naples; in the same do lie Spanish garrisons, and, hard thereby, lies a little town just on the sea-side. When you go into the fort, carry yourself courteously towards

the watch, promising a reward; there you shall see a fort so strong, as is not sufficiently to be expressed. In the same, are the fairest women by nature, that are in all Italy, being of a most courteous and friendly behaviour. From Molla to Corgliano, an inn, where you must pass over a great water, nine miles; from thence to Alla Bagni, or to the Gates, an inn, eight miles; thence to Castella, a little town, nine miles; from thence to Pozzuolo, a little town on the sea coast (if you will go into it, you must leave your swords with the porter in the gate) then to an inn, sixteen miles from Castella.

POZZUOLO, where have been the Baths.

Pozzuolo is a very ancient town, and, in former times, it hath been a mighty and famous city, but devastated. You may there enquire for one to go with you into the grotto, with a torch, where you shall see the Cento Camerelle, in English, the Hundred Chambers, wherein the prophetess Sibylla did dwell, and had her command; the same are over-grown with a hill. When you go a little further, there is a warm water (you must take heed you go not far one from another, lest you lose yourselves) you must bow yourselves in going, by reason of the great heat and damp of the baths. Under the same grotto have been most excellent baths, fitted for to cure all manner of diseases, and by each one was set a bill, signifying the vertue thereof, according to which, every person knew how to rule himself, and bathe therein.

But, on a time (by reason that the sick and diseased persons had no need of the physicians help, but did all of them resort to these baths) certain doctors of Salerno, physicians, that dwelt thirty miles from Naples, consulted together how to remove the cause that took away their gain and profit; and they went together, and, in secret-wise, did take away the bills that were written and set on the baths, insomuch that now no man knows the right vertue of them, or what diseases they are good for; and, as the said physicians returned home again, a great tempest on the sea overwhelmed the ships, and they were all drowned. Then go also without, up the hill, where you shall hear a roaring and tumbling very fearful to be heard, and there runs the water out so warm, that one may see the eggs therein. Hard by, you shall see the fire and smoke come out of the hill, very fearful to behold, much resembling hell itself, as may be imagined; there is also a mine of brimstone, and, hard by the same, two terrible stinking holes, which are called Muffletti, from whence arises poisoned air, and, therefore, no man dare venture to go near thereunto, unless he will endanger his life. If a man doth lay a dog, or other beast therein, it dies immediately, but cast it presently into the water, hard by the same, and it revives in a moment; which is every day tried by strangers, and found true. Then go towards Naples, and you shall come by the way to Virgil's grotto, through which you must go, half a mile long; and, when you are out, look upwards, and you shall see a mighty grave-stone, fastened

into the wall, in which lies Virgil buried; the common saying is, That he built that grotto in one night, through the hill, by the help of his familiar ghosts.

N A P L E S.

When you come into this famous city, enquire for the Black Eagle; the host is a Dutchman, who will appoint one to go about, and shew you what is to be seen. First, go to the palace of the viceroy, which is a very fair building; without, before the same, do watch, day and night, a company of Spanish soldiers; every evening, they march up and down with flying colours. Then go into the palace, and up the stairs, you shall see the Dutch guard-watch; they are one-hundred, suited all alike, and are maintained by the viceroy. Then go up into the hall on your left, where you shall see a very fair chapel; in this hall, the viceroy doth give audience every Thursday. There are wonderful fair rooms in this palace, and a most pleasant garden, and, therein, a fair tennis-court; out of this garden, the viceroy can go secretly into the palace; by reason of which, the strangers are not permitted to go into it. Not far from the palace, is an exceeding well armed house of artillery, wherein two-hundred galleys and galleasses have room more than sufficient, and may be made in the same. This city ordinarily doth maintain, at their own proper costs and charges only, to attend the approach of the enemy, two-hundred galleys.

Then go to Monte Pizze Falcon, a hill, on which there is a fair palace, with a delicate pleasant garden; right over-against which is the strong castle and fort, named Ovo; it is also built on a rock where the palace doth stand; but it is cut off from the same, so that the sea surrounds the fort, and lies now in the water like an island. Then go towards the water-work before the city, named Porro Real, from whence all the conduits in the city have their original; it is also led into the wells, a thing most worthy to be seen and noted. Then go back again towards the Porta Capuan, where is a mighty fair palace, which, in former times, was the city's fort, but now the city council is kept therein. Therein is also the prison, in which are most commonly eight-thousand persons; this palace is called the Vicary. Go over-against the same, into the church, called Johan Carbonar; there the French Kings have had their funerals, who, in times past, did govern and reign in that kingdom; you shall see exceeding fine epitaphs and tombs, adorned with rich stone, and other curious works, so stately, as you have not seen the like, also with statues and pictures.

HOSPITAL NUNCIATA.

This is a wonderful fair hospital, wherein are continually a great number of sick attended. Every nation is there entertained and

accepted; each one has a clean bed, with all necessities and attendance, as if he were at home in his own house, until he recovers, all gratis, which is at Rome in St. Spirito. So soon as one is received, he must presently make his confession, and then take the communion. Thereby, is a very fair church and steeple, appertaining to the hospital. Then go towards the church St. Clara, built by the French Kings.

Therein, are many excellent fair altars and tombs. A little further, you shall see a very fair monastery, named Monte Oliveto, wherein are wonderful rich epitaphs; all the monks therein are of noble descent, of the order of Carthusians.

The principal Palaces in Naples are these following.

The palace of the Prince of Layena; palace of the Prince of Calabria; palace of the Prince of Scala Siciliano; palace of the Prince of Salerno; the palace of the Prince of Bisignano; this excepted, all the rest are there always resident.

CASTLE, NOVO.

This castle is a wonderful fort, built first by the French Kings, lying hard by the sea, provided and furnished with mighty great towers, bastions, and very fair ordnance, and there lie in garison two-hundred Spanish soldiers; therein are very fair habitations, inhabited with all manner of tradesmen.

When you come into the fort, you shall see, right over-against the court, lying a great iron bullet, under an iron gate, which was shut at that time, as they refused to yield to the Emperor Charles the Fifth; for, although the Spaniards had almost got in the fort, yet, nevertheless, the French defended themselves valiantly. When you come into the court, you shall see, on your left hand, certain stairs, under which is erected a statue of marble-stone, of a Frenchman, who, on the said stairs, with his two-handed sword, killed forty Spaniards, as is confirmed, before they could get up. By this castle, is a lower standing in the sea, as in an island, wherein, at that time, Frenchmen lay; and, after the Spaniards had got the fort, they could not overcome this tower, until they had granted, that the French, with bag and baggage, might, in safety, depart. This fort hath fine mighty towers, strong walls, and deep ditches.

Then go towards the castle Ovo.

OVO, A CASTLE.

This was also built by the French, and hath the name derived from the rock whereon it stands, which is like an egg. which rock is cut off

from the other that lies against it, Monte Pizze Faleon. This is a mighty strong fort, and a great defence to the city, furnished with brave ordnance and ammunition; there lie sixty Spanish soldiers, that continually dwell therein. Then go over-against the same, up the hill, where is a mighty strong fort, named St. Helmo; how the same was built, and from whence it hath the original, you shall read as followeth.

St. HELMO, a Castle.

This hath the original, as touching the building thereof, from the Emperor Charles the Fifth; for, as he rid on a morning to take the air, he came through the street, named Capuana, where the mayor and aldermen have a place railed about, and do therein assemble themselves, and in publick, hold council, named Sedia Capuana. Now, as the Emperor came thereinto, and saw the arms of the city pictured, and two white horses thereby, without bits and bridles, as it were flying, and freely ranging about, the Emperor demanded what they signified. Answer was made, that, as free and unbridled, as the horse, were they also in the city. Whereupon, the Emperor immediately contrived to build this mighty strong fort on the hill, thereby to lay both bit and bridle in the horses mouths, that they should not run where they listed. For, by reason of this fort, the Neapolitans are bridled, that they dare not rise in rebellion. This strong fort is so well provided and furnished with ammunition and great ordnance, and situated, that it is almost invincible unless treachery be amongst themselves. There is not one palace in the city, that hath not a piece of ordnance aimed thereat from the fort; and, if any in the same do but begin to mutiny, it is, in the twinkling of an eye, battered down. In this fort, are two-hundred and fifty Spanish soldiers, which do watch, and have their dwelling therein. And, although the city should be gotten and won, yet no enemy could remain therein, by reason of this fort, from whence each living creature would be destroyed.

There is not, in all Italy, a greater pomp in riding, nor fairer horses, than in Naples; and no where so many princes, marquises, earls, barons, and gentlemen, riding up and down the streets, in brave attire, almost the whole day, attended with many servants, in fair liveries and suits; also an excellent haven on the sea, where the great ships and gallees do lie. This city is also provided with all sorts of merchandises, especially silk wares; and there is daily such great dealing, as, in other places, in the time of fairs. This famous city is also very great and spacious, always stored with the best and costliest wines, and all other necessities plentifully are to be had. There is one street, named *Lagrudeca*; therein are above five-hundred shops, furnished with nothing but new and old apparel, to be sold. Lastly, this city is strengthened about with mighty walls and ramparts.

Hereafter follows the way from Naples to Malta, by water and land; but I wold advise you, rather to travel by water; nevertheless, I will describe both ways.

From Naples to Terre del Grecho, six miles; thence to Barbarona village, seven miles; thence to Salerno city, nine miles; thence to Taberna Pinta Inn, ten miles; thence to Benola village, eight miles; thence to Duchesta Inn, nine miles; thence to Coletta a little town, ten miles; thence to Salla village, seven miles; thence to Casal Nuova village, nine miles; thence to Rovero Negro village, ten miles; thence to Castelluchia, a little town, nine miles; thence to Valle Santo Martino village, six miles; thence to Castoro Villore, a village, nine miles; from thence to Csaro village, seven miles; thence to Regina Inn, ten miles; thence to Consenza, a town of great traffick, especially for rough silk, twelve miles; thence to Capofreddo, a village, seven miles; thence to Martorano, a great hamlet, six miles; thence to St. Biasto, a market-town, six miles; thence to Alaque Fiche Inn, seven miles; thence to Monte Leone, a little town, nine miles; thence to Sala Petra, a market-town, eight miles; thence to Rossa village, seven miles; thence to Santa Anna village, nine miles; thence to Fonego, a market-town, nine miles; thence to Fiumara de Mori, ten miles; thence to the famous city ~~Acasina~~.

MESSINA.

This illustrious city hath an exceeding great and safe haven, or port, of the sea, where may ride more than four-hundred great ships; the like is scarce to be seen. There is an incomparable traffick by all nations. It is a great city, adorned with wonderous fair palaces and buildings. Principally this city is strong, round about, with great and mighty walls and ramparts. It hath excellent good wine, and all manner of provision throughout. The readiest way is to go by water, from thence to Naples, with the first opportunity, and then you may go to Malta, in three days. There go, oftentimes, ships to Palermo, which a wonderous fair and great city, worthy the seeing.

PALERMO.

This city lies hard by the sea, strengthened with substantial walls, and hath an excellent haven for ships. It was, a few years past, very fairly built and adorned; when you come into the city, you shall see a very long street, called il Cassare, or la Strada d' Austria; at the upper end of which, is the Viceroy's palace, in which he keeps his court; it is a very stately building, adorned with most excellent fair rooms and gardens. In this palace do lie Spaniards in garison, as also a guard of Switzers. There is also great trading and merchandising, with all sorts of warcs transported thither from beyond the seas.

Then you may go from thence directly to Malta.

M A L T A.

This is a principal and famous fort, of great strength, and the key of all Christendom.

The principal fort is named St. Helmo; as soon as you come near thereunto, certain of the knights will meet and receive you, and invite you to dinner or supper, and, according to the number of your fellow-travellers, you shall be well and courteously entertained; when the weather is fair and clear, you may see from thence the signal of the common enemy. The knights have eight gallies, to be always prepared and in readiness. And at such time, as from the fort, a sign is given of the approach of any Turkish gallies, then must always the gallies of Malta go out to meet them, and one galley must always fight against four Turkish gallies. For the gallies of Malta are exceeding well and strongly prepared and armed, and are, for the most part, all knights therein, for service fitted; none are spared, when need requires. The fort St. Helmo is so well fortified, and provided with all manner of ammunition, that it is impossible, by the art of man, to be overcome. There are also two other forts, St. Angelo, and St. Michael. The island Malta is, in circuit, not above seven miles, but a great number of villages are built thereupon; the husbandmen do all dwell along the sea-coast, and must, every foot, keep a strong watch, to prevent a sudden invasion of the common enemy of Christendom, as oftentimes falls out, and many of them spoiled, and their houses set on fire. As concerning victuals, and other necessities, fit for man's subsistence, there is no want at all, for there is always sufficient transported thither.

Now I would advise you to return back again with the gallies to Naples: But you must go the right way, as from thence to Italy, Luca, Genoa, Milan, and Venice, lest you come twice to see one place, and thereby other memorable things be neglected. When, by God's help, you are arrived again at Naples, then you go the nearest way to Capua, an ancient city, plentifully provided with all manner of necessities for man; it is also of a good length, with a very fair and high stone bridge, like to which I have seen none. It lies from Naples sixteen miles; from thence to Carigliano, an inn (here you must go over the water) nine miles; and now you are on the former highways again, until you come to Rome, and High Siena. At Siena you may have horses to Pisa, which is thirty miles; a way to travel so pleasant, that one can judge no otherwise, but the whole way to be a most pleasant and delightful garden, all full of excellent, fine, fruitful trees, goodly villages, fair castles, and comely towns. In Summa, it is a paradise.

P I S A.

When you come to this city, you shall be searched under the gate, to see what you carry with you. Say nothing, but only that you are students, and put a piece of money into one of their hands secretly, and they let you pass.

This is a famous city, and an exceeding strong fort, which was yielded to the Great Duke, in the Seneser wars, but, before, it was a free state of itself, and a republica; also Siena was, but afterwards, being overcome by Cosmus, Great Duke of Florence, and brought under his yoke, the fort was built to keep them in subjection. There runs also a great river through the city, called the Arno, which runs also through Florence; and not far from Pisa, it falls into the sea. There is also a wonderful fair temple (a cathedral) built all of marble stone.

On the side is built an exceeding fair cloister of curious work. They say it is very like to that built by the temple of Jerusalem. There is also a marvellous fair steeple hard by the temple, up to the top of which a man may ride on the outside, the stairs winding about the steeple to the top, as a snake on a tree. The stairs are adorned with rich marble-stone pillars, of all manner of colours, even to the very top. This steeple is built by mere art, hanging or leaning to the one side, as if it would fall at every twinkling of an eye, but when one is above, he cannot then discern the same. This steeple is held to be one of the seven wonders of the world, being built all of white marble-stone, like to which is none seen in the universal world. On the outside of the church is a round temple, covered with copper, and the doors with bell-metal.

This city is graced with many fair palaces and houses, especially the palace of the noble knights, in which they have their government. The knights do wear, for their order, the red cross of St. Stephen, which the Duke of Florence observes. This is provided with all manner of good victuals plentifully, especially excellent good wine.

Hereafter follows the way to Luca.

From Pisa to Luca seven miles. When you are gone half way, you shall come to a hill, from whence, on the one side, you may see Luca, on the other side Pisa, a wonderful pleasant prospect.

L U C A.

This is a very excellent and fair little city, and situated in the midst of the great Duke of Florence's country; which city, if the Duke could bring under his jurisdiction, he would then stile himself King of Tuscany. There is in this city a great trade with silken wares, the like to which is not in all Italy. The Pallavicini are the chiefest dealers therein, as the Fuggeri are in Augustia. Therein are most exceeding fair palaces and houses, and the streets paved all with fair square stones; there are many fair churches, as St. Martino, and an excellent market, where a man may have what his heart can wish for, at a reasonable price. There is most excellent wine. It is a very strong city, with mighty walls and ramparts, and the ordnance lying round about the same, and under the gates are kept a continual strong watch. This city is subject to none, and is the only free imperial city in all Italy. Then you may go to Livorno, which is an excellent haven-town, pertaining to the Great Duke of Florence; it is twenty miles from Luca.

Here follows the way from Luca to Cenona, and what is to be seen by the way.

From Luca to Mazzarosa, a little town, eight miles; from thence to Pietra Santa, a little town, eight miles; thence to Massacle Corara, a pleasant town with a castle, seven miles; thence to Sarsano, a very pleasant town, and there, in two strong forts, lying in garison five-hundred Dutch soldiers (for it lies just on the border of Cenona, pertaining thereunto) eight miles; thence to Laris, where you must pass over water, four miles.

LARIS, a Port.

This is a very fine little town; the wine is very good and cheap, and also bread. On the top of the hill is a very strong fort, and the ordnance thereupon carries over to the other side, to Porto Venere, which is a full Dutch mile; and also, an exceeding strong fort. Go over also thither.

P O R T O V E N E R E.

This is also a fair town, and on the hill is a strong fort, and the ordnance carries over to the other fort, so that both these forts do assist each other; not far off this, is a town called Spessa, pertaining to Genoa. When they send soldiers into Spain, they do assemble themselves there. Between Spezza and Laris, is a very strong fort, pertaining to Genoa, called Santa Maria del Suorte, about two Italian miles from Porto Venere, wherein do lie Dutch soldiers, who, if you desire, will let you in, and shew you the fort; it is worthy the seeing, and built but of late years. Now I would advise the traveller to go from Laris, by water to Genoa, being one day's journey; but if you go by land, the way is described as followeth:

From Porto Venere to Remedio, a market-town, seven miles; thence to Porgetto, eight miles; thence to Martarana Inn, six miles; thence to Bracco, a market-town, six miles; thence to Rapullo, six miles; thence to Recco, six miles; thence to Bogliasco, all market-towns, six miles; thence to Genoa, six miles.

G E N O A.

This is a fair and famous city and republick, where is a Duke, but elected by the senate of the city. When one dies, they chuse in ano-

ther, like as they at Venice do chuse a Duke out of forty-eight Clarissimi, and do cast lots for the election.

This wonderous mighty city is older than the city of Rome, as the historians do deliver. It is inhabited with brave nobles and gentry, and sumptuously built; you shall see a number of brave mighty ships excellently furnished with all manner of ammunition and provision. They lie here only to attend the approach of the common enemy.

When you come to the gate of the city, the customers will make search, to see what you carry; tell them that you are students, and enquire for a lodging, called Santa Maria, where you shall be excellently dieted. Enquire for Strada Nova, in which street are twelve most excellent fair palaces, built all of square pieces, being white and black marble-stone, richly adorned, with pleasant gardens; and certain of them have houses of artillery well furnished, and stately antiquities and statues. Go first into the Duke's palace, which is an excellent rare building, in which do watch continually five-hundred Dutch soldiers, and have all their dwelling in the palace. When you go from your lodging towards the gate, out of which they go to Savona, hard by the same you shall see the palace of Prince Andrea Doria, general of the dukedom of Genoa, where you shall see wonderful rare things, besides excellent pleasant gardens, artificial water-works, and brave statues, and, principally, a wonderous well furnished house of artillery. You shall not find, in any city in all Italy, so many velvet-weavers, as in Genoa; they say, there are at least eight-thousand; but not any one of them is able to gain to themselves one piece of velvet in a whole year's space, so narrowly are they looked unto by the merchants.

Churches in GENOA.

Within the city walls are thirty parish churches, and the city hath seven miles in circuit. There are two principal churches amongst the rest; the one named St. Laurence, in which is a little chapel, where are kept the ashes of John Badall in a silver chest; and, they affirm, that, when there arises a great tempest on the sea, they carry that chest to the sea-shore, and immediately the tempest ceaseth. There are done also many miracles, as they say, in the thirty churches, by virtue of the holy relicks which are kept there. In the said church of St. Laurence, you shall see the dish of Semiraldo, and other precious stones, which our Saviour Jesus Christ made out of earth, in which, with his disciples, he did eat the Easter lamb, which was gotten, as Cæsarea was overcome, as is clearly noted in the chronicles.

The other church is named St. Bartholomew, without the gate St. Catharina, where is kept the *sudarium*, or the sweating cloth of our Blessed Saviour, as evidently it is found to be one of the three made by St. Veronica; by the same are done also many miracles. There is also without the city a very fair steeple, on the top of which they hang a lanthorn with lights, in the night time, that directeth the ships safety to the port or haven.

Genoa is as famous a principality, and as fruitful a soil as is in all Italy; there is the best wine of all others, and all sorts of excellent fruit. Now, if you desire to see Savona, take a boat; it lies but thirty miles from Genoa.

S A V O N A.

This is a very fair city, lying on the sea wonderful pleasant; it is built exceeding well and richly, and they have great trading with wines, and other costly wares, into Corsica and Sardagna. There is also a mighty fort, built very strongly, with main walls and ramparts, so well furnished with ordnance, and other ammunition, that it is almost invincible. Therein do lie one-hundred Dutch soldiers, and other forces; for the Turks oftentimes use to make inroads there, with forty or fifty gallies at a time, attempting to get the fort; but it hath always failed them, there being continually kept a strong and diligent watch, which is also very needful. Then you may go back again to Genoa, and from thence to Milan and Venice.

Here follows the way from Genoa to Milan.

From Genoa to Ponte Decino seven miles; thence to Buzzala seven miles; thence to Al Botho del Formari seven miles; thence to Al Isola seven miles; thence to Argua seven miles; thence to Saravalla, a little pretty town, where you may buy excellent good blades, rapiers, and swords, five miles; thence to Bettola, an inn, six miles; from thence to Tortona, a strong fort, eight miles; thence to Ponte Curon five miles; thence to Pancarina eight miles; thence to Cava, there set over the river Po, six miles; thence to Pavia city three miles.

P A V I A.

This city hath an excellent navigable water, which flows hard by, named Ticino. The city is very well adorned with fair houses, and churches, and hath a very large and fair market place. There is also a famous university, and an inquisition of late years erected; there are many jewels. The city is marvellous well strengthened, with great and thick walls and ramparts; there is also a strong castle or fort, wherein are continually Spanish soldiers. It belongs to the principality of Milan.

When you go from thence towards Milan, you shall see by the way a monastery named Carthausa, and also the Park, about an Italian mile from Pavia, before which the famous battle was fought by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, against the French and Switzers, and thereby

shall overcome. The park, as you may well discern, hath yet part of walls standing which were at that time.

CHARTHOUSE.

Do not omit to go in and see this famous monastery, for there is not like in all Italy; richly built, and hath a mighty revenue; the church is built all of white marble-stone, adorned sumptuously with statues and pictures of oriental alabaster.

The cells of the monks are covered all with copper; there are besides things to be seen whereat you will wonder. Then go from thence to Masco, a little town, eight miles thence; Milan is ten miles.

MILAN.

This is the chief city in Lombardy, belonging to the King of Spain. It is a principality, and round about strengthened with mighty walls and ramparts; it hath also great trading with all nations. When you come thither, I would wish you lodged at the Three Kings, or at the Icon, where you shall be exceeding well entertained. Go first to the place, wherein the viceroy or duke keeps his court, which is a very great building. Hard by the same have the Dutch guard their dwellings, and are eighty of them attending the duke, all suited in one hour: without this palace is the riding-place, being marvellous spacious.

CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

This temple is built within and without all of white marble-stone, comparable to which in greatness, and fairness, there is none found either in Italy, nor elsewhere; every ounce of this marble stone wrought doth cost two quartrins, and five quartrins do make a penny English. In this famous building are organs of clear silver.

Go from this church to Cardinal Borromeo's Palace, which is a most stately building, adorned with main columns and pillars of marble-stone; there is also, by the cardinal, made a gallery under ground, through which he can go, not seen, into the church. Then enquire for the place where formerly malefactors were executed; there did stand a house of good fellowship or bawdy-house, but the cardinal caused it to be pulled down, and in the place a great prison to be built. Then enquire for Santa Maria, which is an admirable fair building; thither are many great pilgrimages accomplished with great devotion, and indulgentia plenaria the whole year throughout. When you go towards your lodging, you shall see an antiquity in St. Laurence-street, where

do stand twenty mighty great pillars of white marble-stone, in height sixty feet. They say for certain, that the devil, with his accomplices, did erect and build that temple in one night; but it had, as it seems, no good foundation, for it fell down again shortly after. The whole city is paved throughout with fair four-square stone. It hath brave broad streets. This city hath twenty-two gates, and doth write itself strong; at every gate are twelve-thousand well armed men, besides those that are no citizens, and yet inhabitants, which make in one sum two hundred-forty-two-thousand. Then go to the Citta della Capello or Castle.

CASTLE.

This castle or fort may well be said invincible, and may by no force, or man's policy, be gotten or overcome, but only by mere treachery; for there are two several forts in one, but so surrounded and fastened in and about with water ditches, that thereout may well be made three several forts. It hath also two great, mighty, and high towers, of four-square free-stone, and upon each one are planted three double cannons, and upon the walls of the forts are mounted on wheels five-hundred great ordnance, of bell-metal, continually charged. There lie in garison seven-hundred Spaniards, with forty Dutch, all attending the command of the Castellano or governor; there are also divers other people within the fort, so that there are continually therein at least one-thousand persons.

This fort is always provided with an overplus of all manner of provision and ammunition. It cannot be undermined, for a navigable water, that runs by the city, doth flow into the ditches, and in the same are fresh veins of well-water continually springing up. Also is this fort of late years better strengthened, by the building of five mighty ramparts, so that it is a fort strong beyond imagination; in fine, I cannot sufficiently express the strength thereof.

Here follows the way from Milan to Venice; and what is to be seen by the way.

From Milan to Margiano ten miles; thence to Lodis, a pleasant town, ten miles; thence to Zorlesco, a village, ten miles; thence to Pizzighiton two miles; thence to Cremona, a great city, twelve miles.

CREMONA.

This is a famous and pleasant city, adorned with fair and strong towers round about. It hath very fair and large streets, and brave buildings, and excellent good wine.

from Cremona, to Alla Casa della buona Voglio inn, ten miles; thence to St. Jacob Alopio inn, nine miles; thence to Mercari, a little way, twelve miles; thence to Castelluchio, eight miles; thence to Mantua city, ten miles.

M A N T U A.

This is a marvellous fine city, and principality, wherein the Duke of Mantua keeps his court; it is excellent well built, all in morass or quagmires; when you come thither, lodge at the Black Moor, where you shall have one to shew you what is to be seen.

Go first into the Duke's Palace, but you must leave your weapons with a watch, under the gate; if the duke be not there, you shall see the duke at hall, and other rooms that are most worthy the noting, and also a most pleasant, adorned garden, in which is a great spacious hall, wherein the duke doth dine and sup in supper-time. This hall is made artificially that, when two, standing in the midst of the hall, do talk with another, they themselves do not understand their own words, but they that stand far from them, at the end of the hall, do hear and understand, plainly, every word, which is a thing to be much wondered at.

One that knows not of this, may perchance talk with another, speaking in secret, what is heard of others, perhaps, to his great prejudice. This hall lies encompassed round about with quagmires, so that it is not easily to be overcome by any siege, unless it were for want of victuals. The city is adorned with an exceeding well furnished store of artillery, and great ordnance.

Here follows the way from Mantua to Padua.

from Mantua, to Alla Stella Inn, fifteen miles; thence to Sangneto, a village, twelve miles; thence to Montagnano, six miles; from thence to Padua, a great city, thirty-eight miles.

P A D U A.

This is a far spread famous city, by reason of the great frequency assembling of all nations thereunto, it being an university. There is a overplus of all manner of provision for man's use at a very cheap; there are excellent good wine, bread, fish, flesh, fowl, and fruit. When you come thither, lodge at Alla Stella, the Star; and there you shall see a brave garden, wherein the students do exercise themselves in knowledge of herbs, especially, such as study physick. Upon the plain, you may see Venice, if the weather be clear. Then go into

the governor's palace, and into the chancery; you have not seen the like in all Italy, for it is a place indeed of antiquities.

St. ANTHONY, a Monastery.

This is a wonderous fair monastery, of the Barefoot order: within it, is a great temple, where St. Anthony lies buried, in so rich a tomb of marble-stone and alabaster, as the like is seldom to be seen.

St. JUSTINA, a Monastery.

This is a mighty great monastery, of St. Benedict's order, which was built presently, after the battle was fought and won against the common enemy, and the building begun on St. Justina's day; it hath a great revenue, and every week is distributed, to all poor that come, a great proportion of alms, as wine and bread, &c.

St. DOMINICO, a Monastery.

This is adorned with exceeding fair tombs, and epitaphs. It hath also a stately income, and much is given in alms to the poor every week once. In this city are to be seen many excellent fair palaces and buildings, brave statues, and curious rooms, and pleasant gardens. The city belongs to the Venetian state, and is inclosed round about with very strong walls and ramparts.

BRIEF NOTES

ON

THE CREED OF ST. ATHANASIUS.

Quarto, containing eight pages.

• **W**HOSOEVER will be saved, before all things, it is necessary that he hold the Catholick faith.

A good life is of absolute necessity to salvation; but a right belief in these points, that have been always controverted in the churches of

od, is in no degree necessary, much less necessary before all things. e, that leads a profane or vicious life, sins against a plain acknowledged rule, and the express unquestioned words and letter of the divine w, and the dictates of natural conscience; he wilfully refuses to lvert to these monitors, and, therefore, can no way palliate or excuse is wickedness. But he that errs in a question of faith, after having sed reasonable diligence to be rightly informed, is in no fault at all; is error is pure ignorance: Not a culpable ignorance; for how can be culpable, not to know that, of which a man is ignorant, after a iligent and impartial inquiry?

‘Which faith, except a man keep whole and undefiled, without oubt he shall perish everlastingly.’

By keeping this faith whole and undefiled, must be meant, if any ing be meant, that a man should believe and profess it, without dding to it, or taking from it. If we take from it, we do not keep it hole; if we add aught to it, we do not keep it undefiled; and either ay we shall perish everlastingly.

First, for adding. What if an honest plain man, because he is a hristian and a Protestant, should think it necessary to add this article o the Athanasian creed: ‘I believe the holy scriptures of the Old and ew Testaments, to be a divine, infallible, and compleat rule, both r faith and manners?’ I hope no protestant would think a man should e damned for such addition. And, if so, then this creed of Athanasius at least an unnecessary rule of faith.

Then, for taking aught from this creed; the whole Greek church liffused through so many provinces) rejects, as heretical, that period fit, ‘The Holy Ghost is of the Father, and of the Son;’ contending, at the holy spirit is from the Father only. Which, also, they clearly id demonstratively prove, as we shall see in its proper place. And, r the menace here of Athanasius, that they shall perish everlastingly, ey laugh at it, and say, He was drunk when he made this creed, ennad. Schol. A. Bp. of Constantinople.

‘And the Catholick faith is this.’

Catholick faith is as much as to say in plain English, the faith of the hole church. Now in what age was this, which here follows, the th of the whole church? Not in the age of Athanasius himself; o for this faith, and for seditious practices, was banished from Alex- dria in Egypt, where he was bishop, no less than four times; whereof e first was by Constantine the Great. He was also condemned in his n life time by six councils, as an heretick and seditious person. Of e councils, that at Milan consisted of three-hundred bishops; and at at Ariminum of five-hundred and fifty, the greatest convention of hops that ever was. This consent of the churches of God, against n and his doctrine, occasioned that famous proverb, ‘Athanasius ainst all the world, and all the world against Athanasius.’

For the times before and after, the curious reader may see Chr. ndius’s Ecclesiastical History; in which the learned author gives a ge account, by that, and whose means, the Athanasian and Trini- rian faith did at length prevail, against the antient belief of but one od, or but one who is God. Therefore, quære, With what forehead,

the author of this creed calls this, the Catholick faith, or, faith of the whole church? When it is certain, it has been so in no age, and least of all in the author's.

'The Catholick faith is this, That we worship one God in trinity, and, trinity in unity.'

He means here, that we must so worship the one true God, as to remember he is three persons; and so worship the three persons, as to bear in mind that they are but one substance, or godhead, or God. So the author explains himself in the three next articles, which are these:

'Neither confounding the persons, nor dividing the substance; for there is one person of the Father, another of the Son, another of the Holy Ghost; but the godhead of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one.' Therefore, all these articles make indeed but one article, which is this: 'The one true God is three distinct persons; and three distinct persons (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) are the one true God.'

Plainly, as if a man should say, Peter, James, and John, being three persons, are one man; and one man is these three distinct persons, Peter, James, and John. Is it now a ridiculous attempt, as well as a barbarous indignity, to go about thus to make asses of all mankind, under pretence of teaching them a creed, and things divine, to despise them of their reason, the image of God, and the character of our nature? But let us, in two words, examine the parts of this monstrous proposition, as it is laid down in the creed itself.

'Neither confounding the persons, nor dividing the substance.'

But how can we not confound the persons, that have, they say, but one numerical substance? And how can we but divide the substance, which we find in three distinct divided persons?

'There is one person of the Father, another of the Son, another of the Holy Ghost.'

Then the Son is not the Father, nor is the Father the Son, nor the Holy Ghost either of them. I shall not need to prove this consequence, not only because it is evident, but because it is acknowledged by all Trinitarians. But, if the Father is not the Son, and yet is, by confession of all, the one true God, then the Son is not the one true God, because he is not the Father. The reason is self-evident, for, how can the Son be the one true God, if he is not he who is the one true God? After the same manner it may be proved, that, on the Athanasian principles, neither the Father, nor Holy Spirit are, or can be God, or the one true God; for neither of them is the Son, who is the one true God, according to Athanasius, and all Trinitarians. For they all say, the Father is the one true God, the Son is the one true God, and the Holy Ghost is the one true God. Which is a threefold contradiction, because there is but one true God, and one of these persons is not the other. But, if it be a contradiction, it is certainly false; for every contradiction, being made up of inconsistencies, destroys itself, and its own confutation.

‘The godhead of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, all one; the glory equal, the majesty coeternal.’

The meaning of the last clause is, That the glory and majesty of the one and Holy Spirit is equal to the glory and majesty of the Father; and, the Son and Holy Spirit are equally glorious and majestic with God the Father.

Therefore I ask, Whether the glory and majesty, with which the Son and Spirit are glorious and majestic, be the same in number (that is, the very same) with which the Father is glorious and majestic; or only the same for kind and degree? If it be not the same in number, then the godhead of the Father, and of the Son, is not, as this creed teaches, all one; and they are not one and the same God. For two infinite and distinct glories, and majesties, make two Gods, and three make three Gods; as every one sees, and, to say true, the Trinitarians themselves confess. It remains therefore that, they say, the glory and majesty of the Son and Spirit is the same in number, and not for kind and degree only, with that of the Father. But then it follows, that the glory and majesty of these persons is neither equal nor coeternal. Not equal; for it is the same, which equals never are. Nor coeternal, for this also plainly intimates, that they are distinct; for, How coeternal, if not distinct? Do we say, a thing is coeternal or contemporary with itself? Therefore, this article also doth impugn and destroy itself. Besides, if the glory and majesty of the three persons be numerically the same, then so are all their other attributes. From whence it follows, that there is not any real difference between the three persons, and they are only three several names of God; which is the heresy of the Sabellians.

In the next place, this creed teaches, that ‘the Father is incomprehensible, uncreate, eternal, almighty; the Son is incomprehensible, uncreate, eternal, almighty; the Holy Spirit is incomprehensible, uncreate, eternal, almighty. Also, that each of these persons by himself is God and Lord; so that the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God. Yet there are not three Gods or Lords, nor three incomprehensibles, nor three almighties, nor three eternals or uncreated.’

Now if, in imitation of this, a man should have a mind to say: ‘The Father is a person, the Son is a person, and the Holy Ghost is a person; yet not three persons, but one person. I would know, why this were not as good grammar and arithmetick, as when Athanasius says, The Father is God, the Son is God, and Holy Ghost is God, yet not three Gods, but one God. Or, when he says, The Father uncreated, the Son uncreated, and the Holy Ghost uncreated, yet not three uncreated, but one uncreated; and so of the rest?’

Doth not a man contradict himself, when the term or terms, in his negation, are the same with those in his affirmation? If not, then it may be true, that, ‘The Father is a person, the Son is a person, the Holy Ghost is a person, yet there are not three persons, but one person.’ For all the fault here is only this, that, in the last clause, the term person is denied to belong to more than one, when, in the first, it had been affirmed of no fewer than three. For the same reason, it must be a con-

tradition to say, 'The Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, yet there are not three Gods, but one God.' The term God is at least denied to belong to more than one, though in the first clause, it was affirmed of three. Will they say, that in them there are not three Gods, but one God, the term God is not denied to belong to more than one, or is not appropriated to one? If there are not three persons, but one person; and again, there are three men, but one man: then I say, these propositions do not differ in terms person and man to belong to more than one, or appropriate to one only; which yet every body confesses they do.

But here is a numerical, or arithmetical, as well as grammatical contradiction. For, in saying, God the Father, God the Son, and the Holy Ghost; yet not three Gods, but one God: A man distinctly numbers three Gods; and then, in summing them up, he says, Not three Gods, but one God.

To these things it will, perhaps, be answered, that when we say God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost; or the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God; the word God is used personally. But, when it is said, there are not three Gods, but one God; the term God is used essentially, and therefore comprehends the whole three persons; so that there is neither a grammatical nor arithmetical contradiction. But this remedy is worse, if possible, than the disease; for it owns that there are three personal Gods, and there is but one essential God; and that, otherways, the proposition of which we are speaking, would imply all the aforesaid contradictions. This remedy, I say, is worse than the disease; for, 1. Three personal Gods, and one essential God, make four Gods, if the essential God be not the same with the personal Gods; and, though he is the same with them, yet, since they are not the same with one another, but differ from each other, it follows, that there are three Gods, that is, three personal Gods. This introduces two sorts of true Gods, three personal, and one essential. But the Christian religion knows and owns but one true and most perfect God, of any sort. And I would know of the Trinitarians, what they dare say, in express words, there are two sorts of true Gods. For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity, to acknowledge every person by himself to be Lord and God, &c.'

By the Christian verity, I suppose is meant, the sacred books contain the Christian religion; that is, the books of the Old and New Testaments. But do these books, and does this verity compel us to acknowledgment of three persons, each of which is, by himself, superior to God and Lord, and yet, all of them together, but one God? Do the Holy Scriptures compel us to this contradictory acknowledgment? Is there any text acknowledged from scripture, which the Unitarians, and some or other of the most learned Trinitarians, do easily interpret in such sense, that the unity of God is preserved no more than one person, even the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, acknowledged to be God? See the History of the Unitarians. But, if there is no text of scripture, but what is, in the opinion of some or other of their own learned men, fairly capable of a sense contrary to the faith delivered in this creed, then we are not compelled to acknowledge

edge this faith. And the truth is, the contest between the Unitarians and Trinitarians is not, as is commonly thought, a clash of reason with scripture: But it lieth here, whether, when the Holy Scriptures may be understood as teaching only one God, or but one who is God, which agrees with the rest of scripture, and with natural reason; we must, notwithstanding, prefer an interpretation of it that is absurd, and contrary to itself, to reason, and to the rest of scripture, such as the Trinitarian interpretation, expressed in this creed, appears to be. In a word, the question only is, whether we ought to interpret Holy Scripture, when it speaks of God, according to reason, or not; that is, like fools, or like wise men?

'The Son is of the Father alone, not made, nor created, but begotten.'

Here, and in the next period, Athanasius is got into his altitudes, or profundities, which you will. Here it is, that the ignorant think they are taught the inmost secrets of theological knowledge; but high and low are not more contrary, than the things which are here affirmed as equal truths.

If the creed-maker had spoke here of the generation of the Son by the divine power on the Virgin Mary, it would have been true, that 'the Son is neither made, nor created, but begotten;' but then the first part of the article would be false, 'that the son is of the Father alone;' for he, that has a father and a mother, is of both. But, since he speaks of the (pretended) eternal generation, the latter part of the article is false, and inconsistent with the first part of it. Every novice in grammar or proper speaking knows, that begotten, when it is distinguished from made and created, always supposes two parents, a mother, as well as a father: It is therefore a contradiction to say, 'the Son is of the Father alone, not made, nor created, but begotten;' for, if he is begotten, he cannot be of the Father alone; and, if he is of the Father alone, he is not begotten, but either made, or created.

The Holy Ghost is of the Father, and of the Son, neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.'

The first fault here is, that the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father, and from the Son. To which heresy the Greek church have ever opposed those clear words, John xv. 26. 'When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me.'

Secondly, He saith here, that the Holy Ghost is not begotten, but proceeding; he adds, shortly after, that 'he, who will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity.' Therefore, surely begotten and proceeding differ very much, and very clearly; else it is an harsh sentence, that we shall be damned, if we do not conceive, besides all other inconceivable mysteries of this creed, that the Holy Ghost is not begotten, but proceeds. Yet, after all, it is now confessed by the most learned Trinitarians, that begotten and proceeding differ nothing at all; and that it is rightly said, 'the Son proceeds from the Father, and that the Holy Ghost is generated of both,' directly contrary to this creed. It follows, that Athanasius has damned the whole world, for not distinguishing, where no distinction can be made, at least with any certainty. And, perhaps, this damning hu-

mour of his has justly provoked some to write, not S. Athanasius, but drawing the S a little nearer, Sathanasius.

‘So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons; one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.’

In consistence with what goes before, he should have said, two Fathers, two Sons, and three Holy Ghosts, or Spirits. For the second Person is the Son of the first, and the third proceeds (which is nothing else but is generated) from the first and second; which makes two Fathers, and two Sons; and all three of them are Holy Spirits; for the Father is an Holy Spirit, and so is the Son, no less than the third person. But this is not the first time, in this creed that Athanasius has discovered he could not count.

‘In this Trinity, none is afore, or after other; none is greater, or less than another.’

Yet the Son himself saith, John xiv. 28. ‘My Father is greater than I.’ And, for the other clause, ‘None is afore, or after other,’ it is just as true, as that there is no difference between afore and after.’ I ask, Whether the Son doth not, as he is a Son, derive both life and godhead from the Father? All Trinitarians agree, he does; grounding themselves on the Nicene creed, which expressly calls the Son, ‘God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made.’ But, if the Father gave the Son life and godhead, he must have both, before he could communicate or give either of them to the Son, and consequently was before the Son was. No effect so early as its cause; for, if it were, it should not have needed, or had that for its cause. No proposition in Euclid is more certain or evident than this.

‘The right faith is, that we believe and confess, that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is both God and Man.’

Then the Lord Christ is two persons; for, as he is God, he is the second person of the (pretended) Trinity; and, as he is man (a perfect man, as this creed afterwards speaks) he is also a person; for a rational soul, vitally united to an human body, is a person, if there be any such thing as a person upon earth: nay, it is the only thing upon earth, that is a person. Let the Athanasians, therefore, either say, that the Lord Christ is two persons; which is the heresy of Nestorius, condemned in a general council; or, that he is not a man, contrary to 1 Tim. ii. 5. ‘There is one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man Jesus Christ;’ or, that he is not God, which is the truth.

‘Who, although he be God and man, yet he is not two, but one Christ; one, not by conversion of the godhead into flesh, but by taking of the manhood into God; one, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person.’

But, because these words, ‘One, by taking of the manhood into God, not by conversion of the godhead into flesh;’ and again, ‘One, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person,’ cannot readily be understood by themselves, therefore the creed-maker explains them, in this following article: ‘For, as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ.’ That is, as a soul, united vitally to a body, maketh one person, called man, without confounding the two substances of soul and body; for the soul remains what it was, and so also does the body; so God the Son, being united to a reasonable soul and

body, doth, together with them, make one person, called Christ, without confounding the substances of the divinity, or humanity; for the divinity remains, without the least change, what it was, and so doth the humanity, or reasonable soul and body. This is the only offer at sense, that is to be found in this whole creed; but so far from explicating, that it farther perplexes the difficulty of the (pretended) incarnation; as will appear by these two considerations:

1. In the personal union of a soul with a body, the union is between two finite things; but, in the (pretended) personal union of God to man, and man to God, the union is between finite and infinite; which, on the principles of the Trinitarians, is impossible. For we must either suppose, that finite and infinite are commensurate, that is, equal; which every one knows is false; or that the finite is united but to some part of the infinite, and is disjoined from the rest; which all Trinitarians deny and abhor.

You will say, if they admit neither of these, how do they shew the possibility of the incarnation, or union of God and man? They tell you, God indeed is infinite, and every reasonable soul and body, even that of Christ, is finite; yet the whole God and whole man are united; because, as the whole eternity of God doth co-exist to a moment of time, so the whole immensity of God is in every mathematical point of space. The very truth is, they cannot otherwise defend the incarnation, or personal union of an infinite God to a finite man; but, withal, it must be owned, that then the doctrines of the Trinity and incarnation do infer, imply, and suppose all the contradictions, that Mr. Johnson has objected to the doctrine of transubstantiation, in that little golden tract so deservedly esteemed by all. His whole book and all his demonstrations are founded on these two suppositions: That a longer time doth not all of it co-exist to a shorter; nor is a greater extension constipated or contained in a less; much less in a mathematical point. Therefore all his book, and all that he hath so well said and argued, in the preface, concerning the authority and judicature of reason in matters of religion, equally and effectually destroys the doctrines of the Trinity and transubstantiation. If the reader would have an excellent book, let him procure that. But oh! were the press as free for the Unitarians, as it is for other Protestants, how easily would they make it appear, that the follies and contradictions, so justly charged on the transubstantiation, are neither, for number, consequence, nor clearness, any way comparable to those implied in the Athanasian creed! And that the Trinity hath the same, and no other foundation with the transubstantiation! So that we must of necessity admit both, or neither. If the Church is to interpret Scripture for us, we must admit both; but, if reason, we can admit neither; and this, I think, the Trinitarians will not deny.

But, secondly, in the pretended incarnation or union of God with man, the union cannot be personal, as it is between the soul and body; i cannot, I mean, be such an union, as to make but one person. The union of the soul and body may be properly personal, that is, may constitute or make one person, because it is not the union of two persons, but only of one person, the soul, to a thing otherwise without life, reason, memory, or free-will. The body is but, as it were, the garment of

the soul, and is wholly acted by it, and depending on it. But, in the (pretended) union of God with a man, there are two distinct and very different lives, memories, reasons, and free-wills; which utterly destroys a personal union; for that supposes but one life, one reason, one memory, one free-will. For, if these things, which constitute a person, are found more than once, there is no longer one person, but two, and consequently no personal union, in the sense of which we are speaking.

‘This is the Catholick faith; which except a man believe faithfully; he cannot be saved.’

By believing, Athanasius doth not mean bare believing, but he includeth therein profession; for he saith a little before: ‘The right faith is, that we believe and confess, &c.’ So that a man cannot be saved, unless he believes and professes, as this creed directs him.

First, For believing. What if a man cannot believe it? Are we obliged, under the penalty of the loss of salvation, to believe it, whether we can, or no? Doth God require of any man an impossible condition, in order to salvation?

Secondly, As to professing, under pain of damnation. What if it be against a man’s conscience to profess it? The scripture saith, ‘Whosoever is not of faith, is sin;’ if therefore a man profess against his conscience, he sins; and if, notwithstanding this, a man must either profess, or be damned, then God requires some men to sin in order to their salvation. But this we are sure is false, and therefore that the menace in the article is vain.

And now I appeal to all men, that have any freedom of judgment remaining: Whether this creed is fit to be retained in any Christian, much less protestant and reformed church? Since it subverts the foundations, not only of Christianity, but of all religion, that is to say, reason and revelation: there being no principle in reason and in scripture more evident, than that ‘God is one;’ or, that there is one Almighty, only wise and good person, or father of all. If we cannot be sure of this, then religion and Christianity are built upon fancy only, and have no solid foundation.

This creed may be professed by the Roman political church; because it gives countenance to their absurd transubstantiation, and cunning traditions added to scripture; as those doctrines do to the gaining of veneration, and consequently dominion and riches to their clergy. But, in a reformed church, where the scripture is held to be a compleat rule of faith and manners, and also to be clear and plain in all things necessary to salvation, even to the meanest understanding, that reads it or hears it with sobriety and attention; such a confession of faith is, I think, intolerable, as being utterly inconsistent with those principles, and reducing us back to the Roman bondage.

Besides, nothing has been or is more scandalous to Jews and Mahometans, than this creed, the chief article of whose religion is, that there is ‘one only God.’ The evidence of which principle is such in nature as well as scripture, that it has propagated Mahometism among greater numbers, than at this day own Christianity; for the sake of

one truth, so many nations have swallowed all the errors and follies of the Alchoran, or that of Mahomet; as, on the other hand, Christianity has been rejected and detested among them, on the account of Christians 'three persons, who are severally and each of them

but the mischiefs of this creed do not stay here. It is levelled not against the true faith, but is also destructive of that love and charity, which is the spirit and life of Christianity; and, without which, it is but a lifeless body. For, as if it would effectually inspire all believers, with a spirit of judging, damning, and uncharitableness; pronounces the sentence of eternal damnation, in the beginning, middle, and conclusion, upon all that do not both believe and profess faith, and keep it whole and undefiled; that is, upon the whole of every church, and other churches in the East; and upon at least five sixths of all that profess Christianity in the world, whose understandings cannot possibly reach to the sense and coherence, which some pretend to find in this creed.

Thus the Christian religion is destroyed, in both the essential parts, faith and love. Hence have proceeded many and endless controversies, bitter animosities, cruel persecutions, wars among Christians; at length, the more fierce and violent, the more deceitful and tyrannical part, have attained their tyrannical domination over the others; and have introduced and settled, a Christianity shall I call it, a superstition, or a polity, quite contrary to the doctrine and practice of our Blessed Lord, and of his apostles.

THE PARLEMENT OF BYRDES.

Printed at London, in Pauls Church-Yarde, at the Sygne of the Lambe, by Abraham Uele. In Black Letter, Quarto, containing fourteen Pages.

THIS is the parlyament of Byrdes,
 For hye and lowe, and them amyddes,
 To ordayne a meane, how it is best
 To kepe amonge them pease and rest;
 For much noyse is on euery syde
 Agaynst the hauke so full of pryde:
 Therefore they shall in bylles brynge
 Theyr complayntes to the egle, theyr kynge,
 And, by the Kynge in parlyament,
 Shall be sette in lefull iudgement.

The Grype. The great grype was the fyrst that spake,
 And sayd: Owne is owne, who can it take?
 For thyne and myne make much debate,
 With great and small, in euery estate.

The Cuckowe. I synge, sayde the cuckowe, euer one
 songe:

That the weake taketh euer the wronge;
 For he, that hathe wyth vs moost myght,
 Taketh his wyll, as reason is, ryght.

The Fawcon. Then aunswered the fawcon to that saw:
 That pleaseth a prynce is iust and lawe;
 And he that can no songe but one,
 Whan he hathe songe, his wytte is gone.

The Commyns. Than all the byrdes, that coude speake,
 Sayde: the hauke doth vs great wreake;
 Of them so many diuers there be,
 That no foule, ne byrde, may fro them flye,

The Hauke. The hauke aunswered the prating pye:
 Where is many wordes, the trouthe goeth by;
 And better it were to seace of language sone,
 Than speake, and repent whan thou hast done.

The Sterlynge. Then sayde the sterlynge verement:
 Who sayth soth shalbe shent;
 No man may now speake of trouthe,
 But his head be broke; and that is rounthe.

The Hauke. The hauke swore, by his head of gray,
 All sothes be not for to say;
 It is better some be left by reason,
 Than trouthe to be spoken out of season.

The Popyn Iaye. Then spake the popyn iaye of Paradise:
 Who sayth lytell, he is wyse:
 For lytell money is soone spende,
 And fewe wordes are soone amende.

The Hauke. The hauke bad, for dreade of payne,
 Speake not to muche of thy souerayne;
 For, who that will forge tales newe,
 Whan he weneth keest, this tale may he rewe.

The Commyns. Then desyred great and small
 To mewe the hauke for good and all:
 A place alone we would he had,
 For his counsell to vs was neuer glad.

The Hauke. The hauke aunswered: Ye fayle, ye fayle all
 witte,

It is no tyme to mewe haukes yet;
 Commyns of haukes can but lytell skyl,
 They shall not rule them as they wyll.

The Nyghtyngale. Anone than synge the nyghtyngale,
 With notes many, great and smale:
 That byrde, that can well speake and synge,
 Shall be cheryshed with Quene and Kyng.

The Hauke. The hauke aunswered, 'with great furye:
The songe is nought, that is not mery;
And who so no better synge can,
Maketh lytell chere to any man.

The Doue. Than rombled the doue for her lot;
Folke may be mery, and synge not;
And who so hath no good voyce,
Must make mery with lytell noyse.

The Hauke. Whant his reason was forth shewed,
Lerne, quoth the hauke, or ye be lewed;
For the byrde, that can not speake, ne synge,
Shall to the kechyne to serue the Kyng.

The Fesaunt. Than crowed the fesaunt in the wood:
Domme med, he sayde, getteth lytell good;
Wodde, nor water, nor other foode;
It fleteth from hym, as doeth the flodde.

The Hauke. The hauke sayde: 'Whan all is sought,
Great crows were neuer ought;
For, I swere by my foly,
He is not moste wyse, that is moste ioly.

The Moore Cocks. Than crowed agayne the moore cocks:
The hauke bringeth much thing out of nocke;
The osyll whystelet, and byrdes blacke;
He must haue a do, that a do doth make.

The Hauke. I must, sayde the hauke, by all my belles,
Say for my selfe, for none will elles:
He is not greatly to repreue,
That speaketh with his soueraynes leue.

The Byttur. Than blushed the byttur in the fenne,
The cote, the dobchicke, and the water henne:
The hauke that doeth vs all this dere,
We woulde he were soused in the myre.

The Hauke. The hauke sayde: Wysshers want wyll,
Whether they speake loude, or styll;
Whan all this done was sayde and laste,
Euery man must lyue by his crafte.

The Malarde. Than creaked the malarde and the gose:
They may best flye that are lose;
He is well that is at large,
That nedeth not the Kynges great charge.

The Hauke. The hauke sayde: though they fle lose,
They must obeye, they may not chose;
Who hath a maister, or a make,
He is tyed by the stake.

The Heronne. Than creaked the heronne and the crane:
Great trouble make wittes lame;
He is well aduysed, that can bere hym lowe,
And suffer euery wynde to ouerblowe.

The Hauke. The hauke sayde: Who can blowe to please?
Longe neckes done great ease;

For the commyns, that hath no rest,
Meneth not euer with the best.

The Partryche, Quayle, and Larke. The partryche, quayle,
and larke in fielde

Sayde: Her may not auayle but spere and shelde;
The hauke with vs maketh great batayle,
In euery countrey, where he may auayle.

The Hauke. The hauke sayde; Who so wyllfully wyll fyght,
May make hym wronge sone of his ryght;
Lawe is best, I vnderstande,
To ryght all in euery lande.

The Robyn and the Wrenne. Than chydde the robyn and the
wrenne,

And all small byrdes that beare penne:
Against the hauke the commyns must aryse,
And helpe them selfe in theyr best wyse.

The Hauke. The hauke made the wrenne his answer,
Small power may lytle dere,
And who wyll lyue in rest longe,
Maye nat be besy with his tonge.

The Commyns. Than prayed all the commyn house,
That some myght the hauke souce,
For foule ne byrde, by water ne lande,
He wyll leaue a lyue, and he myght stande;
In his nest, may none abyde
In countre where he doth glyde;
Theyr fethers he plucketh many a folde,
And leaueth them naked in full great colde;
We think, therfore, by reason good,
To destroy the hauke, and all his bloode.

The Kyng and his Lordes. The Kyng and his lordes
answered, anone

States may not the hauke forgone,
Nor by no law his kynde destroye,
Nor deme him selfe for to dye,
Nor put him to none other distresse,
But kepe him in a payre of iesse,
That he fle nat to no byrde about,
But his keper let hym oute.

The Cornyshe-daw. Then said the cornyshe-daw,
Lytle money, lytle lawe,

For heré is nought els with frende ne fo,
But go bet peny, go bet, go.

The Hauke. Thou cornyshe, quod the hauke, by thy wyll,
Say well, or holde the styll;
Thou hast harde of many a man,
A tonge breaketh bone, and it selfe hath none.

The Kyng. Than answered the Kyng, and the byrdes by
rowe,

Why cometh not to the parlyament the crowe?

For good counsell refourmeth euery mysse,
And it betokeneth where it is.

The Hauke. The hauke sayde, It is nat lesse,
Counsell is good in warre and pce;

But the crowe hath no brayne
For to gyue counsell, but of the rayne.

The Nightwhale. Then sayd the nightwhale, with his heed
gaye,

He shameth vs with his parlyament aray;
It is a tearme with lohn and lacke,
Broked sleue draweth arme a backe.

The Hauke. The hauke sayde, He shall thryue full late
That loketh to kepe a great estate,
And can nat, wyth all his wysedome,
Gette hym selfe an hole gowne.

The Pecoche and the Swanne. Then sayde the pecocke and
the swanne,

Who no good hath, no good canne,
And lytle is his wytte set by,
That hath not to beare out company.

The Hauke. The hauke sayd, He is worse than wood,
That maketh hym fresshe with other mennes good,
Or ought wyll borowe and neuer paye,
Or with wrong getteth gallaunt araye.

The Specke. Then in his hole, sayd the specke,
I would the hauke brake his necke,
Or brought vnto some myscheuous dale,
For of euery byrde he telleth a tale.

The Hauke. The hauke sayd, though thy castell be in
the tree,

Buylde not aboue thy degree;
For who so heweth ouer hye,
The chippes wyll fall in his eye.

The Kynge. Then sayd the Kynge, It is our entent,
To amande the crows rayment;
And all the byrdes sayde, anone
Of eche of our fethers he shall haue one.

The Hauke. The hauke sayde, He may sone come to
honeste,

That euery man helpeth in his poste;
For, as teacheth vs the learned clerke,
Many handes maketh lyght werke.

The Tytyffre. I say, sayde the tytyffre, we Kentysshe men,
We may not geue the crowe a penne,
For, with them that are sobre and good,
A byrde in hande is worth two in the wood.

The Hauke. The hauke sayde, I take me to my crede,
Who so will spende wit you he may spede;
Lytle ye gyue, but he wote why,
Ye make the blynde eate many a flye.

THE PARLEMENT OF BYRDES.

The Crowe. Than the crowe was put in his araye,
 I am not now as I was yesterdaye;
 I am able, without offence,
 To speake in the Kynges presence.

The Hauke. The hauke sayde to the commons, By dene,
 Envy and pride would sayne be sene;
 He is worthy none audience to haue,
 That can not say but knaue, knaue.

The Commyns. Than asked the byrdes, by aduysement,
 Who is that taketh to vs no tent,
 He presumeth before vs all to fle,
 To the Kynges hyghe Maieste.

The Hauke. The hauke answered to the whitesemewe,
 It is the sory blacke crowe,
 And for him fareth no man the better,
 Let him crowe therfore neuer the greater.

The Lordes. Then sayde the Lordes euerychone,
 We wyll aske of the Kynge abone,
 That euery byrde shall resume
 Agayne his fether, and his plume,
 And make the crowe agayne a knaue,
 For he, that nought hath, nought shall haue.

The Hauke. Then sayde the hauke, as some sayne,
 Borrowed ware wyll home agayne.
 And who will herken what euery man dose,
 Maye goe helpe to sho the gose.

The Cormoraunte. For the crowe spake the cormoraunte,
 And of his rule made great auannt,
 Suche worship is reason that euery man haue,
 As the Kynges highnes vouchsaue.

The Hauke. It is sothe, sayde the hauke, that thou doest say,
 Whan all turneth to sporte and playe,
 Thou mayst leeste speake for the crows pelfe,
 For all thing loueth that is lyke it selfe.

The hole Parlyament. Than prayed the hole Parlyament,
 To the Kynge with one assent,
 That euery byrde her fether myght
 Take from that proude knyght.

The Kynge. The Kynge sayde, ye shall leaue haue,
 A knyght should neuer come of a knaue;
 All thyng wyll shew from whence it come,
 Where is his place and his home.

The Hauke. Now trewly, said the hauke, than
 It is a great comfort to all men,
 Of the Kynges great prosperite,
 Whan the Kynge ruleth well his communalty.

Than was plucked from the crowe anone
 All his fethers by one and by one,
 And laste all blacke in stede of reed,
 And called hym a page of the fyrst heed,

The Hauke. Quod the hauke, the crowe is now as he should be;

A kynde knaue in his degre,
And he that weneth no byrde is hym lyke,
Whan his fethers are plucked, he may hym go pike.

The Commyns. Than made the Commyns great noyse,
And asked of the Lordes wyth one voyce,
That they would the hauke exyle
Out of this lande many a myle,
Neuer to come agayne hyther;
But the Kyng sent for him thyder:
Hym to trust we haue no theson,
For it is proued in trust is treason;
And, sythe ye say, he shall nat dye,
Plucke of his hokes and let hym flye.

The Lordes. To that, sayde the Lordes, we pretende
This statute and other to amende;
So in this, that ye accorde
To put all in souerayne Lorde,

The Commyns. The Commyns sayde, it is great skyll,
All thyng to be at the Kynges wyll;
And, vnder the hande of his great myght,
By grace the people to seke theyr ryght.

The Hauke. Than sayde the hauke, now to, now fro,
Thus goeth the worlde in well and wo.

The Kyng. Than sayde the Kyng in his maistye,
We wyll disseuer this great semble;
He commaunded his chauncelere,
The best statutes to rede that he myght here:
Thus the fynal iudgement
He redde of the byrdes parlyament,
Whether they be whyte or blacke,
None shall others fethers take;
Nor the ravyn plucke the pecockes tayle,
To make him fresshe for his auayle,
For the Commyns fethers want,
For wyth some they be ryght skant.

The Iaye. Thus sayeth the cosen of the iay,
That none shall vse others aray,
For who so mounteth wyth egle on hye,
Shall fayle fethers when he would flye.

Sapiencia. Be nat greedy glede to gader,
For good fadeth and foules fether,
And, though thy fether be not gaye,
Haue none enuye at the swannes aray.

Concludent. For, thoughe an astryche may eat a nayle,
Wrath wyll plucke him winge and tayle,
And, yf thou lye in swalowes nest,
Let nat slouth in thy fethers rest;
Be trew as turtyll in thy kynde,

For lust wyll part as fethers in wynde:
 And he that is a glotnus gull,
 Deth wyll soon his fethers pull;
 Though thou be as hasty as a wype,
 And thy fethers slyght rype,
 Loke thy fethers and wryting be dene,
 What they say and what they mene,
 For here is none other thyng,
 But fowles, fethers, and wrytyng:
 Thus endeth the byrdes parlyament,
 By theyr Kynges commaundement.

AN

ESSAY ON THE THEATRES:

OR,

The Art of Acting. In Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry.

MS. Never before Printed.

Ex Noto Fictum Carmen.

HOR.

TO THE READER.

Although I have ventured to call this poem, 'The Art of Acting' in Imitation of Horace's 'Art of Poetry,' yet I must observe, that I have rather made a paraphrase on his rules and thoughts, than kept to a strict literal imitation of them. I am sensible therefore, I shall be highly censured by those who are acquainted with those happy imitations of this part of Horace, Dr. King's 'Art of Cookery,' and Mr. B——n's 'Art of Politicks.' All I can say to such an objection, is, that a more close confinement to the text would not suit my subject, which I found was not foreign enough from the original to make it by such a method any way entertaining; yet I have endeavoured to keep as strong an analogy to the sense and manner of Horace as I could possibly. Perhaps, this intention of imitating the method of Horace has led me into a conduct, which may be imputed to me as an unpardonable error, and that negligence in the numbers, which

often appear, may not be forgiven on my pleading, that in the version I have been often negligent by design. How far I am wrong y judgment in this respect, I willingly submit to those who are acquainted with the original.

SHOULD Hogarth, with extravagant conceit,
 Make a strange group of contrast figures meet,
 Beneath a plume that nods with tragic grace
 Limn the quaint drollery of H—psl—y's face;
 Then to that face add Chloe's neck and breast,
 Beauteous as thought e'er form'd, or tongue exprest;
 Amass the properties of motley scenes,
 Of gods, of kings, of devils, and of queens,
 Strike out a form that Nature cannot brag on,
 With crest of Cæsar and with tail of dragon,
 Part male,—part female,—devil part,—part God,
 Who could restrain a smile at sight so odd?

But, odd as such a figure might appear,
 It is the just resemblance of a play'r,
 Who rashly will depart from Nature's rule,
 And rather wonder raise, than touch the soul;
 Whose storms and incoherent actions seem,
 Like the wild prattlings of a sick man's dream,
 Which, while the feverish phrenzy may prevail,
 Flow unconnected, without head or tail.

Actors and poets have an equal right,
 By bold attempts, our pleasure to excite;
 New talents still in pointed wit to show,
 And make the stream of humour stronger flow;
 Or in the tender, or the lofty scene,
 Form a new harmony of words and mein;
 Leave dull theatric precedents of art,
 And with peculiar judgment catch the heart.
 Bold are these liberties that actors claim,
 And great their freedom in pursuit of fame:
 Yet a just licence cannot give pretence,
 To break the steady rules of common sense;
 To strain the voice and storm with frantic air,
 When * Oedipus appeals in moving pray'r;
 Nor yet a slow soft whining tone assume,
 When † peals of thunder shake the conscious room.

Some, when grave scenes should rise with awful state,
 And all the heroes be divinely great,
 Studious in vain, exert an idle care,
 To please the eye, or gently sooth the ear:
 In senate or in camp, in joy, or woe,

* In allusion to these lines in Mr. Dryden's play of Oedipus:
 To you, ye gods, I make my last appeal, &c.

† Clasp'd in the folds of love: I'll wait my doom,
 And act my joys, though thunder shakes the room.

The plume must wave, the voice must sweetly flow :
 High character by length of train be shown,
 And dignity by drawling out the tone.
 Justly the plume may grace an actor's mein,
 And the imperial robe adorn the scene;
 Justly the numbers, flowing o'er the tongue,
 May warble sweet as Philomela's song,
 While vales, and dales, and murmur'ing streams, which rove,
 Gently mæandring through the flow'ry grove,
 The subject are :—But, if ill-judg'd the choice
 Of pompous dress, and modulated voice,
 The * shape though rich, the voice though soft and clear,
 With all a dull extravagance appear.
 Both sometimes please; but this is not their place;
 Consult propriety alone for grace.

Hayman † by scenes our senses can controul
 And with creative power charm the soul;
 His easy pencil flows with just command,
 And Nature starts obedient to his hand:
 We hear the tinkling rill, we view the trees
 Cast dusky shades, and wave the gentle breeze:
 Here shoots through leafy bow'rs a sunny ray,
 That gilds the grove, and emulates the day:
 There mountain tops look glad; there vallies sing;
 And through the landschape blooms eternal spring:
 But what's this art, should he such art perform,
 And join it to the horrors of a storm:
 Where quick fork'd lightnings gleam, loud thunders roar,
 And foaming billows lash the sounding shoar;
 Where driv'n by eddies with impetuous shock,
 The whirling vessel bulges on a rock;
 The hopeless sailor rearing high his hand,
 And corpse on corpse come rolling on the strand:
 In storm and landschape we might beauties find,
 But wonder how they came together join'd.

Art rul'd by Nature must direct the soul,
 And ev'ry gesture, look, and word controul:

Deceiv'd by specious right, most actors run
 Into the contrast errors they wou'd shun:
 Some, who wou'd gaiety or passion show,
 With smart, lisp'd, catch make half-form'd words to flow;
 Swift rolls of jargon sound, a rapid flood,
 With not one word distinctly understood:
 Thus, lab'ring to avoid a drawling tone,
 An equal impropriety is shown.
 Others, to seem articulate and clear,
 With dull, loud, slow, plain sound fatigue the ear;

* The theatrical term for a Roman habit. † A young gentleman, a painter, very excellent
 in his art, whose scenes at Drury-lane theatre have always met with the greatest approbation
 from the spectators.

All words, all lines, the same grave cadence keep,
 And drowsy lull insensibly to sleep:
 While these, to prove that they no spirits want,
 Out-bawl Drawcansir in the tragic rant.
 Some few, who fear what critics may explode,
 With plodding pace jog on the beaten road:
 Content in acting just with common sense,
 Ne'er dare to deviate into excellence:
 Who never charm, yet never much offend,
 Who with the merit they began will end.
 But yet a brisker genius of the stage
 Will try all arts, all methods, to engage:
 Buffoonly dress, affect a monstrous tone,
 Strike out the poet's wit, insert his own:
 As sailor, or as clown, as beau, or play'r,
 No matter what, or how, or when, or where,
 Will scenes, will times, will characters confound,
 To hear of false applause the vulgar sound:

Thus more they err who would their errors hide,
 If they want solid judgment for their guide:

Near Covent-Garden does a painter live,
 Whose pencil can most wond'rous likeness give
 To the soft ringlets of the flowing hair,
 Be they or red, or brown, or black, or fair:
 Nor in this only does his art prevail,
 He hits the finger, and the finger's nail:
 Yet of the dolt how wretched is the case?
 Who cannot give to half the picture grace,
 Nor touch a single feature of the face. }
 Rather than act as such a man would paint,
 Some trifling parts by meer luck represent;
 But when a strength of genius should appear,
 Still bound to grovel in my narrow sphere,
 I would no more be such than noted be,
 Alike for beauty, and deformity:

Than have Lothario's manly form and grace,
 Topp'd with the shocking sneer of Clody's face.

All you who feel a gen'rous thirst of fame,
 And from the stage a just applause would claim,
 From the first moment you commence a play'r,
 And strut at Smithfield or at Southwark fair;
 Long as you shall a better fortune wait,
 And strolling know variety of fate;
 Just as the gods direct the chance of things,
 Are this day coblers, and to-morrow kings;
 Your genius try'd, consult the head and heart,
 Dare not at flights; be equal to your part;
 Damn'd you may be attempting Wildair's ease,
 When in the * buffoon doctor you might please:

* The Mock Doctor.

On parts adapted to your talents dwell,
And be your only study to excell.
Hence they who judgment to their choice admit,
When cast to parts which will their genius hit,
Such ease with such expressive force is shown,
They make the poet's sentiments their own ;
Into the character so strong they fall,
It seems no longer art but nature all.

This must the method be, or much I err,
To gain just credit in a theatre;
To judge what parts may now, what then be play'd,
What to some future happier time delay'd;
Whose manner, or whose action they shou'd like,
How far at imitation they may strike,
What to improve, what shun, must well be known
To rise a fav'rite actor of the town.

Be cautious, though it long has practis'd been,
To add your own wit to the poet's scene :
Now to your written parts be strictly true,
Nor to the old insert one sentence new :
For ev'ry sentence new must licens'd be,
Nor are the actors more than poets free.
Yet it will shew a quickness of the mind,
And from the audience sure applause wou'd find,
If as by accident, and not by art,
You could add something new, and timely smart ;
When some keen satire on some antient crimes,
You mark'd as levell'd at our modern times :
A new chance phrase, unknown an age ago,
Might strongly point out vices acted now,
And licensers will slips of tongues allow—
But be those slips most careful, for they hate
One word that marks a minister of state.

Hence such attempts should with great caution be,
And almost with the prompter's book agree.—

—'Tis said : Shall modern actors be refus'd
What all the old with liberty have us'd ?
Why shou'd old Pinkey's jestings, and grimace,
Excell young C——r's witticisms or face ?
Why shou'd our merry sires commend so high,
In their old droll, what we our new deny ?
Pinkey cou'd raise much laughter we admit,
Yet equal C——r is in phiz, or wit :
But Pinkey cou'd his jokes secure invent,
Poor Thee's restrain'd by act of parliament ;
Who wou'd not, C——r, at such act repine,
When it embargoes wit, — and wit like thine ?

Why are they envy'd then, who dare pursue
 Where genius leads to strike out something new?
 In the last age gay * Mountford charm'd the town
 With comit art peculiarly her own:
 Shall not our Clive as just an honour claim,
 Who fix'd on inborn excellence her fame?
 Our sires to Mountford great encomiums raise,
 Shall we not Clive wish equal ardour praise?
 We great originals must both allow,
 For all that Mountford cou'd be, Clive is now.
 It ever pleas'd the town, and ever will,
 To see old parts play'd with new humour still:
 They who preceding actors will pursue,
 And strive to bring a sameness to the view,
 By the dull copy all our loss renew. }
 But when we see young players, justly bold,
 Rise to perfection, we forget the old:
 As in a play scenes vary by degrees,
 And, though the various prospects change, they please;
 So, when a band of antient actors die,
 Another set the theatres supply;
 Blooming with pride, they flourish, and are gay,
 Then withering droop, and still to new give way.
 Actors are mortal; and, at death's dire call,
 Beaus, misers, rakes, coquettes, and coblers, fall:
 He rules despotic, as o'er meaner things,
 O'er green-room heroines, and buskin'd kings:
 Their mighty empires mighty changes know,
 And various revolutions undergo.
 Even their seas and heavens have their date,
 For—paint and pasteboard must submit to fate.
 What will not change in time? That † noble square,
 To which each morning many nymphs repair,
 And o'er whose confines every evening rove,
 Famous all day for greens, all night for love:
 Though nigh D—ve—l, there fam'd piazzas give
 Whores, gamesters, pickpockets, a means to live:
 The R—ch of a new empire fix'd his seat,
 And wanton'd indolent in gay retreat;
 Till the calm monarch into dangers fell,
 And had, to save his realm, recourse to hell:
 —Strange fate of things!—‡ A serpent curs'd mankind,
 But R—ch can blessings in a serpent find:

* Mountford, afterwards Mrs. Verbruggen, was esteemed a most excellent actress in comedy,
 & a great a judge of acting in general, that Mr. Verbruggen, who was a very good tragedian,
 said to have received his chief perfections from her instructions. How great her excellence
 have been, may be imagined from her acting Bayes in the Rehearsal, with a judgment and
 'ity equal to any who had ever performed it. † Covent-garden. ‡ These four lines allude
 to the entertainment of Orpheus and Eurydice, performed at Covent-garden theatre, to crowd
 the scenes. The serpent, which is to kill Eurydice, with a kind of spontaneous motion, is moved
 to the stage, to the great admiration and emolument of the spectators: To view this ser-
 pent, the scenes of hell, &c. Ladies send their servants to keep places for them, at three
 o'clock, every time it is performed.

Hell to his bosom can true comfort give,
 Him poyson cures, and devils make him live;
 But this theatric realm, that noble square,
 Shall fall in time, and change from what they are;
 When not a * Burlington shall Jones restore,
 And R—ch and pantomimes shall be no more.

If such piles perish, and such realms decay,
 The modes of acting change as well as they.

As acting is to represent mankind,
 Actors new method in each age must find;
 As fashions vary, or as humours change;
 Attempt this year what they might last think strange:
 For so the player in esteem is plac'd,
 Who hits with most success the reigning taste.
 Be what it will to hit that wins the heart,
 Supposes judgment, and it shews an art.

To shew old heroes, and make armies fight,
 Gave in Eliza's warlike reign delight;
 Then Shakespear wrote of battles, wars, and kings,
 And sung in noble numbers noble things;
 From him what deeds have tragic heroes done!
 And on a six foot stage what empires lost and won!

Beaumont and Fletcher with great spirit drew
 The gay and gentel character to view;
 Shew'd how warm youth to gallantry could rove,
 And taught the pleasing dialogue of love;
 Such parts we saw Wilks hit with sprightly ease,
 And, hap'ly catching Nature's foibles, please:
 Here Oldfield gave an excellence of art,
 Who in these antique scenes cou'd fire the heart:
 Her elegance of judgment made all new,
 That wit e'er spirited, or nature drew.

Greatly endow'd with knowledge of mankind,
 Ben † first the humour of the stage refin'd:
 Gave to the play'rs new plans of comic wit,
 Which wou'd of great variety admit;
 Requir'd the actors utmost skill and care,
 For he drew men; and drew them as they were.
 To represent his characters, must be
 A knowledge of mankind through each degree:
 He left such drama for the modern stage,
 In which, who most excel, in all will most engage.

Dave'nant ‡ in Opera's gave the tuneful song,
 And to the drama made new arts belong:

* The Earl of Burlington, at his own expence, repaired Covent-garden church, which was built by Sir Inigo Jones, and is reckoned as fine a structure as any in England. † Ben John-
 son. ‡ In this account of Sir William Dave'nant I follow theatrical tradition, but cannot
 reckon him the first who introduced singing, scenes, and machines on the stage; for in Ben
 Johnson's masques there is very pompous machinery and scenery described, which are often
 said by the poet to be the designs and performances of Sir Inigo Jones.

He first, instead of Arras painted scenes,
 And heroes show'd descending in machines;
 Join'd music's power to the actor's art,
 By double charms to captivate the heart:
 But thus to please imperfectly he taught;
 Dalton * this art to full perfection brought;
 Whose happy skill made Milton's noble strain
 Inspire the soul, and dignify the scene;
 With awe the poet's lofty sense we hear,
 Then notes with sweetest graces charm the ear.
 Now virtue's praise affects the gen'rous mind,
 Now still new joys by music's aid we find:
 Two great alternate arts our passions move,
 Sway'd with the force of virtue and of love.

By whom were scenes of Harlequin begun,
 By some French dancer, or our native † Lun?
 Though they dispute, no connoisseurs can fix:
 Some say Lun brought, some say improv'd the tricks;
 But who in mottled coat first charm'd the rout,
 Theatric hist'ry leaves us room to doubt.
 Through all this various drama of the stage,
 In any part whoever wou'd engage,
 To gain applause from judges must excell:
 'Tis wretched to be tolerably well.

Why as just actors shou'd we those admit,
 Who will appear in characters unfit?
 In other parts be pleasing as they will,
 Whene'er they fail, they shew their want of skill:
 Why should the greatest player not be told,
 Of glaring faults, and be by sense controul'd?
 Better it were by decent hints be taught,
 Than one night lose the fame, in five they go.

A happy genius for low-humour'd farce,
 Ill wou'd attempt the sound of tragic verse:
 A mottley tone wou'd break through all the style,
 And dangling, awkward action make us smile.

Should Nell turn heroine, as Pistol deigns,
 On Buskin's ‡ two foot high, to fill the scenes,
 All wou'd, as Jobson's wife had a new change,
 Pity a metamorphosis so strange:
 But when the little hero we behold,
 In burlesque pomp, self-confident, and bold,
 Roll round his goggling eyes with awful grin,
 And thump his heart,—to show it touch'd within:

The gentleman who adapted the masque of *Comus* to the stage, and by a judicious disposal of the scenes, and some collections from Milton's writings, has given the public one of the best performances that was ever seen on the English Theatre. † Lun, a fictitious name by Mr. R.—h assumed on his first performing the character of Harlequin, and which he has since retained. ‡ The principal character in the farce, called, *The Devil to pay*, or *Wives Metamorphos'd*.

His tragi-comic countenance, and strid,
With hearty laughter shakes our quav'ring side.

Some, not content their excellence to show,
Strive to reveal their imperfections too.

Confin'd to proper walks wou'd actors be,
All wou'd appear with more propriety.

Yet I allow that, in the comic scene,
Some who excel, excel in tragic strain :

And some, who justly reach the tragic style,
In comic scenes as justly make us smile :

He who, in 'Rule a Wife,' can hit the part
Of ideot folly, must then rouse the heart,

Lose in becoming dignity the fool,

And prove with tragic grandeur he will rule.

Nor do th' Othello's of the stage disdain,

In hum'rous guise, to touch the comic vein,

To change the heroes for the fat old knight,

And with Jack Falstaff's drollery delight.

Fame gives this rule, if we to fame may trust,

Tragedians only act a Falstaff just :

In this, indeed, long famous have they been,

For Betterton was matchless, now is Quin.

'Tis not sufficient to repeat a part

With proper accent ; it must reach the heart :

The actor to the audience must reveal,

He has the will, and faculty to feel :

Mov'd in himself, all others he controuls,

Commands their thoughts, and agitates their souls.

When Cato gives his little senate laws,

What bosom pants not in his gen'rous cause ?

But shou'd, while we the character revere,

See the great patriot sink into the play'r ;

See him look round box, gallery, and pit,

Nor the least seeming thought of Rome admit ;

Who wou'd not laugh to think that this survey

Was to mark out some friend, as, who shou'd say,

'Pox o' this stuff—Let Rome be lost or won,

'We'll drink our bottle when the play is done.'

All actors are to seem what they are not ;

Which to perform, themselves must be forgot :

Their mind must lost in character be shown,

Nor once betray a passion of their own ;

Must to the business of the stage attend,

And height of action with their silence blend ;

Or in the front, aside, or back retir'd,

Something to do, or seem, is still requir'd :

This common rule shou'd practis'd be by all,

From Jobson chaunting in the cobbler's stall,

To Cæsar thund'ring in the capitol,

}

'Tis not enough if you can catch the cue,
 A strict attention's to the audience due;
 Gaze not around on them; they do not pay
 To see you turn spectators, but to play.
 If you are curious, there are other means,
 From the loop'd curtain, or behind the scenes.

When in old parts you venture to pursue }
 A manner of your own, to make them new, }
 Still to the character be strictly true. }
 To act Macheath more merit must you bring,
 Than thrill a ballad, and with quaver sing;
 A manly gesture and a sprightly air
 Must with a proper dignity appear;
 The gay mock hero must our passions move,
 By joy, by courage, in distress, and love.
 Some parts 'tis danger to attempt at all,
 When late we've seen a great original;
 We by the first impression are so wrought,
 All copies, though well copy'd, have much fault:
 Nor is this partial prejudice alone;
 The author's sense to the first actor's shown: }
 In the full spirit, and becomes his own: }
 Hence, Walker, though we many Macheaths view,
 The standard excellence remains in you.

Sometimes a poet, studiously absurd,
 Fit for one person only writes each word:
 Or could Miss * Lucy the first night survive,
 Had not each word adapted been for Clive?
 Lucy, or Lappet, or her fav'rite Nell,
 May copy'd be—she only will excell.

Some to the stage unus'd, unskill'd, untaught,
 To charm at first appearance have been brought,
 And, of applause secure, assume a part
 Requires experience and the nicest art;
 The pompous bill proclaims it o'er and o'er,
 They ne'er 'appear'd on any stage' before }
 And when they've once appear'd—appear no more: }

So have I seen large-letter'd bills proclaim,
 (In red lines France was mark'd, in black the name)
 The celebrated H——— was to dance
 His first performance since arriv'd from France:
 —The house was crowded;—the third act was done;
 A chorus figur'd entry brought him on: }
 He came;—he caper'd once;—and off he run.— }
 The pomp so solemn ended in a joke,
 For, ah! the string that ty'd his breeches broke.

Vain all the puffs to publick papers sent;
 Vain all the arts ev'n C—bb—r could invent;

* Miss Lucy: a character in the *Virgin* (1790).

What skill do bills or advertisements lend?
 On merit only must success depend.
 Booth ne'er attempted, in a pompous way,
 To reach perfection in his first essay;
 Through many countries had he strolling been,
 Trod many stages, and play'd many a scene,
 Before the British Roscius he became;
 And fix'd, while Britain's stage shall last, his name:
 He knew experienc'd truths must gain his cause,
 Nor made small fame to follow small applause;
 Commanding of respect, his step, his look,
 Invited all attention e're he spoke:
 With what a majesty he mov'd along!
 How tuneful flow'd the periods of his tongue!
 Inform'd by nature, and improv'd by art,
 Speaking, or silent, he won ev'ry heart,
 Or all admiring listen'd with surprize,
 Or on his graceful form they fed their raptur'd eyes;
 The fiction lost, they realiz'd the scene,
 And saw entranc'd a heroe live again.

'Tis said, as actors on the stage make known
 All others foibles, nor reveal their own,
 Many there are, who've sat out many a play,
 Nor went near the twelfth hour fatigu'd away;
 Who on the stage the players have admir'd,
 Have wish'd to know their humours, when retir'd:
 They of strange things behind the curtain hear,
 And wonder what those famous green-rooms are.
 For fame says many go behind the scenes,
 To romp with goddesses, and joke with queens,
 With half-drunk bishops talk of smutty things,
 Bow'd to by emp'rors, and shook hands by kings.

These scenes conceal'd from common light arise,
 Whose humour pleases, and whose themes surprize:
 In all according to their rank you find
 Various behaviour, and as various mind;
 All with peculiar oddities engage,
 From him who sweeps, to him who rules the stage.

These, Muse, relate:—But why this sudden pause,
 Vers'd in their arts, their humours, and their laws?
 When what to think and what to say I know,
 Why will not ev'n prosaic numbers flow?
 —Some God indulgent twitches by the ear,
 And kindly whispers,—'Too rash burd, forbear;
 'Enough hast thou traduc'd Horatian rules,
 'Indulging fancy, and describing fools';
 'In imitation should your verse succeed,
 'When such the subject, who the verse will read?
 'What publick benefit will it impart
 'To know a player's humour, or his art?

‘ —Humour be what it will, if just, is lov’d—,
 ‘ Ere you write more see what you’ve wrote approv’d:
 ‘ Then of the stage the various theme prolong,
 ‘ Or wisely here for ever close your song.’

NENNIUS, A WORTHY BRITON,

The very Pattern of a valiant, noble, and faithful Subject,

ountering with Julius Cæsar, at his first Coming into this Island,
 as by him Death-wounded; yet nevertheless he got Cæsar’s Sword,
 at him to Flight, slew therewith Labienus, a tribune of the Romans,
 idured Fight till his Countrymen won the Battle, died fifteen Days
 ter. And now encourageth all good Subjects to defend their
 ountry from the Power of foreign and usurping Enemies.

About the Year before Christ, 52.

MS.

I MAY, by right, some later writers blame
 Of stories old, as rude, or negligent;
 Or else I may them well unlearned name,
 Or heedless, in those things about they went:
 Some time on me as well they might have spent,
 As on such traitors, tyrants, harlots, those,
 Which, to their countries, were the deadliest foes.

Me, for myself, I would not this recite,
 Although I have occasion good thereto;
 But sure, methinks, it is too great despite,
 These men to others, and their countries, do:
 For there are Britons, neither one or two,
 Whose names in stories scarcely once appear,
 And yet their lives examples worthy were.

’Tis worthy praise, I grant, to write the ends
 Of vicious men, and teach the like beware:
 For what hath he of virtue, that commends
 Such persons lewd, as nought of virtues care?
 But for to leave out those praise-worthy are

Is like as if a man had not the skill
To praise the good, but discommend the ill.

I crave no praise, although myself deserv'd
As great a laud, as any Briton yore :
But I would have it told how well I serv'd
My prince and country, faith to both I bore :
All noble hearts hereby, with courage more,
May both their foreign foes in fight withstand,
And of their enemies have the upper hand.

Again, to shew how valiant then we were,
You Britons good, to move your hearts thereby
All other nations less in fight to fear,
And, for your country, rather so to die,
With valiant, haughty courage, as did I,
Than live in bondage, service, slavery, thrall
Of foreign powers, which hate your manhood all :

Do give me leave to speak but even a while,
And mark, and write this story I thee tell :
By north from London, more than fifty mile,
There lies the Isle of Ely, known full well,
Wherein my father built a place to dwell ;
And, for because he lik'd well the same,
He gave the place ' He Ely hight,' his name.

'Tis nam'd the Isle of Ely, yet, perdy,
My father nam'd it so ; yet * writers miss,
Or, if I may be bold to say, they lye
Of him, which tell that far untruth-like is.
What truth, I pray you, seems to be in this ?
He Ely lov'd, a goodly place built there,
Most it delighted, reign'd not full a year.

He reigned forty years, as others tell ;
Which seems, as 'tis a tale, more true by far :
By justice guided he his subjects well,
And liv'd in peace, without the broils of war :
His children's noble acts in stories are,
In vulgar tongue ; but nought is said of me,
And yet I worthy was, the young'st of three.

His eldest son and heir was after King ;
A noble prince, and he was named Lud ;
Full politick and wise in every thing,
And one that will'd his country always good :
Such uses, customs, statutes he withstood,
As seem'd to bring the publick weal's decay,
And them abolish'd, broke, repeal'd away.

*Laquet, Stowe, Grafton, Flores Historici.

So he the walls of 'Troy the New' renew'd,
 Inlarg'd them made, with forty tow'rs about;
 And, at the west-side of the wall, he view'd
 A place for gates, to keep the enemies out:
 There made he prisons for the poor bankrout,
 Nam'd Ludgate, yet the freemen debtors, free
 From hurt, till with their creditors they agree.

Some say, the city also took the name
 Of Lud my brother, for he it repair'd;
 And I must needs, as true, confess the same.
 For why? That time no cost on it he spar'd.
 He still increas'd and peopled every ward;
 And bade them ay: *Kaer Lud* the city call,
 Or Ludstow'n; now you name it London all.

At length he dy'd, his children under age,
 The elder named was Androgeus,
 Committing both unto my brother's charge:
 The younger of them hight Tennancius.
 The Britons, wanting aged rulers thus,
 Chose, for that time, Cassibellane their King,
 My brother justice meant in every thing.

The Roman then the mighty Cæsar fought,
 Against the Galls, and conquer'd them by might:
 Which done, he stood on shores, where see he mought
 The ocean seas, and Britain cliffs full bright;
 Quoth he, What region lies there in my sight?
 Methinks some island in the seas I see,
 Not yet subdu'd, nor vanquish'd yet by me.

With that they told him, we the Britons were,
 A people stout, and fierce in feats of war.
 Quoth he, The Romans never yet, with fear
 Of nation rude, was daunted off so far;
 We therefore mind to prove them what they are;
 And, therewithal, the letters hither sent,
 By those ambassage brought, and thus they went:

*us Cæsar, Dictator of Rome, to Cassibellane, King of Britain,
 sendeth greeting.*

Since that the Gods have given us all the west,
 As subjects to our Roman empire high;
 By war, or as it seemed, Jove the best,
 Of whom we Romans came, and chiefly I.

Therefore to you, which in the ocean dwell,
 As yet not underneath subjection due;
 We send our letters, greeting, were ye well;
 In warlike cases, thus we deal with you,

First that you, as the other regions, pay
 Us tribute yearly, Romans we require;
 Then that you will, with all the force you may,
 Withstand our foes, as yours, with sword and fire.

And thirdly, that by these you pledges send,
 T' assure the covenants, once agreed by you:
 So, with your danger less, our wars may end,
 Else bid we war; Cassibelane, adieu,

CÆSAR -

No sooner were these Cæsar's letters seen,
 But straight the King for all his nobles sent:
 He shewed them what their ancestors had been,
 And pray'd them tell, in this, their whole intent,
 He told them whercabout the Romans went,
 And what subjection was, how servile they
 Should be, if Cæsar bore their pomp away,

And all the Britons, even as set on fire,
 (Myself not least inflamed was to fight)
 Did humbly him in joyful wise require,
 That he his letters would to Cæsar write,
 And tell him plain, he pass'd not of his spite.
 We pass'd at little, of the Romans we,
 And less than they of us, if less might be.

Wherefore, the joyful King again reply'd,
 Through counsel wise of all the nobles had.
 By letters he the Romans hosts defy'd:
 Which made the Britons haughty hearts full glad.
 No doubt, the Romans more than half were mad,
 To hear his letters written, thus they went,
 Which he again to mighty Cæsar sent:

*Cassibellane, King of Britain, to C. Julius Cæsar, Dictator, sendeth
 answer.*

As thou, O Cæsar, writ'st, the Gods have given to thee
 The West; so I reply, They gave this island me.
 Thou say'st, You Romans, and thyself, of Gods descend;
 And dar'st thou then to spoil our Trojan blood pretend?

Again, though Gods have giv'n thee all the world as thine;
That's parted from the world, thou get'st no land of mine;
And since likewise of Gods we came, a nation free,
We owe no tribute, aid, or pledge, to Rome or thee.

Retract thy will, or wage thy war, as likes thee best;
We are to fight, and rather, than to friendship press'd;
To save our country from the force of foreign strife,
Each Briton here is well content to venture life.
We fear not of the end, or dangers thou dost tell;
But use thy pleasure, if thou may'st; thus fare thou well.

CASSIBELLANE.

When Cæsar had receiv'd his answer so,
It vex'd him much; he fully straight decreed
To wage us war, and work us, Britons, woe:
Therefore he hasted hitherward with speed;
We Britons here prepar'd ourselves, with heed,
To meet the Romans, all in warlike wise,
With all the force and speed we might devise.

We Britons then far deem'd it meeter much,
To meet him first at th' entry on this land,
Than for to give an entry here to such,
Might, with our victuals, here ourselves withstand.
'Tis better for thy enemy to aband,
Quite from thy borders, to a stranger soil,
Than he, at home, thee and thy country spoil.

Wherefore we met him, at his entry in,
And pitch'd our camps directly in his way:
We minded sure to lose, or else to win
The praise, before we pass'd from thence away.
So when that both the armies were in ray,
And trumpet's blast on every side was blown,
Our minds to either each were quickly known.

We joined battle, fiercely both we fought;
The Romans to enlarge their empire's fame,
And we, with all the force and might we mought,
To save our country, and to keep our name.
(O worthy Britons, learn to do the same)
We broke the rays of all the Roman host,
And made the mighty Cæsar leave his boast.

Yet he, the worthiest captain ever was,
Brought all in ray, and fought again a-new;
His skillful soldiers he could bring to pass
At once, for why his trainings all they knew.

No sooner I his noble corps did view,
But in I broke amongst the captain's band,
And there I fought with Cæsar hand to hand.

O God, thou might'st have given a Briton grace,
T' have slain the Roman Cæsar noble then;
Which sought his blood the Britons to deface,
And bring, in bondage, valiant worthy men:
He never should have gone to Rome again,
To fight with Pompey, or his peers to slay,
Or else to bring his country in decay.

It joy'd my heart to strike on Cæsar's crest,
O Cæsar, that there had been none but we;
I often made my sword to try thy breast,
But Lady Fortune did not look on me.
I able was, methought, with Cæsars three
To try the case: I made thy heart to quake,
When on thy crest with mighty strokes I strake.

The strokes, thou struck'st me, hurt me not at all,
For why, thy strength was nothing in respect;
But thou hadst bath'd thy sword in poison all,
Which did my wound not deadly else infect.
Yet was I, or I parted thence bewreck'd,
I got thy sword from thee, for all thy fame,
And made thee fly, for fear to eat the same.

For, when thy sword was in my target fast,
I made thee fly, and quickly leave thy hold;
Thou never wast, in all thy life, so gast,
Nor durst again be ever half so bold.
I made a number of Roman hearts full cold.
Fight, fight, you noble Britons, now, quoth I,
We never all will unrevenge'd die.

What, Cæsar, though thy praise and mine be odd?
Perhaps the stories scarce remember me:
Though poets all of thee do make a God,
Such simple fools in making Gods they be.
Yet, if I might my case have try'd with thee,
Thou never hadst return'd to Rome again,
Nor, of thy faithful friends, been beastly slain.

A number Britons, might'st thou there have seen,
Death-wounded fight, and spoil their spiteful foes:
Myself, maim'd, slew and mangled more I ween,
When I was hurt, than twenty more of these.
I made the Roman hearts to take their hose:

In all the camp no Roman scarce I spy'd,
Durst half a combat 'gainst a Briton 'bide.

At length I met a nobleman, they call'd
Him Labienus, one of Cæsar's friends,
A tribune erst, had many Britons thrall'd:
Was one of Cæsar's legates, forth he sends,
Well met (quoth I) I mind to make thee mends,
For all thy friendship to our country crew:
And so with Cæsar's sword his friend I slew:

What need I name you every Briton here,
As first the King, the nobles all beside,
Full stout and worthy wights, in war that were,
As ever erst the stately Romans try'd;
We fought so long they durst no longer 'bide.
Proud Cæsar he, for all his brags and boast,
Flew back to ships, with half his scatter'd host.

If he had been a God, as Sots him nam'd,
He could not of us Britons taken foil;
The monarch Cæsar might have been asham'd,
From such an island, with his ships recoil,
Or else to fly, and leave behind the spoil:
But life is sweet, he thought it better fly,
Than hide amongst us Britons, for to die.

I had his sword, was named Croceamors,
With which he gave me in the head a stroke,
The venom of the which had such a force,
It able was to pierce the heart of oak,
No med'cines might the poison out revoke:
Wherefore, though scarce he pierced had the skin,
In fifteen days my brains it rankled in.

And then too soon (alas! therefore) I dy'd;
I would to God he had return'd again,
So that I might but once the dastard spy'd:
Before he went, I had the serpent slain.
He play'd the coward cut-throat all too plain:
A beastly serpent's heart that beast detects,
Which, ere he fight, his sword with bane infects.

Well then, my death brought Cæsar no renown,
For both I got, thereby, eternal fame,
And eke his sword, to strike his friends adown;
I slew therewith his Labiene by name:
With prince against my country's foes I came,
Was wounded, yet did never faint, nor yield,
Till Cæsar with his soldiers fled the field.

Who would not venture life in such a case?
 Who would not fight at countries whole request?
 Who would not, meeting Cæsar in the place,
 Fight for life, prince, and country with the best?
 The greatest courage is by facts express'd:
 Then for thy prince with fortitude, as I,
 And realm's behoof, is praise to live or die.

Now write my life, when thou hast leisure, and
 Will all thy countrymen to learn by me,
 Both for their prince, and for their native land,
 As valiant, bold, and fearless for to be.
 A pattern plain of fortitude they see:
 To which directly if themselves they frame,
 They shall preserve their country, faith, and fame.

THE

NINE * WORTHIES OF LONDON:

Explaining the honourable Exercise of Armes, the Vertues of the Valiant, and the memorable Attempts of magnanimous Minds; pleasant for Gentlemen, not vnseemely for Magistrates, and most profitable for Prentises. Compiled by Richard Iohnson.

Imprinted at London, by Thomas Orwin, for Humfrey Lownes, and are to be sold at his Shop at the West Doore of Paules. 1592. In Black Letter. Quarto, containing forty-eight Pages.

To the Right Honourable Sir William Webbe, Knight, Lord Maior of the famous Citie of London, Richard Iohnson wisheth health, with increase of honour.

BEING not altogether (Right Honorable) vnacquainted with the fame of this wel governed citie, the heade of our English flourishing common wealth, I thought nothing, considering it somewhat touched my dutie, could be more acceptable to your honour, then such principles as first grounded the same, as well by domesticall policie of peace, as forraine excellence in resolution of warre. This caused me to collect, from our London gardens, such especiall flowers, that

* Vide the 270th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets.

saoured as well in the wrath of winter, as in the pride of sommer, keeping one equiuolence at all kinde of seasons: Flowers of chiuallrie, Right Honorable, I meane, some that haue sucked honie from the bee, sweetnesse from warre, and were possessed in that high place of prudence, wherof your lordship now partaketh. Other some that haue beene more inferiour members, and yet haue giuen especial ayde to the head, beene buckler to the best, and therby reached to the aspiring toppe of armes: If your lordship shall but like of it, proceeding from the barren braine of a poore apprentice, that dare not promise moulhills, much lesse mountaines, I shall thinke this by-exercise, which I vndertooke to expell idlennesse, a worke of worth, whosocuer the gentle could kind, that are vrgently inkindled, shall with ostentation inueigh. These, Right Honorable, the *Nine Worthies of London*, now vnable to defend themselues, seeke their protection vnder your gracious fauour; and the authour pricked on by fame to be patronaged for his willing labour; whereof not misdoubting, I humbly commit your honour to the defence of heauen, and the guider of all iust equalitie.

Your Lordships, in all humble dutie to be commaunded,

RICHARD IOHNSON.

To the Gentlemen Readers, as well Prentices as others.

LL is not gold, Gentlemen, that glisters, nor all drosse that makes but a darke shew; so should copper some time be currant, and pearles of no price. *Æsop*, for all his crutchback, had a quick wit. *Cleanthes*, though in the night he caried the watertankard, yet in the day would dispute with philosophers. A meane man may look vpon a King, and a wren build her nest by an egle. In the games of *Olympus* any man might trie his strength; and, when *Apelles* liued, others were not forbid to paint. So, Gentlemen, though now a dayes many great poets flourish, from whose eloquent workes you take both pleasure and profite: yet, I trust, inferiours, whose pens dare not compare with *Apollos*, shall not be contemned, or put to silence. Euery weede hath his vertue, and studious trauaile, though without skill, may manifest good will. Vouchsafe then intertainment to this new come guest; his simple truth shewes he is without deceyte, and his plaine speech proues he flatters not. He can not boast of art, nor claime the priuiledge of scholasticall cunning; what he sayth is not curious, being without any great præmeditation, or practise, more then his necessarie affaires would permit. If his vnpolished discourses may merit the least motion of your good liking, let the enuious fret, and the captious malice melt themselues. Neither the obiection of mechanickall, by such as are themselues diabolicall, whose vicious basenesse in a selfe conceyte, presuming about the best, is in deede but the dregges and refuse of the worst; nor the reproch of prouerbiall

scoffes (as, 'Ne sutor ultra crepidam') shall discourage me from proceeding to inuent how further to content you. And so, trusting to my fortune, and ending in my hap, neither despairing of your censures, nor fearing what the maleuolent can inflict.

Yours to commaund, as he may,

RICHARD IOHNSON.

A Catalogue, or briefe Table, declaring the Names of these worthie Men, and when they liued.

First, Sir William Walworth, fishmonger, in the time of Richard the Second.

Second, Sir Henrie Pitchard, vintener, in the time of Edward the Third.

Third, Sir William Seuenoake, grocer, in the time of Henrie the Fift.

Fourth, Sir Thomas White, marchant tailer, in the time of Queene Marie.

Fift, Sir Iohn Bonham, mercer, in the time of Edward the First.

Sixt, Sir Christopher Croker, vintener, in the time of Edward the Third.

Seuenth, Sir Iohn Haukwood, marchant-tailer, in the time of Edward the Third.

Eight, Sir Hugh Cauerley, silke-weauer, in the time of Edward the Third.

Ninth, Sir Henrie Maleueret, grocer, in the time of Henrie the Fourth.

WHAT time Fame began to feather her selfe to flie, and was winged with the lasting memorie of martiall men, the oratours ceast perswasive orations, the poets neglected the pleasures of their poems, and Pallas her self would haue nothing painted vpon her shield but mottoes of Mars, and short emblemes in honour of noble atchiuements. Then the ashes of auncient victors, without scruple or disdaine, had sepulture in rich and golden monuments; and they, that reacht the height of honour by worthie deedes, had their former basenesse shadowed by deserts. Fame, then fearing that her honour would faint, and her armour rust (for, though she fauoured all professions, yet she chiefly dignified armes) on a sodaine, mounted into the ayre, and neuer stayed the swiftnesse of her flying course, vntill she pitched her feete vpon Parnassus forked toppe, whose springing lawrels gaue shade and shelter to her wearinesse. This was the fruitfull place where she plotted her flowrie garlands, to crown the temples of vertuous followers, and wreathes of renowne to illustrate vndaunted courages. Here, likewise,

remained her chiefe secretaries, the ix. Muses, as in a seate of most pleasure best befitting their diuine perfections, whose necessarie aydes she alwayes craued, when occasion ministred any thing worthy record; and, though the wholesome freshnesse of the ayre, the greenenesse of the valleys, the comfortable odours of sundry sorts of flowers, the pride and bewtie of the trees, the harmonious layes of nightingales and other birds, the variable delights of artificiall bowers, and the muscall murmures of christall running fountains, might wel haue inchaunted the roughest cynick, or crabbest malecontent, to cheare vp his spirits, and banish melancholy passions; yet this goddess, pretending businessse of importance, had such a care to effect it, as that she would not be ouercome with pleasure, nor yeeld to ease (though, in reason, her laborious traucell did require rest) but painfully passing vp and downe, was not moued with the one. nor maistred with the other. At last, as her busie eye pried euery way, she espied a path of violets, whose tops were pressed downe with the steps of such as had lately passed that way; by this, she coniectured the nymphes were not farre off, and, therefore, following the tract their fecte had made vpon the flowers, she was quickly brought to the head of Hellicon, where, in an arbour of eglantine, and damaske rose-trees, one twisted so cunningly within another, as hard it was to iudge, whether nature or arte had bestowed most to the bewtifying of that bower. She found the Muses euery one seriously applying their seuerall exercises, whom, when they saw (hauing saluted her with a dutifull reuerence) stoode attentiu (being well assured her coming was not without cause) what charge shee would giue, or what shee would commaund to be registred. To whome Fame, to the intent they might not long bee in suspence about her sodaine approch, as well, for that her businessse was impatient of delay, as to resoluue their earnest expectation, spake in this manner:

You need not muse, gracious nurces of learning, at my presence in this place, because I vse not ostentimes to visit you, nor trouble your minds with ambiguous imaginations concerning my purpose, since I seldome craue your furtherance but for memorable accidents; notwithstanding, for the varietie of matter requires not alwayes one forme, and still, with process of time, as mens maners change, our method alters, you shall perceyue I am not now to begin, but to reuiue what ignorance in darknes seemes to shadow, and hatefull obliuion hath almost rubbed out of the booke of honour. It is not of Kinges and mightie potentates, but such whose vertues made them great, and whose renowne sprung not of the noblenes of their birth, but of the notable towardnesse of their well qualified mindes, aduanced not with lofue titles, but prayed for the triall of their heroycal truthes. Of these must you indite, who, though their states were but meane, yet dooth their worthy prowesse match superiours, and therefore haue I named them Worthies. Nine were they in number, their countrie England, the citie they liued in famous London, famous in deede for such men, and yet forgetful to celebrate the remembrance of their names, and negligent, I may say, in performing the like attempts, hauing, for imitation, such goodly preidents as these to supplie them that want, with wisdome, and with

better instruction. I am determined to discourse againe what I haue often bruted, thereby to stirre vp sluggards, and to giue secure worldlings to vnderstande (who extend no further then for wealth, and whose hearts suppose a heape of coine the greatest happines) that the censure of honour ought to increase, when as, by substance, they arise to authoritic, and none so abiect but may be made a subiect of glorie and magnanimitie, if so thereunto they will bend their endeauours.

For performance hereof, I know my theame so large and copious, as all your wits might, in generall, be employed to dilate and expresse the same, yet only Clio shall be sufficient, whome alone I make choise off, the rather, because it chiefly concernes hir. And, so beckning towards her with her head, made an end of her speach.

She had no sooner sayd, but all the rest, as satisfied in that they desired to know, presently cast down their lookes, that were before stedfastly fixed vpon the browes of Fame, and began to turne to their labours, which, all this while, by reason of her talke, they had intermitted; onely Clio, clasping vp her booke of famous hystories, and, taking her golden pen in hand, rose from the seate where she sate, and, leauing her sisters with due reuerence, was readie to folow Fame where so euer she would conduct her.

At the doore of the enterance into the arbour, there stooode a silver chariout drawne by the force of Pegasus, which Fame, of purpose, had prouided, because Clio therein might the better keepe wing with her. Into the which she was no sooner mounted, but straightway, as swift as the burning dartes of Iupiter, they made their passage through the subtle ayr, vntill they soared over the hollow vault, through which the way leadeth down to the rule of vnder earth; there Clio pulled her rayne, and, with a headlong fall, according to her guides direction, neuer staid vntill the steely houes of Pegasus did beate against the gates of Tartara, where, being receyved in, they left the crooked thornie way smoking with sulphur, and neuer ceasing contagious vapours, and kept directly on the other side, which delighted their eyes with so many glorious sights, that, before they knew it, they were arriued vnder the Etesian shades; where, when the goddess had remained a while, discoursing with her companion the seuerall habitations, as that of louers in sweete groues of muske she spide, at last, the place where Electrum growes, sweetned continually with burning baulme boughes, with which braue souldiours, and warlike cauilliers, cured their ranck scarres. There did she shake her bright immortall wings, and with the melodious noyse, and with the sweet breath was fanned from those phoenix feathers, she awaked nine comely knights, that, arme in arme, vpon a greene banke, strewed with rose budde, had laid their conquering heads to rest in peace.

This, quoth she, is the farthest end of our iourney! here must we take our stations for a while, and those whom thou seest elevating their bodies from the ground, from whose browes sparkle gleames of immortal glorie, are the nine worthy champions I told you of, whom, as by my power, I haue awaked; so will I cause to speake and declare their owne fortunes, onely be thou attentiu, and set down with thy pen what thou shalt heare them speake; and so comming to the first, which

as a tall aged man, his haire as white as snow, vpon his backe a scar-
t robe, his temples bound about with baulme, and, in his hand, a
ight shining blade: She toucht his lippes with her finger, and straight-
ay his tongue began to vtter these words:

Sir William Wallworth, Fishmonger, sometime Maior of London.

WHAT I shall speake, suppose it is not vaine,
Nor think ambition tunes my sounding voyce,
It bootes not clay, to stand on glorious gaine;
An other place bereaues vs of that choyce:
For when the pompe of earthlie pleasures gon,
Our goasts lie buried vnderneath a stone.

Nor, when I liu'd, carpt I at Phœbus light,
My deedes did passe, without comparing pride;
Who shone the least (mee thought apear'd more bright)
I wisht it secret, what the world discride,
Nor would now shewe (fayre goddesse but for thee)
The charge besemes an other, and not mee.

To ouerpasse then, how I was instaul'd,
To weare the purple robe of maiestrate,
It shall suffice I su'de not, but was calde;
Of Fortunes gifts, let baser minds relate:
In such a time, it was my chaunce to sway,
When riches quaild, and ~~v~~ue wonne the day.

In Richards raygne, the Second of that name,
Of Londons weale, liefetenant to his grace,
Wallworth was chose vnworthie of the same,
Within his hand to beare the cities mace:
To fishmongers, the honour did redownd,
Whose brotherhood was my preferments grownd.

These were not dayes of peace, but broyling warre,
Dissention spred her venom through the land,
And stird the prince and subiect to a iarre;
Hated loue, rigor, dutie did withstand:
In such a tempest of vnbridled force,
As manie lost their liues, without remore.

For by a taxe, the King requirde to haue,
The men of Kent and Essex did rebell;
Their first decree concluded none to saue.
But hauocke all, a heauie tale to tell:
And so, when they were gatherde to a head,
Towards London, were these gracelesse rebels ledd.

What spoyle they made in countries as they came,
 How they did rob; and tyrannize in pride,
 The widowes cries were patterns of their shame,
 And sanguin streames of infants blood beside:
 For like the sea, when it hath caught a breach,
 So rusht these traytors, past compassions reach.

So desperate was their rage, as they prevailede,
 And entered the citie by the sword;
 The Towre walls were mightely assayld,
 And prisoner, there, made headlesse at a word:
 Earles manner houses were by them destroyd,
 The Sauoy, and S. Iones, by Smithfield spoyld.

All men of law, that fell into their hands,
 They left them breathlesse weltering in their blood;
 Ancient records were turn'd to firebrands,
 Anie had fauour, sooner then the good:
 So stout these cutthrotes were in their degree,
 That noblemea must serue them on their knees.

In burning and in slaughter long they toyld,
 That made the King and all his fraine agast;
 Such rancour had their stomackes ouerboyl'd,
 They hopte to get the soveraigntie at last:
 In dede his Maiestie was young in yeares,
 Which brought distresse to him, and to his peeres.

Yet with a loyal guard of bills and bowes,
 Collected of our tallest men of trade,
 I did protect his person from his foes,
 Where there presumption trembled to invade:
 It yerkt my soule, to see my prince abuse,
 In whose defence, no danger I refuse.

In these extreames it was no boote to fight,
 The rebells marched with so huge an host;
 The King crau'd parley, by a noble knight,
 Of sterne Wat Tyler, ruler of the rost:
 A countrie boore, a goodlie proper swayne,
 To put his countrie to such wretched payne.

This rustick scoft, at first, the Kings request,
 Yet, at the last, he seem'd to giue consent;
 Aleaging he would come when he thought best:
 T'is well (quoth he) is all their courage spent:
 Ile make them on their bended knees intreat,
 Or cast their bodies in a bloodie sweat.

Begirt with steele, our gownes were laid apart,
 Age hindered not, though feeble were my joynts;
 T'would make a fearfull coward take a heart,
 When prince opprest a countries cause appoynts:
 Who would refuse, and death, or grievous paine,
 To follow him that is his soueraygne.

The place appoynted where to meeete these mates
 (That like audacious peasants did prepare,
 As if their calling did concerne high states,
 With brasen lookes, deuoyd of awfull care)
 Was Smithfeeld, where his Maiesty did stay,
 An howre ere these rebels found the way.

At last the leaders of that brutish rowt,
 Jacke Strawe, Wat Tiler, and a number more,
 Approacht the place, with such a yelling shouw,
 As seldome had the like been heard before:
 The King spake faire, and bad them lay downe armes,
 And he would pardon all their former harmes.

But as fierce lions are not tair'd with words,
 Nor sauage monsters conquered but by force;
 So gentlenesse vnshethes a traitors sword,
 And fayre perswasions makes the wicked worse;
 His clemencie prouokt, and not dismaide,
 Because of them they thought the King affraide.

And, as a wnesse of their inward rage,
 Their tongues beganne to taunt in sauie sort;
 Obedience blusht, and honour lost her price,
 A modest shame forbids the fowle report:
 How presumption made these cattifes swell,
 As if the diuels did bellow forth of hell.

Their loathsome talkes inkindle angers fire,
 And fretting passions made my sinewes shake,
 T'was death to me to see the base aspire,
 Such woundes would men in deadlie slumber wake.
 Yet I refrainde, my betters were in place,
 It were no maners nobles to disgrace.

But, when I saw the rebells pride encrease,
 And none controll and counterchecke their rage;
 T'were seruice good (thought I) to purchase peace,
 And malice of contentious brags asswage:
 With this conceyt, all feare had taken flight,
 And I alone prest to the traitors sight.

THE NINE WORTHIES OF LONDON.

Their multitude could not amaze my minde,
 Their bloudie weapons did not make me shrinke;
 True valour hath his constancie assignde,
 The eagle at the sunne will never winke:
 Amongst their troupes, incenst with mortall hate,
 I did arest Wat Tiler on the pate.

The stroke was giuen with so good a will,
 It made the rebell couth vnto the earth;
 His fellows that beheld (t'is strange) were still,
 It mard the maner of their former mirth:
 I left him not, but, ere I did depart,
 I stabd my dagger to his damned heart.

The rest, perceiving of their captaine slaine,
 Soone terrified did cast their weapons downe;
 And like to sheepe began to flie amaine,
 They durst not looke on iustice dreadfull frowne:
 The king pursude, and we were not the last,
 Till furie of the fight were ouerpast.

Thus were the mangled parts of peace recurde,
 The princes falling state by right defended;
 From common weale all mischief quite abiurde,
 With loue and dutie vertue was attended:
 And for that deede, that day before t'was night,
 My king in guerdon dubbed me a knight.

Nor ceast he so to honour that degree,
 A costly hat his highnesse likewise gaue,
 That Londons maintenance might euer be;
 A sword also he did ordaine to haue,
 That should be caried still before the maior,
 Whose worth deserude succession to that chaire.

This much in age when strength of youth was spent,
 Hath Wallworth by vnwonted valour gaind;
 T'was all he sought, his countrey to content,
 Successe hath fortune for the iust ordaind:
 And, when he died, this order he began,
 Lord Maiors are knights, their office being done.

Worthily had this father of his countrey the formost place in this discourse, whose valerous attempts may be a light to all ensuing ages, to lead them in the darknesse of all troublesome times, to the resurrection of such a constant affection, as will not faulter or refuse any perill to profite his countrey, and purchase honour. Such was his desert, as euen then when good men dispaired of their safetie, and the verie pillars of the common wealth tottered, his courage redeemed the one, and vnderpropped the other: martialists and patrones of magna-

nimitie trembled at that, which he beyond all expectation aduentured. Let enuie, therefore, retract the malice of her blistring tongue, which heretofore (and now not a litle) striueth, by her contentions and ripening nature, to obacure the brightnesse of their praise, and scoffe at their ingenious dispositions, whose education promiseth small: But yet, when occasion hath required, haue performed more then they whose brags haue vaped to the clouds. I wish the like minde, and the like loyaltie, in all those that make the citie the nurse of their liues, and subiect of their fortunes, that London may continue stil that credite, to be called, the 'great chamber of her kings,' and 'the key of her countreys blisse.' But to proceede, Fame hauing marked the grauitie, eloquence, and orator-like gesture of this good knight, during the continuance of his talke, was so well pleased as she vowed to erect his statue, where, in spight of all contrarious and maleuolent blasts of vertues carpers, it should stande immoueeable; and Clio, that had pend his speach, grieved she had not leysure (as she desired, and he deserued) to set down his actions in better and more ample manner. For alreadie another of the knightly crew stood vp readie to delate what Fame expected; therefore, she was forced to let it somewhat rawly passe, hoping that the excellency of the matter would excuse the rudenesse of the rime.

The next, being a man whom nature had likewise bewtifed with the colour and badge of wisdome and authoritie, as one on whom a greater power then fortunes faigned deitie had bestowed the fulnesse of worldly treasure and heavens perfection, beganne accordingly to frame his tale:

Sir Henrie Pitchard, Knight.

THE potter tempers not the massie golde,
 A meaner substance serues his simple trade;
 His workmanship consistes of slimie molde,
 Where any plaine impression soone is made:
 His pitchards haue no outward glittering pompe,
 As other mettels of a finer stampe.

Yet for your vse as wholesome as the rest,
 Though their beginning be but homely found;
 And sometime they are taken for the best,
 If that be precious that is alwayes sound;
 From gould corrupting poysons do infect,
 Where earthen cups are free from all suspect.

So censure of the Pitchard you behould,
 Whose glorie springes not of his lowlie frame;
 Though he be clay, he may compare with gould,
 His properties nere felt reproachfull shame:
 For, when I first drew breath vpon the earth,
 My mind did beawtifie creations byrth.

I dare not sing of Mars his bloodie scarres,
 It is a stile too high for my conceipt;
 Yet in my youth I serued in the warres,
 And followde him that made his foes entreat:
 Edward the Third, the phoenix of his time,
 For life and prowes spotted with no crime.

From France returnd, so well I thrin'd at home,
 As by permission of celestiall grace;
 I rose by that, men term'd blind fortunes dome,
 To such a loftie dignitie of place:
 As by election then it did appeare,
 I was Lord Maior of London for a yeare.

I wade not my promotion with disdain,
 Nor suffred heapes of coyne to fret with rust;
 I knewe the ende of such a noble gaine,
 And saw that riches were not giuen for lust:
 But for reliefe and comfort of the poore,
 Against the straunger not to shut my doore.

I could repeate perhaps some liberall deedes,
 But that I feare' vaine-glories bitter checke;
 His plenties want, his haruest is but weedes,
 That doth in wordes his proper goodnesse decke:
 It shall suffice, he hath them in recorde,
 That keeps in store his stewards just reward.

Yet, for aduancement of faire Londons fame,
 I will omit one principall regarde;
 That such as heare may imitate the same,
 When avarice by boundtie shall be bande:
 Rich men should thinke of honour more then selfe,
 I liu'd as well for others as my selfe.

When Edward triumpht for his victories,
 And helde three crownes within his conquering hand,
 He brought rich trophies from his enemies,
 That were erected in this happie land:
 We all reioyc'd, and gaue our God the praise,
 That was the authour of those fortunats dayes.

And as from Douer, with the prince his sonne,
 The king of Cypres, France, and Scots did passe,
 All captive prisoners to this mightie one,
 Five thousand men, and I the leader was:
 All well prepar'd, as to defend a fort,
 Went forth to welcome him in martiall sort.

The riches of our armour, and the cost,
 Each one bestowd in honour of that day,
 Were here to be exprest but labour lost,
 Silke coats and chaines of golde bare little sway:
 And thus we marcht accepted of our king,
 To whom our comming seemd a gracious thing.

But, when the citie pearde within our sights,
 I crau'd a boune submisie vpon my knee:
 To haue his grace, those kings, with earles and knights,
 A day or two to banquet it with me:
 The king admird, yet thankfully replide,
 Vnto thy house both I and these will ride.

Glad was I that so I did preuaile,
 My heart reuiud, my parts, we thought, were young;
 For cheare and sumptuous cost no coine did faile,
 And he that talkt of sparing did me wrong:
 Thus, at my proper charge, I did retaine
 Foure kings, one prince, and all their soynall traine.

Yet, lo, this pompe did vanish in an houre,
 There is no trusting to a broken staffe;
 Mans carefull life doth wither like a flower,
 The destenies do stroy what we do graffe:
 For all his might, my gold wherewith I pleasede,
 Death took vs both, and would not be appeasde.

Of all there now remains no more but this,
 What vertue got by toyling labours paine,
 To shrine our spotlesse soules in heauenlie blisse,
 Till to our bodies they returne againe:
 What else we find is vaine and worthlesse drosse,
 And greatest getting but the greatest losse.

After that Clio had said what this famous knight had tolde, she no
 more wondred at his modest audacitie. Therefore, she sayde this to
 her: Renowned goddess, enemy to the fittall sinner, and onely friend
 to good deserviers; it were becoming thy excellencie to proceede
 together with the honourable acts of these memorable men, and onely
 in their vertuous endeavours, wherunto the goddess condescend-
 ed. And, seeing another lift vp his head, as if he were desirous to
 see, Fame heartned him on with smiling countenance to say as fol-
 loweth:

THE NINE WORTHIES OF LONDON.

Sur William Seauenooke.

MY harmelesse byrth misfortunequite contemd,
 And, from my pappe, did make my youth a pray;
 So scarcely budd, my branches were vnstemd,
 My byrth howre was deathes black and gloomie day:
 Had not the highest stretched forth his might,
 The breake of day had beene the darkest night.

Some monster that did enuie natures worke
 (When I was borne in Kent) did cast me forth
 In desert wildes, where, though no beast did lurke
 To spoyle that life, the heavens made for woorth:
 Vnder seauen oakes yet mischiefe flung me downe,
 Where I was found and brought vnto a towne.

Behold an ebbe that neuer thought to flowe,
 Behold a fall unlikelie to recouer:
 Behold a shrub, a weed, that grew full lowe,
 Behold a wren that neuer thought to houer:
 Behold yet how the highest can commaund,
 And make a sand foundation firmelie stand.

For when my infants time induste more yeares,
 After some education in the schoole,
 And some discretion in my selfe appeares,
 With labor to be taught with manuall toole:
 To learne to live, to London thus being found,
 Apprentise to a groser I was bound.

To please the honest care my master tooke,
 I did refuse no toyle nor drudging payne;
 My hands no labor euer yet forsooke,
 Whereby I might encrease my masters gayne:
 Thus Seauenooke liyd, for so they calde my name,
 Till heauen did place mee in a better frame.

In time my prentise yeares were quite expirde,
 And then Bellona, in my homelie brest,
 My countries honour with her flames had firde,
 And for a souldior made my fortune prest.
 Henry the Fift my king did warre with France,
 Then I with him his right to readuance.

Then did couragious men with loue compare,
 And striue, by armes, to get their prince renowne;
 There sillie I like thirsty soule did fare,
 To drink their fill would venter for to drowne:
 Then did the height of my inhaunst desire
 Graunt me a little leasure to aspire.

The Dolphyne then of France, a comelie knight,
 Disguised, came by chaunce into a place,
 Where I, well wearied with the heate of fight,
 Had layd me downe, for warre had ceast his chace,
 And, with reproachfull words, as layzie swaine,
 He did salute me ere I long had layne.

I, knowing that he was mineemie,
 A bragging French-man, for we tearmed them so,
 Ill brookt the proud disgrace he gaue to me,
 And, therefore, lent the Dolphyne such a blowe,
 As warmd his courage well to lay about,
 Till he was breathlesse, though he were so stout.

At last the noble prince did aske my name,
 My birth, my calling, and my fortunes past,
 With admiration he did heare the same,
 And so a bagge of crownes to me he cast;
 And, when he went away, he saide to mee,
 Seauenoake be proud the Dolphyne fought with thee.

When English had obtaine the victorie,
 We crossed backe the grudging seas againe,
 Where all my friends supposed warre to be,
 For vice and follie, virtues onelie bane:
 But see the simple how they are deceaude,
 To iudge that honour, honour hath bereaud.

For, when my souldiors fame was laid aside,
 To be a groser once againe I framde;
 And he which rules above my steps did guide,
 That through his wealth Seauenoake in time was famde.
 To be Lord Maior of London by degree,
 Where iustice made me sway with equitie.

Gray haire made period vnto honours call,
 And frostie death had furrowed in my face
 Colde winter gashes, and to sommers fall,
 And fainting nature left my mortall place;
 For with the date of flesh my life decayde,
 And Seauenoake dide; for every flower must fade.

By testament in Kent I built a towne,
 And briefly calde it Seauenoake, from my name;
 A free schoole to sweete learning, to renowne,
 I placde for those that playde at honours game;
 Both land and liuing to that towne I gaue,
 Before I tooke possession of my graue.

Thither I bare my flesh, but leave my fame,
 To be a president for London wights;
 And you, that now behold fair vertues maime,
 Thinke he is happie for his countrey fights:
 For, for my guerdon to this pleasant field,
 My carkas did my dying spirit yeeld.

By that time this famous man had thus innobled his name by telling his nature, the pitifull and lovely muse had delated at large his eternal honour, hauing, in no part, beene sigardly of his prodigious payse: But, Fame dismissing him to his former nest, hard by a still siluer streame that beate warbling echoes into the vaultie banks, whereas deceased sea-nymphes use to sport, pressing his manlike paulme vpon the ground, he bent his comelie bodie to the earth; where, not as possessed with heauinesse, but with paradice-like ioy, he easily and sweetely reposed his comely limbes; like as the wonted martialists of former memorie were accustomed to doe, when, returning from that encountered broyles, they vn buckled their eteeld enclosures to enioy the fresh and delightsome breath of peace. There are they, that wonted to be of Pans musical parliament, sayre fowsters and carroling sheepeards, delighted; and, almost inchaunted with this champions storie, thought to present him with some short recreation; therefore, vpon a bush of juniper brambles, where Philomelic had set her speckled breast, they all at once did beate with siluer wings; then from this sweete sanouring thicket rowled the tripping deare, and after them the nimble footed fawne, wrestling together, once overtaken with pleasing and delectable sport, rubbing their horned brows vpon their sweete twined bowers; this did they do in fauour of his birth, being committed to their governments, before his mothers milke had made him blithe.

This pastime put the famous Sequenoake in minde of his beginning, how nature first had inniciated her worke in miserie, and ended it in miracles, not arguing herein her vnconstant kinde, but her prouident foresight to withstand the mischiefe of all misfortunes; and, whilst Fame, with her admiring muse, was busied in posing the rest, this meritorious man did please himselfe with this poem:

Where fortune had her birth the sunne sate downe,
 Yet gaue no liuing glorie to the childe;
 She grew, and gaue the god a golden crowne,
 It pleased him not, for he was ever milde;
 Yet drew she disposition from his throne,
 That, without her, no wight can moue alone.

Then he betook him to his former meditation, from whom he was firstawaked; when another knight of that aduanced crew was by Fame assigned to speake, called, Sir Thomas White, the goddesse cleaped him, who lifting vp his aged limmes, yet not decayed, sayd as followeth:

Sir Thomas White.

WHITE is my name, and milke white are my haire,
 White were my deedes, though vaine is proper praise,
 White for my country were my kind assaies,
 White was the rule, that measurd all my dayes:
 Yet blacke the mould, that coucht me in my graue,
 By which more pure my present state I haue.

I cannot sing of armes, and blood-red warres,
 Nor was my colour mixt with Mars his dew;
 I honour those that ended countrey iarrs,
 Fortherin subjects shew, that they are true:
 But priuately at home I shewde my selfe,
 To be no loser of vaine worldly pelfe.

My deedes haue tongues to speake, though I am mute,
 My orators the learned stime to bee,
 Because, I twined paulmes in time of peace,
 And gave such gifts, that made faire learning free:
 My care did build them bowers of sweet content,
 Where many wise their golden time haue spent.

A noyse of gratefull thanks within mine eares,
 Descending from their studies (glads my heart)
 That I began to wish with private teares,
 There liued more that were of Whites sort:
 But now I looke, and see that time is helde,
 And vertue comes not, being seldome calde.

But sith I am awaked not to wail,
 But to vnfalke to Fame my former life;
 I must on forward with my single tale,
 For sorrow will but breake the heart with strife:
 White is no warriour (as I sayd before)
 Nor entred euer into daungers doore.

The English cities, and incorporate townes,
 Doe bear me witness of my countreys care;
 Where yearly I doe feede the poore with crownes,
 For I was neuer niggard yet to spare:
 And all chief burrowes of this blessed land
 Haue somewhat tasted of my liberall hand.

He, that did lend to me the grace of wealth,
 Did not bestow it for to choake with store;
 But to maintaine the needie poore in health,
 By which expence my wealth encreased more:
 The oyle of gladnesse euer chear'd my hart,
 Why should I not then pitie others smart?

Lord Maior of London I was calde to bee,
 And iustice ballance bare with vpriht hand;
 I iudg'd all causes right in each degree,
 I never partiall in the law did stand:
 But, as my name was White, so did I striue
 To make my deedes, whilst yet I was aliuie.

But my prefixed fate had twinde my thread,
 And White it was, and therefore best she likt it;
 She set her web, within a loome of lead,
 And with her baulme of grace she sweetely dight it:
 And with consent her sisters gaue this grace,
 That White should keepe his colour in this place.

When this aged knight had peaceably (observing decorum with his passed state) tolde his plaine and vnpolished tale, in all points like himselfe, clothed with the fashion of his minde, vpon a bed of lillies hee layde him downe, whose colour, answerable to his snowie beard, made them take especiall delight in the simpathie of their qualitie. Then sayde Clio; thou faire and swift foote goddess, winged with the dowe, and eyed with the eagle, let me bee boldned (with thy fauour) to demaunde one question; Which of all this noble companie shall next dilate his life? Sweete muse (quoth Fame) this knight, pointing to Sir Iohn Bonham, sometimes apprentice to a marchant in London. Your deitie, sayde Clio, then (vnder correction) will mistake the placing. For this gallant liued in England, in the time of Edward the First, and we are alreadie come downe, so farre as queene Maric. Therein, sayde Fame, wee doe preferre their age, and the honour of their calling, before the obseruation of time, which derogates from no other course, then that which sometimes our poets haue vsed, placing euer the worthiest foremost, as to induce the rest by example, not to be starke for want of courage. Therefore, it shall not be vncomly or preposterous, when the younger knights shall speake after those that bare the honour of the maioraltie.

This excuse wel contented the labouring muse, who, framing her golden pen in her fingers, fixed it ready to her memoriall leaues, whilst Fame did rouse this worthie from his rest: A man of stature meane, in countenance milde, in speach man-like, and in performance couragious; his beard Abron, and his bodie bigge; and thus he began, when Fame had giuen him caueat to speake.

Sir Iohn Bonham, Knight.

LET them that pull their quills from griffons wings,
 And dippe them in the bloud of Pagans bane,
 Let them describe me from the brest that sings,
 A poem of bloudie showers of raigne:

And in my tale, a mournfull elegie,
To such as do the lawes of God denie.

A gentleman I am of gentle blood,
A knight my father was, yet thought no scorne
To place his sonne within a prentise hood,
For nature will appeare as she was borne:
A Deuonshire-man, to London loe I came,
To learne to traffique of a marchant man.

Shortelie from thence to Denmarke was I bound,
Well shipt with ware, my master gaue in charge;
I deemd the water better then the ground,
And on the seas a man might see at large:
Me thought that fortune there might flie her fill,
And pitch and light vpon what place she will.

Ariud at last, in Denmarke was I sett,
Where Bonham did demeane himselfe so well;
That, though some strangers there had pitcht a nett
To catch my feetè, themselues therein soone fell:
And such dishonour dropt vpon their head,
As they their native countrie quicklie fled.

My worthlesse fame vnto the king was brought,
Who shewd himselfe both mild and debonare;
A cause of gracious kindnes still he sought,
And for my countrey did commend my care:
And though I say it, that might better cease,
Bonham did purchase fame, and loues encrease.

A vertuous ladie, and a curteous prince,
This famous king vnto his daughter had,
Hir countenance did the baser sort conuince,
Yet did she bare her gently, not to bad:
Such was her beautie, such was her grace and fauour,
That watchful enuy no way could deprauè her.

Excepting still the praise of Procerpine,
I may a little glance vpon her grace,
The words she spake did euer seeme diuine,
And nature chose her alters in her face:
Where in the day her golden flames do burne,
And they that gaze shall frie, except they turne.

There bodies once consum'd, loue tooke their soules,
And there sattu binding them within her haire;
She neede not frowne, her smoothest lookes controles,
See how she slayes, yet dooth the guiltlesse spare:
Guiltlesse they are that dare not stay so long,
To heare the musick of inchaunting song.

Should I but speake the words vnto her face,
 Perhaps, you would suppose I flatter her;
 If so, I haue too long vpheld the chace,
 And negligentlie spard the pricking spurs:
 In whose sweete praise I end, not yet begunne,
 Because my lanue conceipt wants force to runne.

Who will not iudge, the brauest Denmarke knights,
 Will cracke their lances in her proud defence?
 And now by this a troope of worthie wights,
 Prepared itstes, her beawtie to incence:
 And vnto me, vnworthie me, she gaue,
 A fauour to adorne my courage braue.

I know your ielousie will iudge me nowe,
 And say I prais'd her for her fauours sake,
 Alas! he lookes not vp, is bound to bowe,
 A ceader neuer springeth from a brake:
 It pleased her well, age not displeased mee,
 Why then should enuie still wish honour bee.

They, that haue guiders, cannot chuse but runne,
 Their mistresse eyes doe learne them chiuallrie;
 With those commaunds these turneys are begunne,
 And shiuerd lances in the ayre do flie:
 No more but this, there Bonham had the best,
 Yet list I not to vaunt how I was blest.

Each knight had fauour bound to his desert,
 And euerie ladie lent her loue a smile;
 There boldly did I not my selfe insert,
 Nor secret practise did my pride compile:
 But of her selfe the gentle princesse gaue
 Rewarde of honour vnto me her slaue.

In fine, my masters shippe with goods were fraught,
 And I desirous to returne agayne,
 For all the fauours, that my fortune wrought,
 Vnto my masters business was no mayne:
 But so occasion, trusty friend to time,
 Prepar'd me steps, and made me way to clime.

Great Solimon, the Turkish emperor,
 Made sodaine warres against the Danish king,
 And most vnlike a noble emperour
 Did spoyle and ruine to his confines bring:
 A thing vnlike, yet truth to witnesse call,
 And you shall finde hee made mee generall.

A puissant armie then was leuied straight,
 And skilfull pilate sent to guide my ship :
 Imagin but a Christians deadly hate
 Against the heathen that our blood doth sip ;
 Then thinke how Bonham, beat against the Turke,
 Wrought wonders by the high Almighties worke.

Half of his armie, smouldred with the dust,
 Lay slaughtered on the earth in gorie blood ;
 And he himselfe compeld to quell his lust,
 By composition, for his peoples good :
 Then, at a perle, he admired me so,
 He made me knight, and let his armes go.

He gaue me costly robes and chaines of golde,
 And, garded with his gallies, sent me backe ;
 For fame, unto the Danish king, had tolde
 My gotten glorie, and the Turkish wracke ;
 He gaue me gifts, in wardon of my fight,
 And sent me into England like a knight.

How I was welcomd there, 'twere vaine to tell ;
 For, shortly after, life had runne his race,
 And hither was I summoned to dwell,
 My other fellow worthies to embrace :
 Thus gently borne, a marchant by my trade,
 And in the field Bonham a knight was made.

Clio, with the straungenesse of this report, was wrapt so much into admiration (both in respect of his feature, fortune, and faire tongue) as she seemed cast into a trauance, neuer remoouing her eyes from of his ruthfull face, till Fame, perceyuing her deepe cogitations, put her out of her dumps, by asking her, why she pawed so long? Her cast eyes (it appeared) hauing all this while seene no other, but such rose countenance resembled winters frosts, began now, with the carefull beate of this flowring spring, to waxe warme with secreete working of some amorous passion to excuse with suspition; for it rode with her credite not to bee faultie in any such idle toy. Shee swered, It was not the inticement of any misbeceming phantasie, that tured her to that sodaine silence, but onelie a kind of conceyte shee sterred, howe it coulede be possible, that the Turke, being a man of nature barbarous and cruell, and especially towards Christians, should we bee so much mollified, and brought from his wonted fiercenesse, fauour and honour one, whom by nature hee loathed and detested. Or, what though Bonhams valour had gotten that aduantage, as, by reason and lawe of armes, he might inforce the Turke confesse, the fegarde of his life depended on his clemencie; yet, since the brutishnesse of that nature esteemeth of vertue but to serue their owne lust and profite, I see no argument of likelihoode, why the Turke, hauing his aduersarie in his court, that a little before had made him bowe, not

with gentle perswasions, but with downe-right strokes, should not rather bee incensed to cutte off his head, then doe him the least good in the world. So seuer is the regarde of honour, as, rather then it will be vpbrayded with disgrace (though that disgrace were cause of many incomparable pleasures) no hatefull, vnnaturall, or vngratefull practises shall be attempted, til the eyesore of their grudging heart be remoued; and princes, if they cannot beare words, much less will put vp wounds; and that was it, quoth she, that troubled my serious muse.

At these wordes Fame began to frowne; her patience was prouoked, that one so well instructed in the knowledge of such matters, as shee was (her whole studie consisting of nothing else, but of ciuill discipline) should make a doubt in so slender a contrarietie; yet, to cutte off further protraction of time, shee replied her this resolution: That shee was sure shee could not be ignoraunt, howe that it was the affect of vertue, that wrought such an alteration in the Turke, which, as it is diuine, descended from the goddes, so it worketh beyonde the expectation of men. And, for prooffe thereof, alrcadie sundrie authorities were alledged; as, that of Dyonisius, whose murtherous minde coulde not but reuerence Plato, although hee continually inueighed bitterly agaynst his tyrannie; and that of Alexander, who loued Darius for his fortitude, although hee was his enemy. Therefore it ought not to seeme miraculous vnto her, when vsually such accidents as those followe vertues fauourites. But, quoth she, I rather thinke you were amazed to heare such rare exploits proceede from a prentice, and one of no more experience: But let not that seeme straunge; hee spake no more then truth, nor all that might be sayd concerning his hawghtie endeouours. The other foure, whom you see on his left hand, will, if you seeme incredulous, confirme a possibilitie in his speeches; they are of the like condition and qualitie as he was, prentices, that purchased estimation by the sword. Clio blushed, that she had bene so inquisitiue; but, as it may be coniectured, it was not so much for her owne satisfaction, as to take away hereafter all controuersie, and needlesse cauillation, as might concurre by the curious view of such as shoulde fortune to haue the reading of her lines. By this, Sir Iohn Bonham had coucht himselfe againe in the bedde of his secure rest, when another gay knight, sterne in his lookes, and strong set in his limmes, carying in his browe the picture of Mars, and in his maners the maiestie of a prince with a lowe salutation, made himselfe knowne by this brefe oration:

Sir Christopher Croker, Knight, of London, Vintner.

It is not birth that makes a man renownde,
Nor treasure store that purchaseth our fame;
Bigge words are but an emptie vessels sound,
And death is better than a life with shame,
This proueth Croker in his trauailes made,
Of London once a vintner by his trade.

In Gracious-streete, there was I bound to serue,
 My masters name hight Stodie in his time,
 From whom in dutie I did neuer swarue,
 Nor was corrupted with detested crime:
 My education taught me so to liue,
 As by my paines my maisters purse might thriue.

My fellow-seruants lou'd me with their hearts;
 My friends reioyc'd to see me prosper so,
 And kind Doll Stodie (though forsmall deserts)
 On me vouchsaft affection to bestow:
 Whose constancie was such, that, for her sake,
 No toyle was grievous I did vndertake,

Such was my state, as I my selfe could wish,
 Deuoid of care, not toucht with egre want,
 My sleepe secure, my foode choise bewties dish;
 Oncly in this my pleasure seemed scant,
 That I vnable was her state to raise,
 That was the lengthner of my happie days.

Whilst thus I was perplexed with that thought,
 Behold how Fortune fauourde my desire,
 Of sodaine warres the ioyfull newes was brought,
 And Edward ayde of souldiors did require;
 Amongst the rest it fell vnto my chaunce,
 That I was prest to follow him to Fraunce.

My maister would haue sewd for my discharge,
 His daughter with her teares gan me assaile,
 On euery side they prayd and promist large,
 Bnt nothing could in that respect preuaile:
 Such thirst of honour spurd my courage on,
 I would to warres, although I went alone.

My forwardnesse perceyu'd, my valour knowne,
 ouer a band of souldiors I was chiefe;
 Then sproute the seedes that were but lately sowne,
 My longing soule had quickly found reliefe:
 I sparde no cost, nor shrunke for any paine,
 Because I ment my loue should reape the gaine.

To proue my faith vnto my countries stay,
 And that a prentice (though but small esteemd)
 Vnto the stoutest never giueth way,
 If credit may by trial be redcemd:
 At Burdeaux siege, when other came too late,
 I was the first made entrance through the gate.

And when Don Peter, driuen out of Spaine,
 By an usurping bastard of his line,
 He crau'd some helpe, his crowne to reobtaine,
 That in his former glorie he might shine:
 Our King ten thousand seuerd from his host,
 My selfe was one, I speake it not in boast.

With these Don Peter put the bastard downe,
 Each citie yeelded at our first approach;
 It was not long ere he had got the crowne,
 And taught his wicked brother to encroch:
 In these affaires so well I shewd my might,
 That for my labour I was made a knight.

Thus labour neuer looseth his reward,
 And he that seekes for honour sure shall speed,
 What crauen minde was euer in regard?
 Or where consisteth manhood but in deed?
 I speake it that confirmd it by my life,
 And, in the end, Doll Stodie was my wife.

This worthie hauing finished his taske sette downe by Fame, to confirme the order of his first honour, reposed himselfe amongst the rest, where he found a sweete murmuring of priuate and secrete conference, what had passed by the seuerall annotations of euerie ones prayse, where they beganne (contemning the order of enuie) to colaud the endeouours of one anothers actions, none particularly arrogating in arrogancie the prayse of himselfe; to him that did most, they gaue most applause, and so sweetly concorded in simpathe, that all the Elesian harmonie might haue liberally commended their conditions. The hushing riuers were caulme without murmur or contempt. The leaues stood still, to admire these famous enterprises, and excellent atchieuements. The windes bound themselues up in the contentation of voluntarie stilnesse, that they might be at libertie to hearken to these meritorious men, and yeelded them praise condescending to their paines. The goddessse of darknesse (for enuie approached not the place, so that it was by that meanes continually day) whereby the sunne was euer glorious in the pride of his height, without grudging, or any shew of declining; the bright shining of whose alluring countenance inticed another vp, called Sir Iohn Haukwood, or Sir Iohn Sharpe, from the Italians, Iohn Acute, and from thence indeed he brought backe into England, both his name and his noblenesse. The pictures of his renoune, for, as an emblem of endlesse honour, the Venecians wrought underneath his statue, set up in the citie, Giouanno Acuto Cauliero. This Iohn Haukwood, knight, he liued likewise in the time of Edward the Third, that prince of famous memorie. When he pleasantly looked about him, being a man of a most couragious countenance, and an ingenious nature, thus he beganne to speake, as who should say he had wrong to be deferred so long:

Sir Iohn Haukwood, Knight.

WHO knows my offspring, doth not knowe my prime,
 Who knowes my birth, perhaps, will scorne my deedes;
 My valour makes my vertue more then slime,
 For that suruiues, though I weare deaths pale weedes:
 Ground doth consume the carkas vnto dust,
 Yet cannot make the valiants armour rust.

After that eightene yeares had toucht my head,
 Being a prentice boy in Lumbardstreete,
 A taylor by my trade, and I had lead
 A few wilde yeares for striplings farre unmeete:
 A souldior I was prest to serue in Fraunce,
 The Prince of Wales mine honour to inhaunce.

I serued a priuate souldior for a while,
 Till courage made me greedie of renowne;
 And causde me giue a noble man the foile,
 That though with sturdie launce did beare me downe:
 On foot that day my selfe did keepe in chace
 Some worthie knights that feard to shew her face.

That day, the Prince of Wales, surnamde the Black,
 Did mount me on a gallant English steed;
 Where I bestirde me so vpon his backe;
 That none incountred me that did not bleed:
 It was not I, nor Fortune, nor my fate,
 His hand it was, that seldome helpes to late.

His be the honour then, and his the prayse,
 Yet haue I leaue to speake what Haukwood did;
 When noble Edward had disperst the rayes,
 And by his prowes of the French was rid:
 Three more then I, my selfe did make the fourth,
 The gentle princes then dubd knights of worth.

His knights he tearmd vs still amongst the rest,
 And gaue vs honour fitting our estate;
 For England to be bound it seemd him best,
 Because the French had swallowed Edwards baite:
 I tooke my leaue, and begged on my knee,
 That I might wander other parts to see.

The prince inkindled with my honours heate,
 Discharging me, bestowde on me a chaine;
 For still fresh courage on my heart did beate,
 Which made me loue and womens acts refraine;
 Hearing the Duke of Millaine was distrest,
 To Italic my voyage then was prest.

THE NINE WORTHIES OF LONDON.

The seas I quickly past, and came to shore,
 With me were fiftene-hundred English-men;
 We marcht to Millaine walles, where we had more
 Of other nations to conioyne with them:
 There did the Italians tearme me John Acute,
 Because I had their foes in such pursute.

Castels and towers I had for my reward,
 And got enough to pay my men withall;
 But I to hired pay had no regarde,
 That prickt me on which climbs the highest wall:
 Honour and fame, whereof they gaue me store,
 Which made me more audacious then before.

Millaine thus peac'd, the pope oppressed Spaine,
 Then thither was I sent to quell his pride;
 Which being done, I did returne againe,
 And, stoopt with age, in Padua palace dide:
 And he, that yet will heare of Iohn Acute,
 In Millaine shall not find the people mute.

All warres you see do ende as well as peace,
 And then remaineth but a tumber of dust;
 A voyce of Fame, a blacke and mourning hearce,
 To what, then, may we like this worldly lust?
 It is an euill vapouring smoke that fumes,
 Breaths in the braine, and so the life consumes.

When Sir Iohn Haukwood had boldly presumed by Fames authoritie to speake, he layde him downe, like one that wreaked no guerdon for this grace; but, as if nature brought him forth of dutie to performe these deedes. So, ought every martiall minde imagine, that he is borne for his countrey, as the custome of the ancient and famous Romaines was in all their actions, to studie to redounde the honour of their deedes to their countrey. If this were ambition and pride, it would be laid flat in the dust, magnanimitie extolled to the highest tip of dignitie, and such a sweete concord and vnitie amongst men, that he would be counted most happie that liued longest, for the profite of his friend. When Sir Iohn Haukwood, of this perfection of minde, had layde him downe againe, another of the same stampe called Sir Hugh Caluerley, as little ambitious as his fellowe, and as resolute in euerie degree, arose, looking about him, being ignoraunt what to doe. But Fame, iogging him on the elbowe, soone awaked him from his maze, whose suppose was his desert, which made him couet to bee obscure. Therefore, the goddesse was faine to animate him on further, before he would be perswaded to speake. Gentle he was, and full of humanitie, insomuch that he might haue wunne all the powers of that place to admire the basenesse of his profession, being a weauer. But they, that haue honour harbouring in their breasts, cannot but

he him the right of his due, except the traine of enuie set vpon the
line of honour, as commonly it doth; if it do, see he shall speake
himselfe, and appeale to the most precise, whose wits, being more
ie then beautified with moral maners, thrust boldly, yet ignorantly,
on the well trained sort, approching famous perswasion; he began
sodainly as hee arose sodainly, as if new life had newly reuiued,
an to breath this gentle breath from out his mouth.

Sir Hugh Caluerley, Knight.

WHO feares to swim a riuer, dreads the sea,
But he that's best resolu'd dare venture both;
The greatest lumpe doth not the greatest die,
Base mettals to compare with golde are loth:
And why my quiet wit refraines to speake,
Is this, because the tallest ship may leake.

In England late yong Cauerley did liue,
Silke-weauers honour merited by deedes;
In forraine broyles continually I striue,
Of lasting memorie to sow the seedes:
As by experience, they in Poland may
Expresse my English valour euery way.

After my princes seruice done in Fraunce,
I was entreated to the Polish King;
Where as the Frizeland horse doth breake the launce,
And tamelesse beasts a valiant race doth bring:
There Maximilian hunted with his lords,
Entangling mankind beares in toying cords.

There did I bring a boare vnto the bay,
That spoyld the pleasant fields of Polonie;
And, ere the morning parted with her gray,
The foming beast as dead as clay did lie:
The ladies cheekes lookt red with chearefull blood,
And I was much commended for that good.

Some sayd I looked like Olympian Ioue,
When as he crackt in two the Centaurs bow;
As swiftly footed as the God of Loue,
Or greene Syluanus when he chast the roe:
They brought me crownes of lawrell wreathd with gold,
The sweet and daintiest tongues my prayes told.

These fauours fronted me with courage frowne,
That like the yong Alcides I did looke;
When he did lay the greedie lion downe.

No beast appeard, when I the woodes forsooke;
 So that the King supposed I was some wight,
 Ordained by heauen to expell their sight.

In scarlet and in purple was I clad,
 And golden buskins put vpon my feete:
 A casket of the richest pearles I had,
 And euery noble gently did me greete.
 So with the King I rode vnto the court,
 Where, for to see me, many did resort.

At Iustus I euer was the formost man,
 In field still forward, Fame can witnesse it;
 And Cauerley at Tilt yet neuer ran,
 But soming steed so champed on the bit:
 But still my horse his masters valour shewd,
 When, through my beavir, I with heat had blood.

Yet men of armes, of wit, and greatest skill,
 Must die at last, when Deaths pale sisters please;
 But then, for honour, fame remaineth still,
 When dead delights in graue shall find their ease:
 Ye long to know the truth, in Fraunce I dide,
 When from the valiant Polands I did ride.

Now, honour, let me lay me downe againe,
 And on thy pillow rest my wearie head;
 My passed prayse commaunds my soule remains,
 Wherein these rosie bowers, with sweet dew fed:
 Though I was valiant, yet my guiltlesse blood,
 In crueltie of warre I neuer stood.

Thus this aduenturous martialist having exprest the zeale of his conscience towards his country, the toyle and labour he sustained, better the credite of his first calling, and the perils he waded through to patronage the ancient name of citizens; he reposed himselfe againe downe by the sides of his noble warre-fellows.

Thus Fame and Clio, the one hauing marked his amiable partes and knightly gesture, the other delineated, with her pen. the eloquence of his oratour-like oration, questioning together some fewe poynts, concerning the force of valour, and the vertuous inclination of many obscure persons, that although they lie sepultured, as it were, without regarde; yet, if oportunitie fite them to reuiue their courage, will like the diamond racked out of clay, excell, or, at least, compare with the brightnesse of glories. Rarest iewels concluded, that there was no pernition, but by vertue; no climbing to honour, but by fortitude and none base, abiect, and ignoble, but the vicious, slouthfull, and faintharted milkesops. They were not wearyed, nor seemed these former knights tales tedious vnto them, although many would thinke i

paine to bee tied to the hearing of so large a circumstance, and verie w but would exclaime it were plaine slauerie to write such and so any seuerall conceytes, from the mouthes of the speakers. Yet, such is their desire to publish these mens deserts, and the delight they tooke see the increase spring of the seedes of vertue, for they would not take the smallest recreation, till euery one of the nine had fully finished their courses, and therefore they attended, when the last would breath the secrets of his breast.

This was a prentice as the rest, and a grocer, sometime dwelling in Cornhill; his face was not effeminate, or his parts of a slender or weak constitution, but, by his lookes, he seemed couragious, and in the height, strength, and faire proportion of his body, victorious. Thus, being in all points armed like a champion, the verie aspect of his out-ward abite made semblance both of manhood and curtesie, wisdom and valour, knit in such a simpathie of operation, that he seemed as fitt to bee loued for peace, as prayed for prowes. And thus with a grace, neyther too meane like a child, nor too big like a gyant, but different betwixt both, he spake as followeth:

Henry Maleuerer, Grocer, surnamed Henrie of Cornhill.

A precious cause hath still a rare effect,
And deedes are greatest when the daungers most;
It is no care that trauels deoth neglect,
Nor loue that hath respect to idle cost;
A bramble neuer bringeth forth a rose;
Where fields are fruitfull there the lillie growes.

By this coniecture what may be the end,
Of his defensiu force that fought for Christ;
It is no common matter, if we spend
Both life and goods in quarrell of the hiest;
The least desert dooth merit his reward,
And best employde should haue not worst regard.

No vaine presumption followes my deuise,
For of my actions t' is in vaine to boast,
Yet with the Pagans I encountred twice,
To winne againe faire Sion that was lost:
Vnto which warre I was not forst to go,
T'was honour fire that did incense me so.

For when the Iews opprest with Heathens pride
Of Christian princes craude some friendly ayd,
In euery countrey they were flat denide,
Sauc that in England here their sute preuailde:
Such was the furie of intestine strife,
All Europe sought to spoyle each others life.

THE NINE WORTHIES OF LONDON.

And as in London there was order tane,
 To make prouision for the Holy Land,
 My youthfull mind that fearde no forraine bane,
 Was so admird by might of conquering hand:
 As for a single combate they did see,
 Th' ambassadours made speciall choise of me.

Then for the tankerd I did vse to beare,
 And other things belonging to mine art;
 Mine hand did weelde Bellonas warlike speare,
 For I was armde in steele to play my part:
 Along we went to beard our daring foes,
 That soone were queld with terroure of our blowes.

I neuer left the field, nor slept secure,
 Vntill I sawe Hierusalem regainde;
 To watch and labour I did still endure,
 What ist that diligence hath not obtainde?
 Yet grudging enuie valour to deface
 By treasons malice brought me in disgrace.

The good that I had done was cleane forgot,
 Ingratitude preuailde against my life,
 And nothing then but exile was my lot,
 Or else abide the stroke of fatall knife;
 For so the ruler of the Iewes concluded,
 His grace by false reports was much deluded.

There was no striuing in a forraine soyle,
 I tooke it patient, thought t'were causelesse done,
 And to auoyde the staine of such a foyle,
 That slaunderous tongues had wickedly begunne;
 Where, to the holy well of Iacobs name,
 I found a caue to shroude me from their blame.

And though my bodie were within their power,
 Yet was my minde vntouched of their hate:
 The valiant faint not, though that fortune lower,
 Nor are they fearefull at controlling fate:
 For in that water none could quench their thirst,
 Except he ment to combate with me first.

By that occasion, for my pleasures sake,
 I gaue both knights and princes heauie strokes;
 The proudest did presume a draught to take,
 Was sure to haue his passeport seald with knocks:
 Thus liu'd I till my innocence was knowne,
 And then returnde; the King was pensiue growne.

And, for the wrong which he had offerd me,
 He vowde me greater friendship than before;
 My false accusers lost their libertie,
 And, next their liues, I could not challenge more:
 And thus with loue, with honour, and with fame,
 I did returne to London whence I came.

This valerous champion, having here made an end, bowed himselfe. Then Fame with her owne hand gently laid his head vpon a soft downy ow wrought with gold, and set with pearle, and so leauing him, and rest, to the happinesse of their sweete sleepe, commanded Clio to claspe the booke, wherein she had written the deedes of these nine worthies, as her leysure serued her, to publish it to the viewe of the worlde, that euery one might read their honourable actions, and take example them to follow vertue, and aspire to honour; and the rather, quoth she, because I would haue malicious mindes that enuye at the deserts of these citizens, by prooue of these mens worthinesse, to repent their contempt, and amend their captious dispositions, seeing that from the beginning of the world, and in all places of the world, citizens haue thrived and beene famous; as in Rome, Cæsar; in Athens, Themistocles; and, in Carthage, Hannibal; with an infinite number more, that were, by byrth, citizens, by nature martiall, and by industrie owned. And so they departed from Elisian; and, within a while after, Clio, according to the charge was giuen her, sent forth this ephelet of her poems.

THE LEVELLERS:

A Dialogue between two young Ladies, concerning Matrimony,

proposing an Act for Enforcing Marriage; for the Equality of Matches, and Taxing single Persons. With the Danger of Celibacy to a Nation. Dedicated to a Member of Parliament.

London; Printed and sold by J. How, at the Seven Stars in Talbot Court, in Grace-church-street, 1703. Quarto, containing thirty-two pages.

An Epistle to a Member of Parliament.

Honoured Sir,
 Your fore-fathers, if not now in being, have passed an act, prohibiting the importation of foreign, and for the encouragement of the breed of

English cattle, which, I am told, has much raised the price of land in England. With submission to your better judgment, I think, an act, for increasing the breed of Englishmen, would be far more advantageous to the realm. Some say, That our ships are the walls of our island; but I say, Our men are the walls, the bulwarks, and fortresses of our country. You can have no navies, nor armies, without men; and, like prudent farmers, we ought always to keep our land well stocked. England never prospered by the importation of foreigners, nor have we any need of them, when we can raise a breed of our own.

What you have here presented, is a discourse of two young ladies, who, you find, are very willing to comply with such an act, and are ready to go to work for the good of their country, as soon as they shall have a legal authority; of which, if you are the happy instrument, you will have the blessing of ten-thousand damsels, and the thanks of

Your humble servant,

POLITICA.

POLITICA and Sophia, two young ladies of great beauty and wit, having taken lodgings together, this summer, in the country, diverted themselves in the evenings by walking to a certain shadow, which they might justly call their own, being frequented by none but themselves and the harmonious society of the wood. Here they consumed the happy minutes, not in idle chat peculiar to the ladies of the court and city; they did not dispute the manner of dressing, the beauties and foil of the commode and top-knot, nor the laws and administration of the attiring-room. They talked of nobler subjects, of the beauty and wonderful creation of Almighty God, and of the nature of man, the Lord of the universe, and of the whole dominions of nature. Pity it is we cannot procure all that these ladies have so privately, as they thought, discoursed; but we are very happy in having what follows, which came to our knowledge by a mere accident. A gentleman, lodging in the neighbourhood, one evening, taking a walk for his recreation, haply laid himself down behind a hedge, near the very shadow frequented by these ladies; he had not lain long, before these angels appeared at a distance, and he, peeping through the boughs (which served as a telescope to bring the divine objects nearer his view) was extremely ravished with their beauty; but, alas! What was the beauty of their faces to that of their minds, discovered to this happy man by the soft and charming eloquence of their tongues? And no man in the world was better qualified to give an account of this noble dialogue, than this person, he being an accurate short-hand writer, and had been pupil to Mr. Blainey in that science, and very happily had, at that time, pen, ink, and paper about him; he heard with amazement their discourse on common affairs, but, when the charming Sophia had fixed on a subject, he began to write as follows:

Sophia. My dear sister, how happy are we in this blessed retirement, free from the hurry of the noisy town! Here we can contemplate on the wonders of nature, and on the wisdom of the great founder of the universe. Do you see how the leaves of this thicket are grown, since we first retired to its shadow? It now affords us a sufficient shelter from the heat of the sun, from storms, and rain; see yonder shrub, what abundance of cyons sprout from its root? See yonder ewes, with their pretty lambs skipping and dancing by their sides. How careful is nature to propagate every part of the handy-work of the Almighty! But you and I, my *Politica*, are useless creatures, not answering the end of our creation in the propagation of our species, for which, next the service of our Creator, we came into the world. This is our sin, and we ought to be transgressors no longer.

Politica. Every creature desires to propagate its species, and nature dictates to every part of the creation the manner of doing it. The brute beasts are subservient to this law, and wholly answer the end of their creation. Now there is the same desire in mankind; but we, who are endowed with noble faculties, and who have countenances erected to behold the wonders of God in the firmament of heaven, look so far into the earth, that we sink beneath the dignity of beasts. In being averse to generation, we offer violence to the laws of God and nature imprinted on our minds. What *she* can say, that nature does not prompt her to the propagation of her species? Which, indeed, is one argument of the immortality of the soul; for the rational faculties concur with the dictates of nature in this point. We are, as it were, immortal upon earth, in our surviving children. It is a sort of hyperbole, but it is as near truth as possibly can be. We are all of us desirous of life; and, since, being mortal, we cannot for ever inhabit this glorious world, we are willing to leave our children in possession.

Politica. I cannot agree with you, *Madam*, that it is our fault we do not propagate our species, at least, I am sure, it is none of mine; I am young, and healthy, and beautiful enough, and nature daily tells me what work I ought to do; the laws of God circumscribe the doing of it; and yet, notwithstanding my conformity to both, you know, my circumstances will not admit of marriage.

Sophia. The impulse of nature in me, in that respect, is as great as it can be in you, but still under the regulations of the strictest rules of virtue. The end of our creation might be better answered, were not the matrimonial knot to be tied only by the purse-string. I can say, I am young and beautiful, and that without any vanity. This Mr. H—— knows well enough; he loves me intirely, and, I am sure, had rather live all his life-time with me in a garret, on the scrag-end of a neck of mutton, than with the lady his father proposes; but the old curmudgeon will not let his son have the least thoughts of me, because the muck, my father has left me, will not fill so many dung-carts, as he can fill for his son. It is even true, what the parson said, 'Matrimony is become a matter of money.' This is the reason, that you and I stick on hand so long, as the tradesmen at London say, when they cannot put off their daughters.

Politica. Matrimony is, indeed, become a mere trade; they carry

their daughters to Smithfield, as they do horses, and sell to the highest bidder. Formerly, I have heard, nothing went current in the matrimonial territories, but birth and blood; but, alas! this was in the antiquated times, when virtue and honour was a commodity in England, and when the nobility and gentry were in possession of large estates, and were content to live upon them, and keep courts of their own in the country; but, since they abandoned the state and grandeur of their fore-fathers, and became courtiers, and extravagantly wasted their substance in polluted amours in the city, they have no way to repair the cracks in the estates, but by marrying of fortunes; and, if the woman be a fortune, it is no matter how she is descended; gold is the quarry they fly at. I remember some old verses to this purpose:

- ' Gold marriages makes, 'tis the center of love ;
- ' It sets up the man, and it helps up the woman :
- ' By the golden rule, all mortals do move,
- ' For gold makes lords bow to the brat of a broom-man.

These verses are older than either you, or I, and yet they are true in our time.

Sophia. Aye, madam, too true, I find it so; but, methinks, it is a mere way of selling children for money, when, poor creatures, they often purchase what will be a plague to them all their life-time, a cursed ill-natured shrew, or a beastly, ill-conditioned husband. Let me live a maid to the last minute of my life, rather than thus to lose my content, my peace of mind, and domestick quiet, and all this for the inconsiderable trifle of a large bag of money for my portion. Let the old curmudgeons keep the golden coxcombs, their sons, for the best market. Heaven send me a spouse, that has sense enough to despise a bargain in petticoats with abundance of money and no brains! Methinks, a Smithfield match is so very ridiculous, that it might nauseate a half-witted courtier. How ridiculous is it for an old miser to shew the portion first, and his daughter afterwards! And, when both parties are agreed upon the price, then miss goes off, coarse or handsome, good or ill-natured, it is no matter. I fancy, an old miser, exposing his daughter to sale, looks like a country farmer selling his white-faced calf in the market, or like a grasier enhancing the price of a ragged, scrubby ox, from the consideration of abundance of tallow he will turn out. Even just such a thing is a Smithfield match; and, as soon as the miser has struck the bargain for his daughter, away he goes to the parson's toll-book, and there is an end of the matter.

Politica. It is even so; but it is a cursed wicked way of wedding; it is perfect kidnapping children in the marriage plantations. This practice is contrary to the laws of nature and God. Those pretty birds, you now hear singing over our heads, last Valentine's Day, chose every one his mate, without the direction, or approbation of their parents. The scripture says (I think it is in the sixth of Genesis, and the second verse) That 'the sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were *vir*; and they took them wives of all which they chose.' Do but mind

text of scripture, it is very much to our purpose; it is not there that the sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they had abundance of money, but they were fair, i. e. they were such as were beautiful and lovely. This was the attractive of courtship. It is not as said, that the old misers, as now, carried their sons and daughters marriage-fair, and swopped one for the other, with so much money for the vantage; but here the sons are left to chuse themselves wives, as they chose such as were fair, even just such as my beautiful *Phia*. And let me make this farther remark, That, for chusing such wives, they are called the 'Sons of God'. Hence it naturally follows, that whosoever do chuse wives after any other manner are the sons of the Devil; and thus the young sold couple are the son and daughter of the devil, and the old miser, that sold them, is the devil's brother-in-law, and so they are matched into a very fine family.

Sophia. Truly, sister, I am apt to think, God Almighty has nothing to do with such matches, though we have a common proverb in England, 'That matches are made in heaven;' I can truly say, as the country wench did, 'They are a long time in coming down.' I have waited for one a great while to no purpose; my money will not grow to the height of a husband, though I water it with tears, and air it with sighs; but, prithee, sister, let us contrive some way or other how to remove this great evil, this grievance of celibacy, under which the nation groaneth. I can take it to be nothing less than a national judgment, when our men, the strength of our kingdom, are daily consumed and wasted away by the wars, and there is no care taken of a supply. Our ships and armies, in a short time, will want soldiers; but this is none of our fault; you and I would endeavour at a race of heroes for the service of our country, if we could come honestly at the instruments which make them.

Politica. It is very true; but the remedy: In the first place, sister, let us consider the causes of the evil, and then the remedy. Begin, madam, let me hear your opinion of the cause of this evil.

Sophia. None fitter than your judicious self to lead the way in this argument. But, however, madam, I will obey your command; and I think it is a want of virtue both in young men and women, that is the chief cause of this destructive evil.

Out of civility to the man, I will begin first with our own sex. I am ashamed, and blush to speak it, how many lewd creatures there are of our sex both in the town and country; were there not so many whores, there would be more wives. The vicious sort of men are by them kept from marrying; for it is mere virtue must confine a man to a married state, where he has an uninterrupted converse with womankind as seldom and as often as he pleases, without confinement to any particular person or temper. This made a nobleman say, that "Two things could never be wanted in London, a wife and a watch; because one may have a whore, and see what it is a clock, at the end of every street."

The numerous company of strumpets and harlots, in London, makes the lewd sort of men out of love with matrimony. Nay, I have heard them say, "There is no woman honest after the age of fifteen." I know

they are lyars; but, I am sorry to say it, they have too much reason to be out of love with our sex. Sometimes I myself am almost of their opinion, especially when I consider how shamefully some lewd women prostitute themselves to every rascally porter and boy. And I think it more abominable in the women than the men, for nature has given us more modesty; and, did not the whores ply in the streets, the teacher could never stumble over them.

The men, they are grown full as effeminate as the women; we are rivalled by them even in the fooleries peculiar to our sex. They dress like anticks and stage-players, and are as ridiculous as monkies. They sit in monstrous long perukies, like so many owls in ivy-bushes; and esteem themselves more upon the reputation of being a beau, than on the substantial qualifications of honour, courage, learning, and judgment. If you heard them talk, you would think yourself at a gossiping at Dover, or that you heard the learned confabulation of the boys in the piazza's of Christ's-Hospital. Did you ever see a creature more ridiculous than that stake of humane nature which dined the other day at our house, with his great long wig to cover his head and face, which was no bigger than an Hackney-turnep, and much of the same form and shape? Bless me how it looked! just like a great platter of French soup with a little bit of flesh in the middle. Did you mark the beauty of his wig, what a deal of pains he took to toss it back, when the very weight thereof was like to draw him from his seat? Did you not take notice how he replenished his snout with snuff, and what pains he took to let us know that it was Vigo? Did you not wonder at his learned discourse of the womens accoutrements, from the top-knot to the laced shoe; and what lectures he read on the fan, masque, and gloves? He understood ribbons and silk as well as a milliner and mercer, and was a perfect chymist in beauty washes and essences. In short, madam, did you ever see a more accomplished coxcomb in all your life?

Now, my dear, though I must acknowledge our sex to be extraordinary vicious, we will not knock under-board to the men; we have yet more virtue left among us than they can match. For though, to our great shame, we are degenerated in one respect, to our commendation we are improved in another. We never had, in any age, women of better parts, of greater virtue, and more knowledge. Learning and wit seem to have forsaken the masculine dominions, and to have taken up their abode in the feminine territories. And, indeed, the men are so wickedly degenerated, that learning, virtue, courage, and conduct seem to be unnecessary accomplishments; for they signify nothing as to their preferment, but they make their fortunes as they make their wives, by money. And truly, madam, we have no great occasion to boast that we have supplanted the men of their virtue, for we have got that from them which did them no service, and which we must conceal, or else be laughed at for shewing it. However, madam, let us admire virtue, which gives that inward contentment, which all the riches of the world cannot purchase.

Politica. I think, my dear Sophia, the parents are as much the cause of celibacy as the children, by breeding them above their quality and estates. I give myself for an example. You know my father was

a tradesman, and lived very well by his traffick; and, I being beautiful, he thought nature had already given me part of my portion, and therefore he would add a liberal education, that I might be a complete gentlewoman. Away he sent me to the boarding-school; there I learned to dance and sing, to play on the bass-viol, virginals, spinnet, and guitar. I learned to make wax-work, japan, paint upon glass, to raise paste, make sweet-meats, sauces, and every thing that was genteel and fashionable. My father died, and left me accomplished, as you find me, with three-hundred pounds portion; and, with all this, I am not able to buy an husband. A man, that has an estate answerable to my breeding, wants a portion answerable to his estate; an honest tradesman, that wants a portion of three-hundred pounds, has more occasion of a wife that understands cookery and housewifery, than one that understands dancing, and singing, and making of sweet-meats. The portion, which nature gave me, proves now my detriment; my beauty is an obstacle to my marriage; an honest shop-keeper cannot keep a wife to look upon. 'Beauty, say they, is like a tavern bush, it is hang out in the face to shew what commodity is to be sold;' it is but like an honey-pot, which will fill a house with bees and wasps; and the poor tradesman, that has such a wife, will dream of nothing but horns, as long as he has her; so that, madam, I conclude, our parents are great causes of this evil, in educating their children beyond their estates.

Sophia. But how would you order the matter with one in my circumstances? My father, when I was born, was a gentleman of a plentiful estate, and gave me education according to the portion he designed me; but he, being a true Englishman, joined with the Duke of Monmouth in the recovery of our rights, which, he then thought, were in danger; and, in that enterprise, he lost his life and estate, and so I lost my portion, and have nothing to subsist on, but the charity of my good aunt. I can marry nothing but a gentleman, and very few, if any, of them, are inclined to marry the poor remains of an honourable and virtuous family. What can I do?

Politica. Truly, my dear, our cases are both desperate; we cannot come up to good estates, and gentlemen of good estates will not come down to us. I have often wondered, that there are no compulsive laws enforcing matrimony, but that, instead thereof, there are laws discouraging of marriage, as is the act for births and burials, especially to the poorer sort of people, who are generally the greatest breeders; for, by this act, when there is a certain charge to a family, there is a certain duty to the Queen. Now, if there was a law enforcing of matrimony, it would more effectually answer the end of her Majesty's pious proclamations for the encouragement of virtue, and for the suppressing of all manner of immorality and profaneness. For such a law would put a stop to abundance of whoring; it would make the women virtuous, on purpose to get good husbands, and the men thrifty and diligent in their callings, in order to maintain their families. The ruin both of body, soul, and estate proceeds from this omission in our laws. I am sure, a law of this nature would not only be acceptable in the sight of God, but it would be very advantageous to the kingdom.

Sophia. I am very well satisfied in the truth of what you say, but,

at the same time I do not think a law compulsive of marriage reasonable in all respects; there are a sort of monsters of men, called women-haters; these brutes would be destroyed by this act. Nature also has excluded, by its deficiencies, some men from the state of matrimony; others are of such monstrous ill-humours, that they can match no where but in the nunnery of Billingsgate; therefore, madam, if you get this act passed, it must contain many proviso's and exceptions.

Politica. Not in the least; I would have it a general compulsive act, after this manner: Every batchelor, at the age of twenty-four years, should pay such a tax to the queen; suppose it twenty shillings per annum for the meanest rank of men, and what the parliament thinks fit for those of higher degree. Every widower, which has been so upwards of one year, and is under the age of fifty years, to pay the same sum. Now, according to computation, we have seen millions of men in England, and, suppose two millions of the seven be batchelors and widowers, qualified as before, according to their several ranks and qualities taxed by act of parliament, they will pay into the queen's exchequer, yearly, the sum of two millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling, which will be almost enough to defray the charge of the war by land and sea.

The reasonableness of the act is plain, for that unmarried people are, as it were, useless to the state; they are, like drones in a hive, reaping the advantage of other people's labours; they have their liberties and freedoms secured by the loss of other men's lives, and do not, from their own loins, repair the native strength of the kingdom; they are not so good as the spider, which hangs in the loom drawn from her own bowels: On the other hand, it is reasonable to ease such in taxes, as have numerous families to the advantage of the commonwealth; for these are at daily charge in breeding up their issue for the defence and safety of the kingdom.

Sophia. Your notions are very good and proper; but how will you be able to put them into practice? I hope you will not solicit this bill yourself at the house of commons; you ought to have some way or other to communicate it to some particular member, that he may bring it in, as his own, and get a good reward for his pains from the court. Do not you remember, Mrs. Murray told us, the other day, how her husband was served about his project of exchequer bills? They got it to themselves, and did not give the honest gentleman one groat for his invention. Now, madam, if you could make yourself a portion by their making an act, you would do very well, you would serve yourself and your country; but, if this act passeth, I do not find, that you and I shall be the better for it, for the men are still left to the liberty of chusing, and they will chuse for the best portions; we are no nearer the marriage-bed than before. Pray think of some compulsive act, that may inforce them to marry me and you.

Politica. If will be very difficult to get a particular clause in our favour, it will cost us, at least, our maidenheads; and then, you know, we need not much trouble our heads about matrimony, we need not shut the stable-door when the steed is stolen. Pray, madam, let me

hear how you would have it for your own advantage? It is now your turn to propose.

Sophia. Nature has made all things on a level; our first father made no jointure in marriage, nor had our first mother any portion. Adam was lord, and Eve was mistress of the universe; and we ought to tread in the steps of our lady mother, and bring our husband no more than what nature hath given us. Settlements and portions never came into custom, till such time as murder and rapine had entered the world, and dowries were first brought into fashion by the posterity of Cain. The hellish miser, which the other day made so many scruples about my portion, did you not observe the mark of Cain in his forehead? The match-brokers look just like the wandering Jews in England, followed by the curse of God into all countries where they come.

Now, it is an easy matter for the parliament of England to bring marriages on the same level, as was designed at first by nature. I will propose how: Suppose every gentleman of one thousand pounds per annum, was obliged to marry gentlewomen of such quality and portion with ourselves, and, if he would not marry at all, his estate should become forfeited to the use of the publick.

Politica. That would be hard, to take away all a man has in the world, because he will not marry.

Sophia. We will then find a medium: Suppose we build and endow them an alms-house with their own money, where every one of them shall have a convenient apartment, with a bed, and two pair of sheets, one chair, one candlestick, a chamber-pot, and fire-place, and some other cheap necessities. We will allow them one coat a year, with a yellow badge on the arm, as the mark of a batchelor; and every ten of them shall have one old woman to wait upon them: They shall be chiefly fed with water-gruel, and barley-broth; and, instead of meat, they shall eat potatoes, Jerusalem artichokes, turneps, carrots, and parsnips; for you know they come into that hospital, because they do not love flesh.

Politica. Oh! fye madam, fye upon you! that would use brisk young gentlemen at such a cruel rate: This is downright tyranny.

Sophia. I am sorry to see you so tender of those, who are so cruel to our sex: But here is no cruelty at all in the case; consider the thing rightly, madam, and you will find it otherwise. We esteem it the highest charity to provide alms-houses for the antient superannuated poor, who are past their labour; now a man that is not come to his labour of generation, at twenty-five years of age, is certainly past it, and we ought to reckon him as superannuated, and grown an old boy, and not fit to be trusted with what he has, as not knowing the use and benefit of riches.

What I say, in this respect, is the common practice of mankind in things of another nature. The husbandman, if he has got a tree in his orchard, that has grown a long time, and has bore no fruit, he cuts him down for fuel, and plants another in his room: Why may we not do the same by the human batchelor trees; especially, since they are grafted on so good stocks, and are so well watered and pruned? That is a very ill sort of seed that will fructify in no soil. It is the same

thing in government; a batchelor is a useless thing in the state, does but cumber the ground, and takes up the room of a generous plant, which would be of great advantage to the commonwealth. I tell you, madam, according to the laws of nature and reason, a batchelor is a minor, and ought to be under the government of the parish in which he lives; for, though he be a housekeeper and for himself, as they call it, yet, having no family, he cannot be reckoned a good commonwealth's man; and if he is not a good one, he is a bad one, which ought not to be suffered; nay, he is not a perfect man till such time as he is married, for it is the woman is the perfection of the man.

Politica. Madam, I know you are endowed with true English principles; pray consider, whether the law you mention be not destructive of Magna Charta, since, without cause or offence, it deprives a man of his property, and takes from him the estate which legally descended to him from his ancestors.

Sophia. Madam, I find you hold me to hard meat, I must give reasons for the passing of my bill: I argue thus, a person who has broken, and forfeited his right to the Magna Charta of nature, ought to have no protection by the Magna Charta of Englishmen. I prove my proposition thus; A batchelor of age, as such, has broken the laws of nature: Increase and multiply is the command of nature, and of the God thereof; now, having broken the laws of nature, he ought not to have any protection from the laws of England, because such, as have protection by those laws, do contribute to the support of those laws, which an adult batchelor does not do according to the constitution of Magna Charta. Our forefathers purchased the liberties of Magna Charta, with the hazard of life and limb; they sealed that writing with the blood of themselves and their children, and, after the same manner those privileges were procured, must they be supported and maintained. Now a batchelor contributes little or nothing to the support of our freedoms; the money he pays in taxes is inconsiderable to the supplies given by others in children, which are an addition to the native strength of the kingdom: Money is like the soft and easy showers, which only cool and moisten the surface of the earth; children are like the soaking rain which goes to the root, and makes trees and vegetables fructify for the use of man: Indeed, my dear, a batchelor can, in no sense, be esteemed a good Englishman.

From the reasons aforesaid, I cannot think the batchelors are injured by my bill. Acts of parliament ought not to respect private interests; they are made for the good of the community, for the advantage of the whole people of England, and you shall seldom find any act passed, but what is to the detriment of some particular persons. We thought it no injustice to prohibit the importation of East India silks, notwithstanding the detriment thereby accrued to that company; and perhaps put all the ladies in court and city into the mulligrubs. These things the good parliament never considered, but passed the bill in favour of the multitude of weavers in this kingdom, who get abundance of children for the support of the nation, and which must have starved, if foreign commodities had been imported to the destruction of the weaving trade. That batchelors, that would come under this statute, are but

an inconsiderable number, compared with the aggregate sum of the whole kingdom.

Politica. Suppose, madam, your reasons should weigh with the house of commons: There is another sort of batchelors, that answer the end of their creation, and yet are not married; I mean such as multiply their species on misses and concubines, which, in plain English, are whores: Nay, they can content themselves to do it with their female servants, who serve under them for that purpose; these will find a way to creep out, if you do not bind your act very close.

Sophia. That is well thought on, upon my virginity! It is true, these are a dangerous sort of creatures; concubinage and whoring are grievous sins, both in the sight of God and man; and the divine laws, as also the laws of England, are very strict against such offenders, and yet you see they do not find holes to creep through and escape punishment. But the law I propose will tie them fast; for, do but observe it, madam, those laws are best executed, that bring money into the exchequer; every one would be a fisherman, if the fishes came like St. Peter's, with money in their mouths. I dare engage I will sooner get a warrant to search for prohibited uncustomed goods, or to seize a brewer's copper for non-payment of excise, than I can prepare a warrant to search a bawdy-house. Do but once make it appear, that godliness is gain, and I will warrant you a thorough reformation of manners. Now my act does this thing to a T; I make men honest and virtuous, and, by doing so, I make the government rich, and ease the subjects in the burden of taxes. And I dare engage, if ever you see my bill passed the royal assent, you will find it well executed.

Politica. That is according to the honesty and virtue of the commissioners and assessors, appointed for that purpose; if they are not virtuous and honest, they may lessen your tax, and cause a deficiency. This has been the effect of letting landed-men assess landed-men, and tradesmen assess stock; when, if a tradesman had assessed land, and a landed-man had assessed trade, being so very different in interest, they would have raised the fund to the height. Therefore, my dear sister, be cautious in this point, take my advice, I am your senior; let no old fornicator be an assessor, commissioner, or collector of your duty; he, that has in his time loved a bit of old hat, will be tender in punishing the sin of his youth. With him exclude all such as were batchelors before the passing of the act; they will suffer, nay, contrive a deficiency, that the act may be repealed. In short, let none be concerned in the assessing or collecting of this duty, but such as have many years lived with their wives in conjugal chastity, and by them have a very numerous issue; these, I will warrant you, will take care to bring the utmost penny into the exchequer.—But pray, how do you design to punish such of this sort of batchelors, that will not comply with your act? I hope you will allow them a separate maintenance; you will build them an alms-house also, will you not?

Sophia. As the others are used like fools and superannuated persons, so we will use these like madmen. We will build them a convenient bedlam, wherein every one of them shall be chained about the middle to a post, like a monkey; we will feed them with low diet, as the

others, and once a month they shall be blooded and shaved. To aggravate their crime, we will make every one of them a Tantalus, by bringing every day handsome ladies before them, who shall laugh and jeer at them, and then turn their backs upon them.

Politica. I protest, madam, you are very cruel: Would you be willing to be served so yourself?

Sophia. Yes, sister, when I refuse matrimony upon good and equal terms: Pray, do they not do the same by us? Are not we daily presented with the sight of batchelors of good estates, who come to us under pretence of lawful courtship, to prosecute an unlawful amour? They come to us like butterflies to flowers, to spit maggots on us, and then leave us to be devoured by infamy and scandal: There is no punishment bad enough for these monsters of men; I would fain have my will upon them one way or other, either by marrying them all out of hand, or by punishing them for living single.

Politica. I do indeed think a levelling of marriages is the most reasonable thing in the world; mankind is on a level in all things but this; one man has wit and wants money; another has money and wants wit; a third has strength, and wants both money and wit; one is poor and contented with his condition; another has no peace of mind, nor satisfaction, amidst all his riches, but is, amongst his bags of money, as a person in Little Ease or Bridewell; so that nature seems to have designed a level, only we raise mountains and hills on purpose to deface the works of nature. But, sister, here's one thing yet to be considered, that there are several young gentlemen born to good fortunes, who would marry me or you; but they are kept from it by the advice of their parents. Now, though I would have such punished as are unmarried with good estates in their own possession, yet would I have some respect to those who would and cannot: There is Mr. ———, he often gives me visits, he loves my company, his eyes talk of love, which is more than his tongue durst so much as mention; for he tells me, the beldam his mother, and the old curmudgeon his father, have made a resolution, that he shall never marry but with a woman of five-thousand pounds fortune: But, says he, if they die, I'll marry where I please. They may live a long time, and, if I should stay for him, by that time beauty may have lost its charms; and some younger Phillis, or other, may interpose and get the prize from me. For love, madam, is the most fickle and changeable thing in the world: My wit will last as long as my virtue, and both these are not lessened but improved by age. But did you ever know a man that loved a woman for virtue and wit? No, there are other attractives which make so great a sound in the world, that they drown the low voice of virtue and wit.

Sophia. I would have these old folks, that hinder their children from matrimony, as severely punished as the old batchelors: The fabulous punishment of leading apes in hell is not enough; I would have them punished even in this life. I pray God send them some such distemper as the pox; which, in this life, is the punishment of adulterers and whoremongers: Nay, sometimes they are caught and pay dear enough for their trifling with the years of youth, and not entering the

bounds of matrimony, till the time of their doatage. I will tell you a verv pretty and true story:

A certain doctor of divinity of the university, aged about sixty years, from the profits of a good benefice, and other comfortable church emoluments, together with a thrifty life, had acquired an estate of five-hundred pounds per annum; but the pious churchman, being still desirous of a larger share of the good things of this life, thought of ways and means of aggrandising his fortune. No better way could he think on than marriage; for, he having lived a batchelor, and, by his industry, procured such an estate, he thought his spiritual and temporal endowments deserved a considerable fortune. After he had made many enquiries among his friends and acquaintance for a suitable help-mate, called a wife, with a sufficient quantity of money, he pitched upon a justice of the peace's daughter, about ten miles distant from his own habitation. The young gentlewoman was about sixteen years of age, and had ten thousands pounds portion. Her money made an atonement for her want of years, for the bags and the girl were just old enough for the doctor.

As soon as the doctor had intelligence of this young lady, he pursues the notion with all the vehemence imaginable; and hereupon one day at dinner he breaks bulk to his man John, and tells him of his design of wedding, and orders him to get his horse ready the next morning early, and likewise another for himself, to accompany him part of the way, which he accordingly did; and, after John had travelled with him about half way, he was dismissed by the doctor, who travelled on by himself till within a mile of the justice's house, where seeing an old hedger in the way, he asked him, if he knew esquire ———. He told him, yes, he had reason so to do, for he had been his servant above thirty years; and that he had married his wife out of the family, who was also an old servant of the squire's. Well then, says the doctor, you must needs know his daughter, Mrs. Anne. Yes, I think I do, says the hedger, she's a fine young gentlewoman, and my master can give her a power of money: I will tell you what, doctor, I understand trap; I fancy you have a mind to Mrs. Anne. Why, replies the doctor, what if I have; what then? Why then, says the hedger, my master being a hugy rich man, and my mistress a young woman, he may think you both too old, and not rich enough: And therefore, doctor, if I might advise you, I would first have you see how you like the girl; it is good to look before you leap. Which way can I do that, quoth the doctor? Oh, quoth the old man, let me alone, I can contrive that well enough. Hereupon the doctor gives him a broad-piece, telling him, he found he could do him a kindness; and that, if he did it, he should never want, for he had five-hundred pounds a year, besides spiritual preferments. Aye, says the old man, I have often heard of you. I do not question but we shall bring the matter about: my master has a great respect for the church. Pray, Sir, go a little farther to my house, and I will give you a cup of the best, and some good bread and cheese, and there we will consider farther of the matter. I will warrant we will contrive the business well enough.

With all my heart, says the doctor. Away goes the doctor more

freely than to church, and the hedger as if he were going to the wedding. When they were come to the house, and eating the best it afforded; says the countryman, master doctor, if I could get mistress Anne to my house, would not that do well? Rarely well, quoth the doctor, if you can but compass it: But does she ever come hither? Very often, says the old man, to see her old servants. But how will you contrive it? says the doctor. Leave that to me, quoth the hedger. Away goes the old fellow, and enters into discourse with his wife; says he to her, I am minded to put a trick upon the doctor: The good wife in a passion replies, you S———, you old fool, you put a trick on a great man of the church! Hold your tongue, Goody Simpleton, says the old man; I find the great doctors bred at the vrsity have no more wit than we country folk: Get you gone immediately to the squire's, and take my daughter Joan along with you, and pray Mrs. Anne to dress her in her best cloaths, for there is a gentleman at our house desires to see her in such a habit. Now you must understand their daughter Joan was about the same age and stature with Mrs. Anne, and had a great deal of beauty, obscured by homely country weeds, and she had by nature a pretty stock of the mother wit of the knave her father. Away trudges the old woman with Joan her daughter: Her request was no sooner asked but granted, and Joan was presently turned into a little angel, by the help of Mrs. Anne's accoutrements. The doctor, you may be sure, waited with much impatience all this while; sometimes in hopes, and other times in despair. But the hedger, standing with his face towards the way, at length espies his wife and Mrs. Anne (for that must be the name of Joan at present) coming towards the house. The old man begs leave of the doctor to go and meet Mrs. Anne, and conduct her to the house, which he did presently, by running cross a field; he made abundance of scrapes and cringes to madam Anne, with his hat in his hand, and then, stepping behind her like a footman, he followed her home all the way, instructing her how to manage herself in this weighty concern.

When they came to the house the doctor receives her with abundance of ceremony; the countryman also made some rustick bows and compliments, and tells her, it was a great favour in her ladship to come in a visit to her poor old servants, and humbly intreats the favour of her to sit down; for, though the gentleman present was a stranger to her ladship, he was a person of quality, a learned and rich doctor of the church, who, in humility, peculiar to the clergy, had vouchsafed to give so poor a man as he a visit. With much coyness madam Anne sits down, and, having made a bow from her seat to the doctor, she asked her old servants, how they did. The doctor being smitten with the visible part of Mrs. Anne's portion, and ruminating on the invisible; the old man thought it was time to retire, which he did, by leaving a scrape or two on the earthen floor with his foot,

The doctor had now what he came for, and to work he goes. He had forgot Thomas Aquinas, Duncie Scotus, and other unintelligible cramp authors. Philosophy signifies nothing in an amour, and logick of itself is enough to curdle a virgin's milk; therefore the doctor accosted her with all the soft expressions he could remember in *Ovid de Arte Aman-*

di, which, the learned say, is the only way to know to resolve the difficult questions in Aristotle's problems; and, the girl having heat of beauty enough at that age to warm a stoick, by the vehement attraction thereof the doctor joined countenances; but never did a poor young lady receive kisses after a more modest and coy manner; and well might she blush at such an exercise; for the poor creature never smelt man before, and it was the first time that ever she saw the doctor.

After the doctor and Mrs. Anne had been above an hour together, in steps the old man. The girl she modestly retires, as well for instruction as to give an account how things went. In the mean time, the old man asks the doctor how he liked the lady, and what encouragement she gave him? The doctor, being ravished with the visible and invisible qualifications of Mrs. Anne, expressed abundance of satisfaction, and how happy a man he should be if he could obtain his prize. Says the old man, At her again, Mr. Doctor, she is a brave good-humoured lady, and I told her sufficiently what you are: Says the doctor, prithee canst not thou get us something good to eat and drink; here's money, if thou canst. Away goes the old man, but first got Mrs. Anne into the room with the doctor, which was done with many intreaties, and performed with a wonderful modesty.

We will leave the doctor and Mrs. Anne hard at work on the anvil of courtship, whilst the old woman and her husband are getting supper ready, which they were so long about, that it grew late, and Mrs. Anne was just going. The doctor, you may be sure, intreated her to stay; and the old man and woman solicited very hard on the same account, telling the lady, that they had nothing worthy of her acceptance, but the honour she would do them, now they had a great doctor of the church at their house, would be very great. In short, they argued so much, that Mrs. Anne was at length prevailed upon to stay; the old man whispers the doctor, that he had kept supper back on purpose that he might have the more of the young lady's company, and therefore advised him to make the best use of his time. Certainly, never any young lady made her lover so happy at the first interview; to work goes the doctor, he courts like a dragon; with an irresistible fury he lets fly whole volleys of bombaste rhetorick at her head, enough to beat a poor country girl's brains out; no stone did he leave unturned, but persists in his courtship, till interrupted by the old man's bringing in the supper, which, we may imagine, could not be less than a couple of cocks with bacon, and it is well, if the fowls did not come out of the squire's coop, as well as the cloaths out of his daughter's wardrobe.

Down sits the doctor, having first placed Mrs. Anne at the upper end of the table, and, having said a short grace, he desired the old couple to sit down, as did also Mrs. Anne. But they refused it, saying, they should not be so impudent as to set at table chink by chowle with a great doctor of the church, and their Mrs. Anne, who agreed with the doctor to make them both sit down, which at last they did, in conformity to the church and their mistress; and so they all fell heartily to pecking till they had consumed the whole provision.

Supper being over, the old man asks his wife in the next room, what time of night it was; the old woman replied, it was past eight of the

clock; at which, the old man fell into a violent passion, and scolded horribly at his wife, for not taking notice how the time went away. The doctor, hearing this combustion, comes to know the meaning of it. The old man tells him, he is undone for ever; he has kept Mrs. Anne here so late that she is locked out of doors, her family being always in bed by eight of the clock, and that, on this account, the 'squire will turn him out of his service, by which he got his livelihood. The doctor pacifies him, by telling him, that, since this thing must happen on his account, he nor his wife should never want as long as he lived. Well, says the old man, Mr. Doctor, since you are such a charitable man, I will put you in a way to do your business at once; if you should apply yourself to the 'squire, he will hardly be brought to terms; for, though you have a good estate, yet I know the 'squire will marry my mistress to a young man; and seeing you have now a fair opportunity, having the night before you, try to get her consent, and take her away with you by three or four in the morning to some parson of your acquaintance, and marry her. My master will be soon reconciled, for he has no other child to inherit his estate. A good thought, says the doctor, and I will try what can be done in the case.

You may be sure, madam, now the doctor attacks the lady with all the fury imaginable; the silence of the night and want of sleep, as I have heard those skilled in love affairs say, are great advantages to an invading lover; these are the best times in which to storm a lady's fortress. This, I suppose, the doctor well enough knew, and therefore carried on the siege with vigour, and, before three in the morning, the young lady had capitulated, and surrendered upon articles; which the doctor tells the old man of with abundance of pleasure, who, you may be sure, bids the doctor joy. The doctor desires the old man to get him a pillion, which, indeed, the old man had before provided; and away goes the doctor and his lady, and were that day married.

The doctor did not stay long at the place of marriage, but privately returns to his own house, where he acquainted some of his friends of his enterprise, who highly applauded his ingenuity; but he enjoined them all to secrecy for some time. The doctor daily expected a hue and cry after Mrs. Anne; but, hearing nothing of it, he concluded the servants had some how or other concealed the story from her father; but his friends advised him by all means to go to the justice, and acquaint him with what he had done with his daughter, and beg his pardon for so doing, as a means of reconciliation.

The doctor understanding the justices of the peace were to meet that day about some particular business in the town; he went to enquire for the justice, whom he only knew by sight, and the justice had no other knowledge of the doctor. The doctor, in his best Pontificalibus's, comes to the place of meeting, which was an inn, and asks the drawer, whether esquire —— was there; who answered, he was. He bids him shew him a room, and go tell the esquire, that doctor —— desired to speak with him; the esquire desires the doctor to come to him and the rest of the gentlemen, they having at that juncture no business before them; but the doctor sends word again that his business was private, and he intreated the esquire to come to him, upon which the

esquire comes. The doctor he falls on his knees, and begs his pardon; the esquire was surprised, as knowing nothing of the matter, and, being unwilling to be homaged by the church, he desires the doctor to rise, or otherwise he would talk no farther with him. The doctor refused to do it till such time as he had his pardon. The esquire, knowing of no offence, freely gave him a pardon; which done, the doctor arises, telling him, he was sorry that one in his coat should be guilty of such a crime. The esquire, being still in the dark, replied, he knew no crime he was guilty of: Sir, says the doctor, I have married your daughter: Married my daughter, says the esquire, you are certainly mistaken, doctor. It is certainly true, says the doctor. Says the esquire in a great passion, How long have you been married to my daughter? I have lain with her these three nights, says the doctor: Says the esquire, you are strangely mistaken, doctor, for I left my daughter at home this morning. Says the doctor, you are strangely imposed upon by your servants, therefore be so kind as to go to my house and see your daughter, who is there at this present. The esquire, in an odd sort of confusion, goes along with him to the house, and, being conducted into the parlour where madam sat in state on her couch, the esquire burst out into a fit of laughter, and, going to the lady, salutes her, and wishes her much joy, and then told the doctor the mistake; for, says he, this lady is my servant ——— the hedger's daughter Joan, dressed in my daughter's cloaths. The doctor, being astonished for some time, recovers himself, comes up to her, takes her in his arms, and, kissing her, says, If thou art Joan, I will love thee as well as if thou hadst been Mrs. Anne. And, for aught I know, she made him as good a wife; for, though she perfectly kidnapped the old child, yet they lived very comfortably together.

Politica. I can nick your story with one of a clergyman, that was as indifferent about a portion as yours was curious. Mr. G——, a minister in Suffolk, and of a considerable estate, lived without thoughts of marriage, till the age of fifty years; at which time one of his parishioners put him in thoughts of matrimony. He said he had been so intent on his studies, that he never thought of a wife; but that now, if he could find out a good one he would marry. The gentleman told him, such a person about twelve miles off had three daughters, either of which would make him a good wife, but their fortunes were but small. The parson said, he knew the gentleman very well, but did not know he had any daughters; and, as for money, that was a thing he did not value. The parson, in a short time, gives the gentleman a visit, who made him very welcome, not knowing the design of his coming; but the parson told him, that he heard he had three daughters, and one of them would make him a good wife. The gentleman replied, he had three daughters, and that he hoped they would prove to the satisfaction of any person who should marry them, and told him either of them was at his service. The parson said, they were all alike to him; but, since it was usual to marry the eldest first, he would take her; the gentleman replied with all his heart. Upon which the eldest daughter was called in. The parson, sitting in his chair, and smoking his pipe, told her, he had heard she would make him a good wife. The young

lady, surprised, told him, she did not know that, but did believe she should be a good wife to any one that should marry her. The parson put the grand question, Whether she would have him? She told him, Matrimony was a thing of that moment as required a great deal of consideration, and not to be so speedily determined. He told her, his studies would not allow him a long courtship; and, pulling out his watch, laid it on the table, and told her he would give her an hour's time to consider of it. Away goes the girl, but, believing it to be a banter, she thought very little on that subject; the parson having looked on his watch, and finding the hour was gone, he desired the young lady might be again called in. When she came, the parson shewed her the watch, telling her the hour was past, and that he hoped she had considered of what he had spoke to her about; she told him, that, it being a matter of such great consequence, it required a much longer time than he had set for that purpose. The parson hereupon began to fret, and told her further, He found she would not have him, and therefore he desired his horse to be brought out, for he would be going homewards. The gentleman pressed him to continue longer; withall, telling him, though the eldest required so much time for consideration, perhaps the second might not.

The parson was hereby prevailed upon to smook another pipe, and the second daughter was brought in, to whom he carried himself as to the former, and also allowed her an hour's time to consider of it. You may be sure, during this time, the father and mother worked the girl to say, Yes, as plain as if she had been in the church. The time being elapsed, the parson was impatient to go home, wife or no wife, he was so indifferent. The girl was now called in, and the parson asked her, Whether she had considered of the manner? She answered, Yes. Then will you have me? She answers, Yes. Very well then, says the parson to the father, all is done but matrimony; and when shall that be? When you please, says the father. Then, says the parson, let it be on Tuesday next. But, says the father, who shall get the licence? I will take care of that, says the parson; and so, taking leave of the father, away he goes. When he had gone about three or four miles, and thinking of the licence, he remembered he had not taken his wife's christian name, and so he rode back again as hard as he could drive, and, riding up the house, he found the eldest daughter standing at the door, so he asked her what was her christian name? She told him; he bid her a good night, and away he goes.

The day being come, and the licence being got ready, the parson comes to fetch his wife; away goes the father with him, and his three daughters, and two or three other relations, to the church, where the parson and clerk were ready to make matrimonial execution. The parson asked the father and Parson G——, which of the daughters was to be married; they answered the second daughter; but the parson told them the first daughter's name was in the licence, and therefore he could not marry them till they had got another licence. Parson G—— told them, he could not defer it any longer, and therefore he would be dispatched somehow or other, and told them it was all one which of them he had, and so he goes to the eldest, and asks

her whether she would have him? And she, having better considered of the point, answered Yes, and so they were married.

From church they went home to her father's house, where, having dined, he tells his wife she must put up such things as she designed to carry home with her, for he would quickly be going homewards. The relations begged of him to stay all night, and bed his wife at her father's house, it being the usual custom so to do; he told them, he would lie no where but at his own house, and that he would be going presently. The relations finding no arguments would prevail upon him to tarry, they got Mrs. Bride ready; and the parson, coming to the door, espied several horses ready saddled and bridled; he asked, what the meaning of those horses was? They told him, for some of his wife's relations, to accompany him home; he said, no body should go along with him but his wife; and so they were forced to stable their horses, and let the married couple go home by themselves.

When they came home, he conducted her into the house, and saluted her, which was the first time; and, after he had bid her welcome, and they had sat about half an hour, the parson calls the old maid, and bids her bring the spinning wheel, and told his wife, he did not doubt but she was a good housewife, and knew how to make use of that instrument. She told him, Yes; then he tells her, he did expect she would work while he was at work, and no longer. So away goes he to his study, and Mrs. Bride to working with the whirling-engine. About an hour after he comes down, and tells her, now she must leave work, and bids the old maid get supper ready. After they had supped, he goes into his study, and she to her spinning wheel. When he returns again from his study, he tells her, now she must leave work. After a short discourse, he went to prayers with the family, and then orders the old maid to light her mistress up stairs, and put her to bed.

Away goes Madam Bride to bed, without any ceremony of eating sack-posset, or throwing the stocking; and, as soon as she was in bed, in comes the parson, and to bed goes he; but, sitting up in it, he bids the maid bring him the little table, a great candle, and such a book from the study, which she did, and the parson went to his reading; upon which, the bride calls to the maid. The parson asked her, what she wanted? She told him, Something. The maid coming, he bid her speak to her mistress, who bids her bring up the spinning-wheel, and a great candle in the long candlestick; which the maid having done, Mrs. Bride went to whirling it about as hard as ever she could drive. At which the parson could hardly forbear bursting out into laughter, and, finding that spinning and reading did not agree well together, he put out his candle, and laid him down in bed like a good husband.

The next morning, he told her, that he found her a wife of a suitable temper to himself, and that, for the future, she might work or play when she pleased; that he left all his temporal concerns to her management, and they lived a very happy couple together, till death parted them.

This, madam, is indeed a very comical story; however, the young woman got a good husband by the bargain. Humours are indeed very uneasy companions, but the whole course of human life is attended

with mixtures of pleasure and pain, and it is but common prudence for us to overlook a few impertinences, rather than lose the most necessary comforts of life. We have all of us our whims and humours in relation to matrimony; sometimes they abound in the parents, and sometimes in the children, sometimes in the husband, sometimes in the wife; for my part I do not know who is clear of them. We are now fallen into the humour of telling stories under this green bower, as if we were in a chimney corner at christmas, which is a sort of impertinence, pardonable in those who have nothing to do but pass away their time in tattle, and reading of books; however, it is more commendable than to gossip, as the London ladies do, over sack and walnuts, cool tankards, and cold tea, and all the time rail at their husbands for being at the tavern. I will propagate the humour we are fallen into, by telling you a true story of a miserly old humourist.

A certain country gentleman of about one-thousand pounds per annum, having buried his wife and all his children, took a brother's son into the house, as his heir, and gave him the best education that country would afford. The boy being a youth of clean parts, and good ingenuity, he improved to an extraordinary degree in so barren a soil, and so very dutiful withal, that the old man perfectly deoted on him, and was uneasy when he was out of his company. When he came to years of maturity, was grown ripe, and ready to be shaken into the matrimonial bed, the old gentleman asked him, Whether he was inclined to marry? The young man, with an unwilling modesty, told him, what he pleased; he wholly referred that, and every thing else relating to himself, to his care, thinking himself always happy and safe under his conduct. Says the old cuff, Thou hast been a very dutiful child to me, and therefore, says he, I am willing to please thee. Shall I look thee out a wife? The young man (who without doubt would have been better pleased to have looked out a wife for himself) answered, With all his heart.

The old gentleman looks out accordingly, and, being well known in the country, was not long in pursuit of a wife for his nephew, which happened to be a gentleman's daughter about ten miles distant from his own habitation. The two old people discoursed the matter, and came to this resolution, That the two young ones should have an interview, and see how they liked one another. Home comes the old man, and acquainted his nephew that he had pitched upon a wife for him, one of Mr. ———'s daughters, who were all of them virtuous young women, and every way suitable to his quality and circumstances; although their portions were but small, their father having met with many misfortunes, yet the virtues inherent in them rendered them equal to himself. The young man returned him abundance of thanks, and did not, in the least, question the prudence of his choice.

Now was the young man to have an interview with Mrs. Bride elect, and his uncle retired into consultation with himself, how to equip his nephew for that enterprise. At first, he determined to send to London to have him a new suit of cloaths made, that he might appear like a courtier; but, upon second thoughts, and to save his money, he told a, he could better provide for him at home; for, says he, you are

just of my size, and I have above stairs, in the press, all my wedding-cloaths, which were the best I could lay my hands on, both for the fineness of the cloth, and the silk lining. I am sure they are so good, that I never wore them above four or five times in all my life, and they are never the worse for wearing. I will assure thee, if I had not a great respect for thee, thou shouldst never have them. What sayest thou, child, wilt thou try them on? With all my heart, replied the young spark. Up goes the old man and brings them down; he puts them on, and they fitted exactly. The coat-sleeves were gloriously cut and slashed, small buttons on the coat, a little bigger than pease; the pockets about a handful below the knees, the breeches were open-kneed, a great deal wider than a Flanderkin's trousers, hung all around with abundance of little ribbons. The old gentleman asked him how he liked them? Very well, Sir, replies the spark. Now, says the old man, for a hat; I have a special beaver I bought along with these cloaths, which he also produced; it had a crown as high, and in form of a sugar-loaf, with brims as broad as a tea-table. The young gentleman thanked him heartily for it also. Now, says the old cuss, there is nothing wanting but a pair of boots, which I have by me, and which being brought, the young spark tried them on, and they fitted exactly; they were of a russet colour with white tops. Pray, says the old man, take great care of these boots, it is wet weather and may spoil them, therefore I would advise thee to twist some hay-bands about them for their security, and, when you come near the house, pull them off, and then they will be neat and clean as they were at my wedding. But one thing I had almost forgot, Hast thou got any thing? Not one penny, replied the spark. Well thought on, says the uncle, courtship is chargeable, here is half a crown, pray make good use of it. The young gentleman, thus equipped, looked like one of Queen Elisabeth's courtiers come from the dead, or, like snow on the grass and trees about midsummer; but what would one not undergo for a good wife or husband?

The young man gets up early the next morning, and having resumed his former accoutrements, and mounting on the outside of his uncle's best palfrey, away he trots in pursuit of his lady. You may be sure the people gazed, and the dogs barked sufficiently on the road at this human scarecrow on horseback; but the worst of it was, as he came within bow-shot of his mistress's tabernacle, the young lady was looking out at the window, and espying such a figure, she called her other two sisters, and told them that merry Andrew was coming, which put them into a great fit of laughter, till, approaching nearer, one of them cries out, It is Mr. ———'s nephew, and, knowing his business, they sent a man to take his horse, and their father and mother received him very genteelly at the door, and ushered him into the house.

But, as if Fate had ordained that the poor spark should be exposed in his antiquated habiliments, it so happened that day there was an invitation of gentlemen and ladies to dinner at the house. When dinner was ready and set on the table, the young spark was conducted from another room to the rest of the guests. No sooner had he set his foot on the threshold, but the eyes of the whole company were upon him; one sneered, another tittered, a third laughed outright, no body knowing

the meaning of this odd dress; so that indeed he was the *scaramouch* of the company. But by that time they had feasted their eyes on him, and filled their stomachs with the victuals, they found the spark was very modest and ingenious, and that his good humour and eloquence was more agreeable to their ears and minds, than his habit to their eyes; and, by his ogling one of the ladies more than the rest, they guessed at his design; and being unwilling to cramp love in its embryo, after dinner they all withdrew, and left that lady and the spark together.

The spark immediately takes the opportunity to apologise for his garb, and told her how necessary it was for him to please his uncle's humour in the thing, which, though it made him ridiculous to the company, he hoped would not lessen her esteem of his person: The young lady (who knew she was to marry the man, and not the cloaths) told him, it was not the garb she looked at, but she had more respect to his other accomplishments; and at this rate they went on in discourse of love and matrimony for about two hours.

The lady then thinking it uncivil any longer to withdraw herself, or detain the gentleman from the rest of the company, she desired him to go into the next apartment, and take a game at cards with the young ladies. The spark, knowing the weakness of his pocket, desired heartily to be excused; but, being pressed by one he could in no wise refuse, he was at last forced to give her the grand argument, by making known to her his Job's condition. She, understanding the humour of his uncle, guessed the money might as well be wanting as new cloaths, and she desired his patience for a minute or two, whilst she stepped out about a little business, which she did, and returns presently with a purse of five pounds, desiring him to make use of it. Upon which he waits upon her into the next room, where he played at cards with the rest of the company, sometimes won, sometimes lost, but always pleased the company to admiration; so that they all thought his mistress extremely happy in having so ingenious and good-humoured a lover, though in an antiquated dress.

To make short of my story, he tarried with his lady a full fortnight, and in that time got her consent, and the consent of her parents, and returns home to his uncle with this joyful news, which extremely pleased the old gentleman; but he took care to tell the old man, that, according to his own words, he had found indeed that courtship was chargeable, for that he had spent eighteen-pence of the half-crown he gave him, and, putting his hand in his pocket, he gave his uncle the remaining shilling. Well, child, says the uncle, I commend thy prudence and frugality, I find thou art to be trusted with money and any thing else, and therefore I will settle five-hundred a year upon thee in marriage; and giving him a good sum of money to buy him such wedding-cloaths as he should best like, the marriage was soon after solemnised to the satisfaction both of old and young. They were a happy pair, and the old man, dying some years after, left them the remainder of his estate, which made an addition to their happiness.

Politica. Truly, madam, the young gentleman was enough ingenious; had he been cross, and not pleased his uncle's humours, he would been disinherited, though I must confess, it is hard to render our-

elves ridiculous to a degree of folly, to please an old humourist. But what is not sinful can never be shameful, and how unpleasant soever our actions are in the sight of men, if they are otherwise in the sight of God, it is no matter: A good estate and virtue make a man beautiful in any garb. I believe I could conform myself to the humours of the greatest caprichio, were I afterwards to be as happy as the young lady you have mentioned. We must all of us suffer some way or other in our pupillage: The apprentice serves out his time with cheerfulness, in expectation of being his own man at the seven years end. Future ease is a great encouragement to present labour. But I know many young men and women are ruined by the unaccountable humours of their parents and governors, and take such wicked courses, that they are seldom or never reclaimed, especially women, who have once broken through the bounds of chastity. It is a common proverb amongst the men, that, 'Once a whore and always a whore.' Though I have known this proverb crossed; and, to level and make our stories even as we would do marriages, I shall give you an account after what manner:

A country gentleman, who was a justice of the peace in the county of R——, not having been in London in his life, or at least, not for a long time, being in conversation with some of his friends, heard them speak of the practice of lewd women, in picking men up in the streets. The gentleman, being a stranger to this abominable practice, could not believe any women could be so impudent, as they reported them to be; but they told him, he might experience the contrary any evening when he pleased. The gentleman was resolved to make the experiment, and one evening in Fleet-street he takes notice of a very pretty gentlewoman, which eyed him very narrowly, whereupon he asked her to drink a glass of wine; she agreed at the first word, and went with him to the next tavern.

When the gentleman and his doxy were seated in a room, and had some wine brought them, they drank very civilly one to the other; but miss expected to be attacked, after another sort of manner than she found by the gentleman: For he asked her, how long she had continued that trade; she told him, as they all do, but a very short time; then he continues, how can you dare to live in rebellion both against the laws of God and man, and impudently pursue methods to destroy both your body, and your immortal soul? In short, he read her such a lecture, that she, not being hardened in sin as are the generality of those miscreants, burst out into a flood of tears, and told him, that it was not without a wonderful remorse of conscience she followed that wicked course of life, and protested to him, that it was pure necessity obliged her to it, for otherwise she could not get a subsistence. The gentleman asked her further, how she came first to be debauched? She told him her father was a country gentleman, who had extravagantly spent a plentiful estate, and then dying, left her to the wide world unprovided for: She thought London was the best place to get her a livelihood in, and thither she came, but very unfortunately fell into the hands of a lewd woman, who betrayed her to the lust of a gentleman, who was no more than once concerned with her, and then advised her to ply the

streets; and, that he himself was the first person that ever had picked her up.

The gentleman told her, it was hard to believe persons who had been guilty of such heinous crimes, and very heartily admonished her to forsake her evil practices, to repent of what she had already done, and to amend her life for the future. She gave him many thanks for his good advice, and told him, she should think herself a very happy person, if either he, or any one else, would put her in a way to live otherwise. He told her, if she would resolve to amend for the future, he would take care to provide for her. She promised him, with all the asseverations imaginable, that she would: Whereupon he told her, that she should meet him the next day at a certain time and place; she coming according to appointment, he put her into a lodging he had provided, and, being well assured of her repentance and sincerity, and finding her an accomplished gentlewoman, soon after married her; and she made him a chaste and happy wife, and he lived as happily with her, as if she had been possessed of a portion of thousands of pounds.

Sophia. If I had here a bottle of wine, I would drink that gentleman's health; he, under God, saved the body and soul of that poor creature, and made a saint, by taking a sinner to his bed. I cannot chuse but reflect on our discourse, how naturally we have fallen from the discourse of matrimony, to love stories; we have talked away the time, as children cry themselves to sleep. But we must be gone, the sun is just down, and we shall be wanted at supper.

THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF THE
CALVES-HEAD CLUB:
OR, THE
REPUBLICAN UNMASKED:

Wherein is fully shewn the Religion of the Calves-Head Heroes, in their anniversary thanksgiving-songs on the thirtieth of January, by them called Anthems, for the years 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697; now published to demonstrate the restless, implacable spirit of a certain party still among us, who are never to be satisfied, till the present establishment in church and state is subverted.

Discite justitiam moniti, & non temnere divos.

VIRG.

London, printed, and sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster 1709.
Quarto, containing twenty-two pages.

THE PREFACE.

THE following collection has been so industriously handed up and down, where it was thought it would be well received, and confirm

those principles which too many have unhappily sucked in, and raise the confidence of those who were thought too bashful by their party, that some honest men have thought there could be no more effectual remedy for the mischief it might do, nor any surer way to stop the career than a publication: For, though many may presume, that, under the disguise of mirth, and the protection of a free conversation, they might safely venture to make an experiment how far the poison would work upon the undiscerning of untried constitutions, especially when rhyme and musick were the vehicles, and 'under the rose' was the word; yet it is believed, when the malignity of the draught is publicly discovered, few will venture upon it without a sufficient antidote, and fewer have the hardiness to administer it.

These lines (for such ribaldry and trash deserve not the name of poems) were composed and set to musick for the use of the Calves-Head Club, which was erected by an impudent set of people, who have their feast of calves heads in several parts of the town, on the thirtieth of January, in derision of the day, and defiance of monarchy; at divers of which meetings the following compositions were sung, and, in affront to the church, called Anthems. These, which are here published, are said to have been written by Mr. Benjamin Bridgewater, and that he was largely rewarded by the members of the club for his pains. Whether Mr. Stevens was so well gratified for his sermons to the same tune, and on the same days, is more than the publisher dares say; but, perhaps, the pulpit was a bar to his pretensions, and the poet had been better rewarded than the preacher, had his sermons been put into rhyme.

However, it is hoped, that this publication may give a check to the evil of the example, and destroy the continuance of the practice, or at least give fair warning, and take away the pretence of surprise from those who shall proceed to insult the government in so saucy and so villainous a manner.

But, whatever the success may be, the publisher doubts not but his intentions are justified, and wishes the effect may demonstrate the reasonableness of them, by putting an end to so unchristian and scandalous a practice.

IT is a prodigious thing to consider (and, for the honour of my native country, I wish I could say it was a false imputation upon her) that the execrable regicides of king Charles the First should find any advocates, or abettors, still among us.

I say, it is prodigious, that, after the whole nation, by their representatives in parliament assembled, has enacted so solemn a detestation of this unnatural parricide, and appointed a day of humiliation for it, to continue to all ages of the world, there should be such a set of boufeus yet remaining, so impudently audacious, as to justify a crime, for

which the three kingdoms have smarted so severely; and, in their wicked merriment, to act over, as much as in them lies, that tragical scene, which has justly made us infamous in the remotest corners of the universe.

Was it not enough that a powerful prince, allied to most of the crowned heads in Christendom, was despoiled of that just authority, wherewith the laws of God and man had invested him, and, lastly, of his life, but that he must be most barbarously persecuted after his death, and suffer those indignities in his memory, when dead, which he had so plentifully suffered in his person, when living?

There is a time, when the most implacable malice is satiated, and exerts itself no longer. The most savage nations seldom, or never, carried their resentments beyond the grave; and thought it a piece of barbarous cowardice, to insult upon the ashes of those that could not speak for themselves.

But the royal martyr has been treated, if it is possible, with more inhumanity after his desolation, than he was exposed to when under the power of his rebellious subjects. He has not only been stigmatised by the odious name of tyrant, who was, in truth, the best and most merciful father of his country, and loaded with a thousand undeserved calumnies; but, what shews the restless malice of his adversaries, even that incomparable book of devotion, composed by him in his solitude, and the time of his deepest afflictions, and which no pen, but his own, could have written, has been adjudged from him by a * late mercenary author; although it is certain to any man, at least, that can distinguish styles, that the person, to whom the republicans ascribe it, was no more capable of writing so excellent a piece, than the aforesaid compiler of Milton's Life, of writing an orthodox system of the mysteries of christianity.

Thus, as he was torn from his queen and children in his life, he was robbed, as far as it lay in the power of his malicious enemies, even of the legitimate issue of his brain: Tho' as truth, but especially truth injuriously oppressed, never wants some generous hands to defend its cause; so all the arguments that have been used by the republicans, to prove it a spurious piece, have been fully answered by a worthy † divine now living, beyond all possibility of a reply.

The barbarity of his enemies stopped not here; for, not content to have assassinated his person and reputation, they even dispossessed him of his sepulchre, a piece of cruelty, which none but thorough paced villains ever executed, for, when the ‡ long parliament had voted an honourable interment for their late prince, who had suffered so unjustly, all was stopped, by reason that the persons, ordered to regulate the ceremony, when they came to examine the royal coffin, found the body missing.

This puts me in mind of what a worthy gentleman, who travelled with my Lord A— into Italy, told me some years ago, viz. That, during his short stay at Bern in Switzerland, a syndic of the town, who

* See Toland's Life of Milton.
-s Trial.

† Dr. Wagstaff.

‡ See Dr. Nelson's Preface to the

used frequently to visit Major-General Ludlow, when he lived in those parts, assured him, that he had often heard Ludlow, in a vaunting manner, affirm, that, though Ireton and Cromwell were buried under Tyburn, yet, it was a comfort to him, that the royal martyr kept them company; for, says he, foreseeing that his son would undoubtedly come in, we took care that his father's body should not be idolatrously worshipped by the cavaliers; and therefore privately removed it to the place of common execution.

Whether the matter of fact, as Ludlow related it, be true or false, it is not material here to enquire; though I think nothing can give any honest man a juster and greater aversion to the libertines of that party, than to observe that their malice has no bounds, and that it neither spares the dead nor the living.

But, of all the indignities offered to the manes of this injured prince, nothing, in my opinion, comes up to the inhumanity and profaneness of the Calves-Head Club.

For my part, I was of opinion at first, that the story was purely contrived on purpose to render the republicans more odious than they deserved; for I could not imagine, how any men that pretended to be christians, or called themselves Englishmen, could calmly and sedately applaud an action, condemned not only by the word of God, but by the laws of the land, to which they pretend to pay so great a deference.

As for the regicides, who were actually concerned in this execrable tragedy, this may be said, however, in favour of them, if I may be allowed so to express myself towards criminals of that magnitude, that having gone so far in their wickedness, and given his majesty such insupportable provocations; and, what is more, measuring his clemency by their own, they concluded he could never forgive them; and, therefore, like Cataline, found themselves under the necessity of committing greater crimes, in order to cover themselves from what was past.

But what can be offered to extenuate the crime of these atheistical miscreants, who make that a matter of their lewd mirth, which the whole nation has, in the most solemn manner, ever since lamented, and, over their cups, applaud the most wicked action which the sun ever beheld?

For this reason, my good nature made me look upon it as a fiction upon the party, till happening, in the late reign, to be in the company of a certain active whig, who, in all other respects, was a man of probity enough; he assured me, that, to his knowledge, it was true; that he knew most of the members of that club, and that he had been often invited to their meetings, but that he had always avoided them; adding, that, according to the principles he was bred up in, he would have made no scruple to have met king Charles the First, in the field, and opposed him to the utmost of his power; but that, since he was dead, he had no further quarrel to him, and looked upon it as a cowardly piece of villainy, below any man of honour, to insult upon the memory of a prince, who had suffered enough in his life-time.

He farther told me, that Milton, and some other creatures of the commonwealth, had instituted this club, as he was informed, in 1660.

sition to Bishop Juxon, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, and other divines of the church of England, who met privately every thirtieth of January; and, though it was under the time of the usurpation, had compiled a private form of service for the day, not much different from what we now find in the liturgy.

That, after the restoration, the eyes of the government being upon the whole party, they were obliged to meet with a great deal of precaution; but now, says he (and this was the second year of king William's reign) they meet almost in a publick manner, and apprehend nothing.

By another gentleman, who, about eight years ago, went out of mere curiosity to see their club, and has since furnished me with the following papers, I was informed, that it was kept in no fixed house, but that they removed as they saw convenient; that the place they met in, when he was with them, was in a blind alley about Moorfields; that the company wholly consisted of independants and anabaptists (I am glad, for the honour of the Presbyterians, to set down this remark) that the famous Jerry White, formerly chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, who, no doubt of it, came to sanctify, with his pious exhortations, the ribaldry of the day, said grace; that, after the table-cloth was removed, the anniversary anthem, as they impiously called it, was sung, and a calf's skull, filled with wine or other liquor, and then a brimmer went about to the pious memory of those worthy patriots that had killed the tyrant, and delivered their country from his arbitrary sway; and, lastly, a collection made for the mercenary scribbler, to which every man contributed according to his zeal for the cause, or the ability of his purse.

I have taken care to set down what the gentleman told me, as faithfully as my memory would give me leave, and I am persuaded, that some persons that frequent the Black Boy in Newgate-street, as they knew the author of the following lines, so they know this account of the Calves-Head Club to be true.

Now I will appeal to any unprejudiced Englishman, whether such shameful assemblies ought not to be suppressed with the utmost diligence.

Let us consider them, either in relation to the christian religion we profess, or to common humanity and good manners, or, lastly, to the laws of the land, and they affront all equally.

Therefore, I hope the magistrates and others, whom it concerns, will take care, especially now, since they have the countenance of the government, to prohibit, as far as in them lies, and detect these wicked meetings, that the persons, there assembling, may be punished as they deserve.

Though no man abominates persecution more than myself, yet, I will venture to say, that a set of people, who wish the subversion of our ecclesiastical and civil establishment, as appears by the following papers, ought to expect no quarter from our hands.

THE CALVES-HEAD CLUB, &c.

221

Anniversary Anthem, 1693.

I.

ONCE more, my muse, resume thy chearful lyre,
Let this day's acts eternal thoughts inspire:
Let every smiling glass with mirth be crown'd,
While healths to England's native rights go round.
One such another day as this, alone,
Wou'd fully for a nation's sins atone.
'Tis a sure symptom that the people's bless'd,
When once a haughty tyrant's disposess'd.
Chor. Apollo's pleas'd, and all the tuneful nine
Rejoice, and in the solemn chorus join.

II.

Again, my muse, immortal Brutus sing,
Whose daring sword expell'd a tyrant king:
Then bravely fought, and bravely overcame,
To give Rome freedom and eternal fame.
Such force has liberty, such conquering charms,
That the whole world submitted to their arms.
What wreaths shall we prepare, and how rehearse
His lasting worth in everlasting verse?
Chor. Apollo's pleas'd, &c.

III.

Triumphant laurels too must crown that head,
Whose righteous hand struck England's tyrant dead:
The heroes too, adorn'd with blood and sweat,
Who forc'd th' opposing monster to retreat.
Heaven still before a leading angel sent;
They conquer'd, 'cause they on his errand went.
Like th' Israelites of old, their chains they broke,
Guided by pillars, both of fire and smoke.
Chor. Apollo's pleas'd, &c.

IV.

'Tis force must pull a lawless tyrant down;
But give men knowledge, and the priest's undone.
When once the lurking poison is descry'd,
His juggling tricks are all in vain apply'd.
In vain he whines, in vain he cants and prays,
There's not a man believes one word he says:
'Tis true, religion is the grand pretence;
But power and wealth's the mythologick sense.
Chor. Apollo's pleas'd, &c.

These two lines are almost verbatim stolen out of a copy of verses in the State Collection.
I.



Then fill the longing glass with sprightly wine,
 Our cause is justice, and the health's divine.
 The heroes smile, and our delights approve,
 Which adds new joys to those they find above;
 'Twas so they honour, so they conquest sought,
 Thus fairly drank, and then as fairly fought.
 They love to see us thus our homage pay,
 And bless the just occasion of the day.

Chor. Apollo's pleas'd, &c.

*Anniversary * Anthem, 1694.*

I.

THE storm is blown over, the tempest is past,
 The tyrant is fallen, and is conquer'd at last.
 Our fathers resolv'd it, and bravely 'twas done,
 To save the whole kingdom by lopping the crown.
 By her looks we discover'd the nation was pleas'd,
 Her fears were all vanish'd, her troubles were eas'd;
 Whilst we yearly commend an attempt so divine,
 And applaud the just action with calves-head and wine.

Chorus.

II.

Thus Rome, when she suffer'd by seven † lewd kings,
 That shackled her freedom, and pinion'd her wings,
 Long time she sat mournful, as England had done,
 And bow'd to the weight of a tyrannous throne;
 Till, urg'd with new griefs, she for liberty cry'd,
 And liberty round the glad eccho reply'd;
 Whilst Brutus resolv'd to give Tarquin his doom,
 And offer a king to the welfare of Rome,

Chorus.

III.

When by tyrant's endeavours the people are prest,
 Let this noble example inspire every breast,
 With the same resolutions to defend the good cause,
 The subjects just rights, their religion and laws.
 Then fill the calf's cranium to a health so divine,
 The cause, the old cause, shall ennoble our wine;
 Charge briskly around, fill it up, fill it full,
 'Tis the last and best service of a tyrannick scull.

* This seems to be a parody of a song in the *Innocent Adultery*, called the *Danger is over*.
 † Our author was an admirable historian, I find: This epithet of lewd can fit none of them but Tarquin; but all kings are alike criminal; i.e. they are kings.

IV.

men, boys, let's drink a bumper, since their actions made us great,
 us lay our trophies at their feet:
 : cause gave courage to the soldiers, taught them how their foes to
 beat,
 it alone cou'd free a captiv'd state.

V.

Then to puss, boys, to puss, boys,
 's drink it off thus, boys,
 our fathers did, and the world shall us adore;
 happier to die, boys,
 in in slavery to lie, boys;
 as the heroes chose it, and bravely died before.

Anniversary Anthem 1795.

I.

WHAT the devil means all this pothor
 On this day more than another? -
 See! the sot to church reels out;
 See! the lecher leaves his whore;
 The rogues, that never pray'd before,
 Are grown most plagiully devout.

II.

Prithee, parson, why those faces,
 Pious frowns, and damn'd grimaces?
 Why so many creeds and * masses,
 Collects, lessons, and the rest
 Of the holy garbage drest?
 Proper food for mumbling asses.

III.

Oh! Sir, it's a debt, they say,
 Mother church must yearly pay
 To her saint's canonisation:
 It was the day, in which he fell
 A martyr to the † 'cause of hell',
 Justly crown'd with decollation.

VI.

Mirth for us, and generous wine;
 Let the clergy cant and whine,

* The usual name, that these impudent sons of Belial bestow upon our holy liturgy. † See
 famous principles these pretended saints are of! That call the king's heretic suffering
 sws of the land, the liberties of the people, the constitutions of parliament, and the
 ed church, falling for the 'cause of hell.' O execrable monuments!

Preach and prate about rebellion :
 ' No more † beasts of kings, good heaven !'
 Such as late in wrath were given,
 Two curs'd tyrants, and a stallion.

V,

May the banish'd Tarquin's fate
 Be as just, but not so great ;
 Some mean shameful death attend him ;
 May curs'd Lewis, for old scores,
 Turn him poorly out of doors ;
 Then may some friendly halter end him.

An Anthem on the Thirtieth of January, 1696.

THERE was a king of Scottish race, a man of muckle might a,
 Was never seen in battles, but, but greatly he would sh—a :
 This king begot another king, which made the nation sad a,
 Was of the same religion, an atheist like his dad a.
 This monarch wore a peaked beard, and seem'd a doughty hero,
 As Dioclesian innocent, and merciful as Nero ;
 The church's darling implement, but scourge of all the people :
 He swore he'd make each mother's son adore their idol steeple ;
 But they, perceiving his designs, grew plaguy shy and jealous,
 And timely chopp'd his calves-head off, and sent him to his fellows.
 Old † Rowly did succeed his dad, such a king was never seen a,
 He'd lie with every nasty drab, but seldom with his queen a.
 Restless and hot, he roll'd about the town from whore to whore a,
 A merry monarch as e'er liv'd, yet scandalous and poor a.
 His dogs at council-board wou'd sit, like judges in their furs a ;
 'Twas hard to say, which had most wit, the monarch, or his curs a.
 At last he dy'd, we know not how, but most think by his brother ;
 His soul to royal Tophet went, to see his dad and mother.
 The furious James usurp'd the throne, to pull religion down a ;
 But, by his wife and priest undone, he quickly lost his crown a.
 To France the wand'ring monarch's trudg'd, in hopes relief to find a ;
 Which he is like to have from thence, even when the d——'s blind a.
 Oh ! how should we rejoice and pray, and never cease to sing a,
 If † bishops too were chac'd away, and banish'd with their king a ?
 Then peace and plenty would ensue, our bellies would be full a,
 Th' enliven'd isle would laugh and smile, as in the days of Noll § a.

* A most admirable prayer ! It is easy to nickname them beasts, and there is an end of them all.

† A very fine character this of a merciful prince, who restored to us our ancient government and liberties ! But this shews the gratitude of this faction.

‡ Thus we find, that the subversion of monarchy is not the only thing this party aims at, but likewise that of the hierarchy, which must expire both together ; so that, though some writers in that reign thought fit to ridicule that saying of ' No King, no Bishop,' as absurd and inconsequential, yet our fathers lived to see it verified ; and I heartily wish their posterities may never see the experiment made a second time.

§ The reader is desired to observe how inconsistently these libertarians act with themselves, who can celebrate the bloody and calamitous reign of an ' anty-monarch,' trampled upon that very republick, of which they boast so much.

An Anthem on the 30th of January, 1697.

1.

TOUCH, now touch, the tuneful-lyre,
Make the joyful strings resound;
The victory's at last intire,
With the royal victim crown'd.

2.

The happy stroke did soon recover
What we long had sought in vain:
Thus Ariadne lost her lover,
But the gods reliev'd her pain.

3.

'Twas an action just and daring,
Nature smil'd at what they did,
When our fathers, nothing fearing,
Made the haughty tyrant bleed.

4.

They, their sons thus well obliging,
Taught us how this day to keep,
Who, by fighting, storming, sieging,
Laid the ravening wolf asleep.

5.

England long her wrongs sustaining,
Press'd beneath her burdens down,
Chose a set of heroes daring,
To chastise the haughty crown.

6.

Thus the Romans, whose beginning
From an equal right did spring,
Abhorring Romulus's sinning,
To the gods transferr'd their king.

7.

Let the * blackguard rail no further,
Nor blaspheme the righteous blow;
Nor miscall that justice murder,
Which made saint and martyr too.

religion these incendiaries are of, appears by their giving the loyal and orthodox sons
t established church in the world such ignominious nicknames.

3. For the defluxion also give inwardly some of this, which has a dram of sperma-ceti, well mixed in a glass-mortar (not a brass one) with fine sugar; to which add at leisure syrup of violets, or balsamick, or poppy syrup, with some spirit of hartshorn.

If the pox was confluent, or run together on the face, then, after the person is recovered, give a purgative, to bring away the remainder of the pox within the guts.

A GOOD EXPEDIENT

FOR

INNOCENCE AND PEACE.

Being an Essay concerning the great Usefulness and Advantage of laying aside publick Oaths.

Edinburgh, printed by Mr. Andrew Symson, 1704. Quarto, containing sixteen pages.

IT is agreed to on all hands, that nothing does so much contribute to the ruin of kingdoms and societies, as the abounding of vice and immorality. Wickedness, where it becomes outrageous, challenges heaven to vindicate its own authority, and arms God for vengeance against a people; and the more spreading and universal it grows, the greater mass of wrath is thence treasured up, and destruction thereby the more infallibly ascertained. And then, What overflowing inundations of fury may justly be apprehended beyond whatever this poor land has hitherto smarted by, from those monstrous heights of gigantic vice, which has swelled to degrees, that scarcely our very fears could have probably suggested? Witness all sorts of the most licentious villainies, that refuse to know any bounds or restraints! We have now beheld atheism so bold, that it no more skulks in corners, but outfaces the sun and men. We have lived to see religion openly scoffed down, and exposed as the only befitting quality of the more flegmatick melancholy kind of people; swearing and drunkenness the genteel fashionable form of behaviour; lust and whoredom the ordinary topicks of discourse; adultery, and viler uncleanness, brought to be the mode: perfidy and murder authorised. Finally, A contempt of all that is sacred and serious; and then it can be no wonder if we shall find iniquity become our ruin.

And now, that matters are brought to so dreadful, so desperate an issue, the land groaning under such an intolerable load of sins and calamities; What man is so hard-hearted, so regardless of God, so unconcerned for the publick good of his native country, so void of all sense of his own, and his neighbour's danger, in their highest and dearest concerns, as will not contribute the utmost that in him lies, to put the most effectual stop to these common national sins, that otherwise will make the kindlings of the divine anger break out and consume all?

Did we live in an age that shewed any tolerable measure of respect to the divine laws, it might be hoped, that whatever were made to appear to be sinful, should instantly be abandoned; whatever were understood to be a crime, would be accordingly avoided; and then the plain detecting a vice would go a great way towards its cure; but so it is otherwise, that most men seem so utterly to have divested themselves of all fear of God, that they can defy their own convictions, charge through all kinds of sins, and own no further difference of good and evil, than their present worldly interests, or viler appetites suggest, prompt them to; and then, What success can be promised from any tempt for our cure?

But yet no wickedness, how general soever, ought to supersede endeavours of a recovery; but the more prevalent and universal vices, the more strenuous labours should be employed to controul it.

It is, sure, one of the best offices a person can undertake, in days of general backsliding, to draw the notorious reigning sins of the land in their just colours, to paint them in their true and horrid shapes, that men, by beholding the natural ugliness and deformity of them, and by considering what they will end in, may be cautioned to forsake them, and so may flee from the wrath to come.

It were a vast work to attack all; I shall single out one of the first in magnitude, viz. the swearing of inconsistent oaths; which, I presume, will, by all, be confessed to be an impiety of the greatest size, and to have a most powerful energy in drawing on all those woes and calamities we have been so deeply plunged into.

It will be readily acknowledged by all the wrangling factions amongst us, that the land has been involved in no less than the horrid guilt of perjury; as, indeed, where there has been so much swearing and counterswearing, How could it possibly escape? Every new turn of affairs must be accompanied with new modelled oaths, adapted to the circumstances of the prevailing party, right or wrong; and then all must to pot, who cannot swear and sign these, how flatly soever contradictory to those others that preceded them, without the least regard paid to the former obligations, though as solemn as any latter that can be substituted in their room. I need not give instances; the Solemn League, and Declaration, the Tender, the Test, &c. are too notorious and pregnant instances to be denied: And the crime, upon an ordinary examination of the terms, thence too apparent: than which there can be no higher contempt put upon the tremendous majesty of God, nor any wickedness which raises a louder cry at the tribunal of heaven for vengeance. And if men can once be habituated to, and harden themselves to such courses, there is an end of all that is holy and heavenly, tender

and apprehensive in human nature, and all those storms and tempests of the divine indignation to be expected which result from the justly affronted, sin-revenging God.

Now, Can there be any man so devoted to all that is execrable and accursed, such a lover of mischief, as that he would not heartily for a proper remedy of so great an evil? And here it may be proposed to consideration, What might be the most expedient mean, to prevent such gross commissions in this particular, as if, not obviated, needs overwhelm and confound all, sink and ruin the nation and selves? And whether, considering that faith has so sensibly failed amongst men, it were not, at present, advisable, for saving the from farther heights of sin, and so to ward off the most formidable judgments, that otherwise threaten us; whether, I say, considering these things, it were not advisable to forbear the imposing of customary obligations, and to dispense with all publick oath swearing of which, in the present depravation of men's manners afford no possible security to the publick, but only tend to inflame guilts, and more highly to incense God to pour out his fiercest punishments upon us.

It cannot, indeed, be denied, but that the custom of binding subjects, by oaths of allegiance, to the supreme powers, hath been universal, and spread itself, far and nigh, all the world over. I ever judged reasonable to provide the most effectually for the common safety, and to guard most carefully against all disturbance of the public peace and tranquillity; and to make sure of this, nothing so promising, as to put men under the most sacred ties of restraint; having invoked God judge and avenger, they might be kept from ever tending to embroil or confound affairs; that, however any incendiaries might hope for impunity from human power, they should still be awed by the unconquerable dread of the omnipotent God, that would unavoidably pursue the violation of their holy vows; then, all this was to suppose, that men made conscience of performing what they had undertaken, and were heartily resolved, with a shaken constancy, firmly on all hazards, to stand by what they had solemnly engaged to, as they should answer to God on the day of judgment. But now, that there has such degeneracy and corruption of manners sprung up amongst us, and there seem to be no longer any impression of religion or morality left on the minds of men, but they can as easily burst asunder all the most sacred bonds of allegiance, as if they were only threads of cobweb; no other fruit of their oaths being discernible, but the horrid guilt of breaking them. While matters are brought to this pass, it ought sadly to be laid to heart, Whether, out of respect to the honour of God, and holy reverence to his name, not the far safer course to lay aside the imposing, or swearing of oaths, which do so notoriously tend to the farther debauching of minds, and searing their consciences? And to incline men to this course, these few obvious considerations may be briefly put on:

I. That no party sooner gets the ascendant over their opponents

their utmost invention is stretched, all art employed to secure themselves in the possession of what, it may be, only their force and violence has wrested, and quite to suppress and bear down all that cannot justify their proceedings, and applaud, like enough, the groundless fictions of their distempered brains; and then oaths must be devised with particular respect to their own, and their adversaries tenets, that such as have different sentiments of matters from them, may be brought either to disclaim what they have formerly professed to believe, or exposed to all the hardships and calamities, that their persecuting insulting foes have the power to inflict upon them. And these obligations being countenanced by the authority in being, at the time when they are imposed, are cried up by all the abettors thereof, as religious and necessary, and all that refuse them, branded with the most odious names their spite can load them with. And though nothing be less intended than the welfare of the community, or the advancement of religion; yea, let religion suffer the most mortal wounds their artifices can give her, and the strengthening the faction be the only aim of their contrivances; yet, O profane mockery! God is intitled to the faction, their fiery violence is christened zeal, and the standing or falling of religion must straight be made to depend on the interest they have espoused; and he that comes short of their bitter fury is lukewarm, and all non-compliance is downright enmity to the gospel. And then their way being necessary, nothing less can suffice, than the interposing the most solemn oaths to support and perpetuate the cause; but when the fulsome hypocrisy becomes abominable, and God, for the transgressions of a land, or in pity to the miseries of it, sends another change; no sooner is the scene shifted, but, as the sure concomitant of that, there succeeds a new revolution of oaths, and these again framed in the plainest contradictory terms to those that went before; so as, to be sure, the former shall be openly abjured by the latter; and when the oppressed get from under the rod of their persecutors, they reckon the severest treatment they can repay, but a just retaliation; their resentments grow more stubborn than can be easily appeased, and the heap of injuries they have sustained is too great for all their charity to pardon. Thus, as the scales turn, there is nothing but swearing backward and forward; and what we are now required to abjure, shall, by the next change of affairs, be imposed as indispensable necessary duty. Now I would desire any sober man, in God's name, to tell me, Whether he thinks there can be a more dreadful sin than such a desultory playing with oaths? What greater contempt can possibly be put upon the glorious majesty of God? What can more expose the gravity and wisdom, the piety and probity of the nation? Or prepare sadder plagues, and a more certain intolerable ruin? Sure I am, such as have the power in their hands to prevent so great an evil, are concerned to lay it sadly to heart; for they that can hinder a sin, and do it not, are highly accountable to God for it. And in this respect it may seem reasonable to dispense with oaths. Especially if we farther,

II. Consider, what small reckoning men have now unhappily learned to make of them. Publick bonds for money, and publick oaths, are reputed mere matters of form, that lay no obligation upon the con-

science; and there are but a few that judge themselves any longer bound by them, than a fair occasion offers of emancipating them. Whatever the importance of their most solemn promises have been, they make no difficulty, on the first temptation, of engaging themselves to the other side of the contradiction. A guilt this is, of such an atrocious nature, as must needs utterly lay waste the conscience, and render it insensible and callous. It is not the opinions we take up, that can alter the nature of our duty. The heinousness of perjury is nothing abated by the stubborn confidence of our fancies. The divine sanctions cannot be altered by any power of our imaginations; all our belief can have no efficacy towards the making that venial, which God has made damning. Sin will retain its native venom, its own proper deadly nature, whatever slight perfunctory notions we force ourselves to entertain concerning it. Would men, therefore, summon up their serious attention, and in God's fear deliberately weigh what is to be done. It is fairly supposable, they would utterly abolish a practice, whereby, because of men's wild mistaken notions, they do unwarily deceive their own souls, and most palpably provoke and dishonour that all-powerful and just judge, to whom vengeance doth belong. It is proper here to remember, that the swearing pro and con, in the contests, betwixt the houses of York and Lancaster, was so heinous a transgression, as could, it seems, be expiated by no less sacrifice, than of a hundred-thousand lives; for no fewer were slain, in that quarrel.

III. Let it be considered, that these oaths are a plain force and violence to most, even of those that swear them. Some men, for worldly advantage, are tempted to take them, though with reluctant consciences. A great many stand condemned by the sentence of their own hearts, in the very moment of the solemnity. Interest is the great deity, that has by far the most votaries; there is nothing so hazardous, which the prospect of gain will not make men adventure on; there are but few such virtuous souls, as are able to resist a temptation of getting. For a piece of money, one will struggle hard with, and worst his own conscience, and defy present convictions, in the very instant of his grossest commissions. And then it is obvious, that the annexing oaths, to lucrative places, is one of the most dangerous snares possible. Profit is a bait, that will make any hook be swallowed down. Now sure, hereby comes evil, that all the benefit, that can be pretended on the other side, can never preponderate.

IV. Add, as an unavoidable consequent of this, the unspeakable damage, that accrues to the publick, by the frequent revolutions and interfering of oaths; for, by this means, the best and most useful men are often kept back from places of trust, and such thrust in, as are the plague and reproof of mankind. He that regards God and himself fears an oath, and will not swear any thing, but what he is fully satisfied does plainly consist with his strict duty, and all the former obligations, that have, at any time, passed upon him. Thence he is barred those stations, wherein he might be a blessing to his country. Whereas, on the other hand, the vicious man, that by his lewd conversation has dead and stilled his conscience, and blotted out all sense of virtue in him, will boggle at nothing; but, at all rates, will climb up to

these posts of advantage or authority, that his covetousness or ambition beckon him to. Let him have money and honour, and he shall never enquire on what terms he comes by them ! And what is to be expected from the advancing such to rule and dignity ? Will they respect equity, or faithfully administer justice ? Will they dispense the law with andor, and equally maintain truth, between man and man ? Nay, Will they not notoriously pervert judgment, and have their eyes blinded with bribes ? And make the saddest jumble and medley of affairs, from which nothing, but general confusion and mischief, shall ensue ? For, when the wicked bear rule, the city mourneth ; and the most dreadful comets do not so certainly presage future calamities, as the preferring vicious men to places of eminence and government. And yet this mischief is caused by nothing more visibly, than the frequent varying the terms of getting into employment, which is a grievance, that calls loudly for redress.

V. Another mischief of vast consideration, that the imposing of oaths affects, is, that they do exceedingly tend to the farther widening of these woeful differences, already, far too notorious ; when the prejudices of discording parties are heightened by the intervention of an oath, What hope is there left remaining of the possibility of a reconciliation ? This fixes a *μὴν χάσμα*, an unpassable gulf between them ; and the breaches, that might have been cemented before, are hereby rendered irreparable. This is a compendious way to shut the door against all peace, and to make our wranglings and contentions endless : Even the more moderate and cooler tempers are hereby inflamed to the height of bigotry ; and their alienations wax so inveterate, that they can no longer listen to any proposals of a pacification. So that it may, with great probability, be averred, that it is the bandying of oaths to and fro, to which we owe all the bitter contests, that have been managed with such implacable hatred ; it may confidently be affirmed, they had, at least, otherways never been so fierce. For, with whatever indifference, persons may respect the opposite parties, before they be engaged ; yet when once they are drawn in, by a solemn stipulation, the support of the faction is made the object of their zeal, and it stands them on their reputation, to assert the necessity, just or unjust, of what they are sworn to maintain. And then, at all rates, down with their adversaries ; and nothing, short of slaughter and destruction, is breathed out against all that shall dare to question the certainty of the articles they have embraced, however doubtful these propositions sometimes appeared to themselves. And then, What more seasonable charity, than to abstract the foment from these accursed divisions, by prohibiting those oaths, that add fuel to our flames, and perpetuate our janglings ? For so it might be hoped, that, in a little time, our unnatural heats would die out, and more of mutual forbearance and brotherly kindness should spring up amongst us ; our animosities would gradually decay, when so great a cause of distinction were removed ; and men, by becoming more disinterested, would be more impartial in their disquisitions for truth : and, prejudices being laid aside, they would, with greater freedom of spirit, embrace that, wherever they found it. Thus, the mists of error might be dispelled and vanish ; and that pure and un-

defiled religion, which is peaceable, full of mercy, and good fruits, and without partiality, should shine in its true glory; and our Zion might yet rise in her native beauty and splendor, become a peaceable and prosperous habitation, the joy and praise of the whole earth. Let me here but briefly mention, that these distinguishing oaths do often make fatal rebounds upon the authors of them. Amilcar made Hannibal swear at the altar of his Gods, that he should never make peace with the Romans; and his wars, at last, terminated in the final overthrow, the utter excision of Carthage.

VI. The dispensing with publick oaths would go a wonderful incredible length, towards the removing of those commotions and disturbances, that are of such pernicious consequence to human societies, and to instate us in the blissful possession of the profoundest peace. There can be no greater security to any government, than its being easy and gentle; this takes off the asperity of men's minds, drives out whatever grudges, and cuts off all pretensions for sullen murmurs and complaints. It has a sweet force, sufficient to conquer any resistance, to reconcile all tractable generous tempers, and carries a power in it able to charm the most obstinate. When there is nothing left for men to object, What fears or jealousies can be entertained of plots or conspiracies, to undermine that settlement, that every body enjoys such desired contentment under? It creates mutual confidence and assurance in rulers and people, and, of all things, does the most to make the one quiet, and the other safe; whereas rigorous harsh impositions make the spirits ferment, and beget corrupt humours, that do break out into dangerous eruptions in the body politick, and hurl the world into confusions; the depraved infirm flesh shrinks under what is afflictive, has aversions to the cross, and can with difficulty be induced, by all the rhetorick of heaven, either to take it up, or bear it; when it is loaded with what is grievous, it frets and storms, and is apt to stick at nothing that may disburden it. Ill blood can hardly, by any means, be sweetened, and, where choler predominates, no authority of any laws, divine or human, can repress it. Now all ground of such dangerous discontent is taken off, by forbearing whatever can be judged severe, by laying aside such discriminating tests, as factious seditious men make occasions of disquieting the world; and, were every such thing dispensed with, this mild usage could not but shame men into good-nature; and a peaceable disposition, and a happy deliverance from all tumults and molestations, must needs be the certain consequent of not leaving men the least shadow of a foundation to quarrel on.

Were these few things seriously pondered, and sincere honest designs of advancing religion and virtue entertained in the breasts of men, it might, with some confidence, be hoped, that they would cheerfully concur to remove what is attended with such manifest inconveniences, and, by the disuse of which, so many signal advantages should be obtained. What rank of men is he to be numbered in, who will needs pertinaciously adhere to what he plainly observes to be the source and origin of so many woeful guilts and calamities? Doth he fear God, or love virtue, who would not banish away what, he must needs know,

God does hate, and will punish? And who is he, who, under a lively sense of the divine justice and holiness, dares think of patronising the custom of swearing contrary oaths, whereby the omnipotent God is most grievously offended, and which ripens for the most frightful destruction, and for which God's judgments are already so visibly abroad in the earth? Has he any zeal for the honour of God, who is not concerned for the profane contempt cast upon his holy name? Doth he wish the thriving and prosperity of the publick, that would not prevent the occasion of a sin, that must needs undo and ruin it? Would to God I were able to say any thing on this head, that might awake and call up men's thoughts, rouse their attentions, and set them in earnest a thinking, as under the all-seeing eye of God, whether what has been said deserves any regard from them; and what every one's bound duty may require from him, in his several station and capacity. Would men be so just to their Maker, so kind to themselves, as to be persuaded to compare the advantages and disadvantages of either side, and to chuse the good and refuse the evil, one might promise soon to hear it become the general cry, the common supplication, 'No more swearing! No more publick oaths!' that, by their interfering, must needs be, of all things on earth, the most full of terror, the most full of guilt and danger.

But whatever the advantages, the complying with the design of this attempt might be attended with, it is not to be doubted, but it will meet with fierce enough opposition (as indeed all healing overtures have ordinarily the fate to be treated with the bitterest spite and contradiction) and, upon various accounts, may have black enough colours laid upon it.

Some will be enemies to it, from the apprehension of the private loss and damage that themselves in particular might sustain, by the succeeding of any such proposal. This might possibly, they will think, make changes, and so they, who are in the present enjoyment of any gainful posts, might be disseized, and others made to reap the profits; and therefore such, no doubt, will furiously malign and resist. But, if they be virtuous persons, and demean themselves as men of merit and sufficiency for the trust they enjoy, there is no reason for them to set themselves, on this account, against what might be of good use to the community, for nothing could more secure men of worth and merit; but, if they be of another stamp, it were a general blessing to have them removed; and one of the greatest benefits, such an alteration should effect, would be the turning out vicious, insufficient, and scandalous men; And what harm could come by their fall? But, whatever endeavours any persons, on such accounts, may use, to oppose a publick good, it ought not to be neglected, to gratify the ambition or covetousness of private men; for woe to that self-seeking, that wishes to thrive upon the publick ruin.

But others will be ready vehemently to exclaim against any such dispensation, as being injurious to the supreme power; it being highly reasonable that all fullest assurance should be taken of the subject, for the preservation and security of the government; And how shall any sovereign expect fidelity, where it is not faithfully promised? This is, I confess, the most material plea that can be opposed to what is now

reasoned for; and truly, if the safety of the government could be sufficiently provided for, and obtain any sure warrandice from men's vowing fealty, it might appear a crime to lift a lip against, or return any answer to this objection; it being most just that they should, in the name of God, engage, not only not to do them harm themselves, but take all possible care, and use their utmost, most faithful endeavours, that none should be done them by others; but then, what they so undertake, they ought to adhere to, to their lives end. But, alas! when nothing is effectuated by any such means, when daily experience convinceth us, that all this produces nothing but the blackest, most dire guilt, what ground in the world is there to require or impose oaths, that men make no conscience of observing; and which only tend to profane the dreadful name of God, to contemn and provoke the divine Majesty, and to treasure up a greater stock of wrath against the land? For, in a few words, it may be made plain, to a demonstration, that, in the present corruption of the world, publick oaths are absolutely of no benefit, or use imaginable: For he, whose principles or interest bind him to a party, or establishment, will be stedfast thereto, without the intervention of an oath. But, if a man swears against his principles and interest, no such tie will bind him; ten-thousand such oaths shall never hold him fast, nor does he think himself obliged to continue firm to them: but, on the contrary, the grating sense of what he judges himself to have trespassed in will powerfully draw, and move him to make the best reparation he is able, for the wrong step he has taken; whence, it evidently appears wholly vain to expect any security to the publick, by the interposition of oaths.

But the most implacable enmity will arise, from those who are of that envious temper, as to grudge the least ease to tender consciences. This, it is true, is of so black a dye, and speaks such a hellish disposition, as will find few or none, that will make open profession of it; for this were barefacedly to vouch themselves cruel persecutors. But yet it is shrewdly to be suspected, there are not wanting men of that malevolent nature, as would find a torment in any favour granted to those whom they bear no kindness to, and take a particular complacency in whatever may afflict or ensnare them, than which there can be no quality more contrary to the spirit of christianity; for this is to please one's self with that which is the satisfaction of the devils, who are delighted with the miseries and ruins of men; and the nearest resemblance, and most lively portraiture of a devil, is an invidious nature, that wishes, or contrives what is hurtful and prejudicial to another. And then, wherever any thing of this spirit is discernible (as, alas! a very superficial scrutiny may too easily discover it) all that have learned Christ must own themselves bound to controul it.

I cannot foresee any thing farther, worth noticing, that this overture can be charged with; and, therefore, would men, without bias, apply themselves to spend some serious thoughts about it, it is hardly to be supposed it could meet with any resistance from sober, pious, and well-disposed persons; for, Is there not a God and is not he the avenger of
 1? And can any man, who believes his being, reckon it indifferent,

whether his great and dreadful name be revered or blasphemed? and, doth not the religious observance, or profane violation of our promissory oaths amount to all this? For, let any impartial man narrowly examine the importance of those diversified oaths that have been imposed, and let him try this act of reconciling the terms if he can; and, by the time that he has a while employed his thoughts, as in God's presence, about them, he may come to conceive a difference betwixt him that sweareth, and him that feareth an oath. The very heathens had always the greatest tenderness and regard for their oaths, whereof abundant instances might be given: And shall they seem to lose their sacredness amongst those who are called Christians? God forbid! and yet, what esteem can he be thought to hold them in, who swears incompatible inconsistent things? What can it be to take the name of the Lord in vain, if this be not it? And is not it a frightful impiety, first to take them, and then to break them? And what must it needs be to require, to urge, and force them? That is what may exact men's most attentive consideration; every one, who has a due care of his soul, will be studious to examine himself in this? Men will find it dreadful, appearing before Christ's tribunal, to answer, not only for their own personal sins, but for the guilts of others which they have caused. And, if there was any specifick kind of sin, which I did more especially dread the danger of, that I were to put up my most earnest suit to God, to be kept from, as being of the most atrocious provoking nature; I think I should not much mistake in my condescensions, if my most hearty prayer, when I shall at last stand before the dread judgment-seat of Christ, were, 'O God, I pray more particularly, that I never be found guilty of the most horrid sin of perjury.' Think what the character of a perjured person is, in the common verdict of mankind, and even in the estimate of our own laws! And is the sin so black and scandalous, when it is personal; and is it less so, when it is national? No, certainly it is not; for it is such a most formidable piece of wickedness, such a horrid crime, a piaculum, as may well be judged to forfeit the divine protection, and leave a people and nation, guilty of it, open to all the rage and malice of the devil, to be hurried on by him, at his pleasure, from sin to sin, till they fill up the measure of their iniquity, and the wrath of God come upon them to the uttermost; and therefore, to this purpose, most applicable is the admonition of St. James, wherewith I shall conclude, "but, above all things, my brethren, swear not."

THE
DECLARATION
OF THE MOST CHRISTIAN
KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE,

Against the most horrid Proceedings of a rebellious Party of Parliament-men and Soldiers in England, against their King and Country.
'Translated out of French by P. B.

Lewis the Fourteenth, by the Grace of God, the most Christian King of France and Navarre, to all Christian Kings, Princes, States, and People sendeth greeting.

WHEREAS we are informed, by our dear aunt, the queen of England, of the distressed estate of the king her husband, forced upon him by a rebellious party of his meanest subjects, under the command of the Baron of Fairfax, who is likewise countenanced by a small handful of the basest of the people, crept into the lower house of parliament, but not being a tenth part thereof, the worthiest being either imprisoned, or banished by the tyranny of the army, have a design to proceed against the person and life of their king; which is an action so detestable, and so destructive to the national rights of princes and people, who are like to be enslaved thereby, and to know no law, but that of the sword, that we conceive ourself obliged, by the laws of God and man, in the duty of a christian, as well as the rights of a king, either to redeem from bondage the injured person of our neighbour king and uncle, or to revenge all outrages already done, or hereafter which may happen to be done thereupon.

Therefore, with the advice of our dear mother the queen-regent, and council, we do publish and declare our detestation of all such proceedings, and vow, in the presence of God and his holy angels, a full revenge upon all actors or abettors of this odious design, to the utter extirpation of them, their wives, and children out of all parts of Christendom, wherein our power, or interest, can prevail, if they proceed to this damnable fact; we conceiving it fit to root out from human society such a spurious and viperous generation of men: And we do therefore prohibit all such persons, their wives, and children to come into any of our dominions, unless they will be proceeded against, as traitors to God and nations.

And we do likewise invite all our neighbour kings, princes, and states in amity with us, or with whom we have any difference, to an honourable peace, that we may all join, in God's cause and our own, to re-

vengé these hypocritical proceedings of enraged villains, who, we hear, take the cause of God for their pretence to destroy his ordinance.

And we desire all our neighbour kings, princes, and states to make the same proclamation, we have done, against any of these, or their adherents, from coming into their territories; that, when, by God's justice, and ours and others endeavours, they shall be chased out of their native country, they may wander like vagabonds, in heathenish places, with the odious brands of regicides upon them: And further to consider, whether that, if the like madness took any of their armies, they would not implore our helps, as now this afflicted queen and aunt of ours hath occasion to do theirs, against persons who are now twice rebels; first, against their lawful sovereign, upon pretence of reformation of government; and, now, against the very men and authority, which raised them for that pretended occasion: Wherein God's justice is so apparent, that we are confident he will bless this work intended by us, and which, we hope, will be seconded by all persons of honour and justice, both at home and abroad, to help to suppress these rebels against their raisers; who yet presume, upon the success of their arms, to erect their own base thoughts and fortunes above the limits of religion or reason, to suppress that authority which God hath set over them.

Signed, LEWIS.

And below, BRYAN, Secretary of State.

Published at Paris, the second day of January,
Stylo novo, 1649.

SOME REASONS FOR AN ANNUAL PARLIAMENT,

AS THE BEST

SECURITY FOR ENGLISH RIGHTS.

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Quarto, containing eight Pages.

SIR,
I SUPPOSE nobody has forget, that, at the beginning of the revolution, in the act which was made for declaring the rights of the sub-

ject, after the grievances reckoned up, it says, That for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the law, parliaments ought to be held frequently, which must mean frequent parliaments, and not frequent sessions of the same parliament or our constitution is but little amended by that act. Our ancestors understood the necessity and wisdom of having frequent parliaments. Alfred, as you may see in the *Mirroure of Justice*, chap. i. sect. 3. ordained, that the parliament should meet every year twice, or oftener, if need were. There are many statutes in Edward the Third's time, that a parliament should be held once a year, and oftener, if need be. That act is no less than three times reiterated in his reign. Acts of the same import are made in Richard the Second's; and these acts were made when prorogations, and long continuances of the same parliaments, were not in use. Henry the Sixth's reign was the first in which prorogations began at all to be made for any time, and they were but very little used 'till Henry the Eighth's time. But the usual way formerly was to call a parliament, at least once a year, and, as soon as their business was done, to dissolve them. They adjourned themselves for some short time, but the king did not prorogue at pleasure. That this was the constant practice, I appeal to the parliament rolls; but I do not so much dote upon antiquity, as to desire to revive that practice, unless I can prove it reasonable and advantageous. I think it is very much so in the present juncture. I cannot be unknown to K. W. how much he has been libelled, because so many of his officers were in the house. Those, that wish him ill, have hit the blot: But it has disgraced him with those that wish him well. It is fit the king should chuse whomsoever he thinks fit to serve him in his employments; but it will be a matter of scandal, if the people think their representatives are bought off, whether by places, or pensions. But, if they are chosen annually, it will not easily be believed, that an unfair bargain can be struck with them. Our taxes will be less heavy, whilst we think our representative assessors pay their proportion. How just the clamours and suspicions of mankind are, I do not determine, but I know they are great, and by every body, and every where believed, and that by this course they would be avoided. If the accusations are well grounded, if votes are purchased by places, or most of the members should be more than ten times reimbursed their own shares of the publick payments; then indeed the safety, and very being, of our constitution would be struck at, our fundamentals would be debauched, our house of commons would become a parliament of Paris, to do as the court would have them, and nothing but what they direct; Scotch lords of the articles would be, as it were, introduced by a court cabal; and membership would become a preferment for life, &c. But whatever the malicious say, I am not willing to believe these things have of late, or will be attempted. I am only desirous that it should be made apparent for the future, in every parliament that sits, that there is no likelihood that it is debauched, and that will be made apparent by annual parliaments. But, to lay aside the peculiarity of our present case, let me treat of it under a general consideration. And I will endeavour to shew the expediency of annual parliaments; and that I shall endeavour to make good by the nature of

parliaments, and of their delegations; by which it appears, that the members are delegated by their electors, to supply their places, in advising, treating, consulting, and determining upon the great and important affairs of the nation, which appear, and are upon the stage, in that juncture wherein the parliament is summoned. When such a parliament is continued longer than answers the present occasion for which they were summoned, great inconveniences may, and are likely to follow. A man may be fit to represent me in one juncture, whom I might very reasonably judge unfit to do it in another. A man may be qualified to advise, consult, and determine about the improvement of trade, and the manufactures of the nation; and yet may be unfit to offer advice in the great affairs of peace and war. A man may have knowledge enough to act in such matters, who may want integrity, faithfully to represent, and procure redress for grievances, which will be springing up in any government. When parliaments are annually chosen, we can chuse our representatives, with an eye to the present circumstances of affairs, and the present exigencies of the nation. But, when the same parliaments are continued upon us, we are put upon the unreasonable task, of prophetically chusing men fit to represent us amidst the unforeseen and unexpected accidents and affairs which may fall in, so long as the prince and his ministers think fit to continue the parliament then summoned. Besides, when the business of the nation has been, as it were, monopolised for many years, then, whensoever we have the opportunity of electing a new parliament, we are put upon the same necessity of chusing a knave skilful in the rules of the house and parliamentary laws, as we are sometimes in private matters of chusing one that is expert in pleadings, and the methods of the common law, though we are not satisfied of his moral honesty; whereas, if every body had their turn, in a little time, all the principal freeholders would be instructed, and directed in the interest of their country.

Again: Delegation imports, in its own nature, a power in the person, or persons, who delegate, to revoke it at his, or their pleasure, and can be continued no longer than during the time, and particular occasions for which it is granted; and is understood to be no longer in being, than the constituents think fit to continue it. And delegates are always upon their good behaviour. When parliaments are not annually chosen, but continued during the prince's pleasure, longer than the present exigency for which they are called, the nature of a delegation, and the undoubted privileges of those that chuse them, are quite altered and overturned, and the delegation is perpetuated; though it should appear that the delegates are unfit for it, or unfaithful under it. From delegates, whom we ourselves have impowered, they become absolute masters; or, if delegates still, they are transformed from being the people's delegates and representatives, into the prince's delegates and creatures. By every repeated prorogation the people's commission is cancelled, and their new being is derived from the prince's will and pleasure, and measured out, and continued, according to their humble compliance with what is demanded from them.

Again: Annual parliaments are best suited to a limited monarchy (which I hope all Englishmen think the best) annual parliaments con-

tribute most to the ease, safety, and glory of the prince, as well as to the security and happiness of the subject. By annual parliaments, a confidence is begotten betwixt the prince and the people; the prince can scarce demand that, which the people will refuse, when the people have a confidence in him, and nothing contributes so much towards that confidence as annual parliaments. I again say, they remove all the jealousies which people retain of having their representatives debauched, which will be suspected when parliaments are continued; they are a curb upon designing ministers, who, for selfish and sinister ends, may be for endeavouring to embroil the king and his people, and many times have proved very uneasy and ruinous to princes. They remove grievances before they get to such an height as to pinch the people so hard, as to occasion such loud and unmannerly complaints, as have many times obliged princes, from a mistaken point of honour, to refuse their redress; and so have engaged them in unnecessary disputes with the people, which have lessened the figure, glory, and power of some of our princes, both here at home, and amongst their neighbours, more than any other thing in the world. Whereas, when a king of England does meet his people in parliaments annually chosen, he may reasonably expect to find them fraughted with fresh desires to unite him closer with his people, to assure him of their confidence and affection, and to give him earnest of it, and fix him in the height of power, reputation, and glory. For a king of England, encircled with a confiding parliament, is then, in his imperial lustre, more glorious than any monarch of the east; then he infallibly becomes the terror of his foes, the stay and support of his friends, and the joy, comfort, and darling of his people.

As to the people, the continuing of the same parliament is a more fatal, and likely to be a more successful way to blow up all our liberties, than either *quo warranto's*, regulations, or any other methods practised in the two last reigns, of which we complained so loudly, and with so much justice. A prince may more certainly bribe, than *quo warranto*, or regulate parliaments. The nation will be awakened at those irregular steps: But a king may seem to proceed according to form, when he continues that parliament which he has made pensioners. King Charles the Second was his arts-master in this point: He was no enemy to a long parliament, whilst he had a long list of many of their names, of whom a certain great man can give a good account.

It will add weight to what I said, if we find it the practice of the greatest, wisest, and most renowned nations, to make provision for the frequency and rotation of their dyets and parliaments. And that the most glorious and victorious princes of those nations have met most frequently with their people in parliament. I shall not instance from our own history; I suppose no Englishman ignorant how frequently our Edwards and Henries put a stop to the course of their victories to meet their people in parliament. Have not the people of Spain made most careful provisions for the frequent meeting of their states, with securities and cautions peculiar to themselves, and much more exact than

What other nations can pretend to? And have not the greatest and most victorious of their kings been the readiest to enlarge their privileges, and most exact in observing them? Their Sanchoes, their Henries, their Ferdinands, and their Charles's were as careful of meeting their people in their dyets, as of subduing and conquering their enemies: And it is observable, that King Charles, who was most exact in meeting his people frequently, raised the monarchy of Spain to its highest pitch of strength and glory; and his son Philip, who offered at despotick power, and abhorred the meeting of his people, did first eclipse the glory of that monarchy, and threw it into that decay and consumption, under which it laboureth to this day. Did not the French nation, upon their conquest of, and settlement in Gaul, now France, establish the frequent meeting of their states? And the most victorious of their princes have been most exact in meeting of their people, oftener than annually, as may be instanced in their Clovis, their Pepin, Charlemagne, and the successors of Hugh Capet for several ages. And though Lewis the Eleventh, and most of his successors, have endeavoured to suppress the states, and rendered that monarchy despotick, yet it has furnished ground for so many commotions, tumults, seditions, and rebellions, as have not only frequently put a stop to the course of their victories, but unravelled all their successes; and the subjects have many times returned with interest the incroachment of their princes upon their liberties, and reduced that monarchy to the last gasp; and the struggles of the people of France, and parliament of Paris, during the minority of this present king, to recover their lost liberties, joined with many other instances which their history affords, do plainly demonstrate the tottering and dangerous condition of all despotick governments. Again: What miseries, and unspeakable calamities, was Germany exposed to; full of civil wars and discords within, by the competition of princes for the empire; harrassed and depopulated from without by the Hungarians, Sclavonians, Vandals, and Danes; to all which no remedy could be found, but by the establishing of frequent and annual dyets, by the Golden Bull in Charles the fourth's time? wherein the absent princes, imperial cities, and Hans towns, who send their deputies, take especial care of changing the deputies every dyet, lest they should be bribed, and gained by the imperial ministers. By this wise provision for frequent dyets, peace was settled at home, competition of titles for the Imperial dignity was extinguished, foreign invasions repressed, and the whole body preserved in health and vigour. In a word, their annual dyets were an invincible barrier against the inundation of the Turks on the one side, and the incroachments of the French on the other. And it is that only which has preserved them from being swallowed up betwixt these two troublesome neighbours. I do omit to instance from Holland, Switzerland, and Poland, which have hitherto been preserved invincible, by the frequent assemblies of their states.

Now I have briefly delivered my thoughts for annual parliaments; give me leave to set down what I think the great and indispensable character or qualifications of a parliament-man; and they are these, sense, courage, and integrity.

Sense has divers acceptations; but that sense, that is required to capacitate a man for serving usefully within those walls, is not the learning of universities, but the knowledge of England. A sense of liberty, of what is meant by our rights and properties: A sense of our laws and interest, of the nature of our government, of our trade, of our natural strength and welfare. It cannot be denied, but that the comparing of the histories of other nations, the reading over the systems of policy, and the lives of the great and exemplary patriots of liberty in all countries, mightily enlarge their understandings, and adorn the great speakers in that assembly; but, if a man has not reduced all that to the use of this island, he has not the sense requisite for this post. If his head is never so full of the ideas of foreign constitutions, if he is not wise as to our home matters; if he has travelled never so far for experience; if he is a stranger to the isle of Britain; he may make a loquacious politician, a florid orator, a statesman in speculation, but he will never make a venerable member of our parliament. A man that understands but well our English manufactory, the natural products of our country, the balance of merchandizing, what importations and exportations are to be prohibited or encouraged, what are the grievances the people complain of, which of them are reasonable to be redressed, and what are the proper methods of doing it; he that knows how much we can give, what is fit to be given, and can examine how what we have given is laid out, is more fully qualified for our senate-house, than if he could discourse of government, better than all those learned men, who pretend so nicely to understand and distinguish the several sorts? If the countries and corporations have any thing particular, in relation to their counties and corporations to be represented, they ought to chuse one that understands the nature of what they would have represented, or that is at least capable of being thoroughly instructed in that matter. But at the same time that they chuse one for their particular purpose, they ought to consider that he votes for the whole commonwealth, and therefore they must not chuse any man that is addicted only to their interest, but should always deliberate whether he is of a publick and universal spirit, as well as a proper advocate for them. But this will come in more properly, when I speak concerning integrity.

The next qualification is courage. Although the word Parliament signifies to speak freely the mind, and though liberty of speech is always granted to all parliaments, yet courage is necessary upon many accounts; it is often necessary to withstand the frowns of a prince; it is necessary to bear a man above popular clamour; it is necessary when peace and war is debated. There has scarce been any reign wherein the princes have not hectored some of the members: There is scarce any sessions, but arts are used to stir up the people against their own interest; and, if a parliament house, upon the noise of a war, should be seized with a panick fear, the whole nation would soon be dispirited; so that it is necessary to have courage to preserve his own integrity, and to uphold the hearts of those that he represents.

Again, whoever would discharge the office of a good senator, must

have integrity that is proof against gain, against fear and solicitation. If he can be affrighted, or bribed, or over-ruled out of his own sense of things, he is not fit for that place. Preferments may be added to, but must not change the man. Threats must make him more watchful and resolute, and he must be sure to distinguish between insinuation and argument. He must consider himself as a publick man; he must not know his own interest, or the interest of the place from whence he comes. When the general good of England comes in competition, he must consider himself as well, and more the representative of England than of that county or town for which he serves: But, when he has considered the national interest, then in gratitude and duty he is to consider the interest of the body of the electors, more than his own private advantage; he is to strip himself of all relation, and to be a kin to the commonwealth. His soul must soar up into the exalted height of an heroic virtue, and he is to believe that it is a pleasureable and noble enjoyment even to sacrifice himself and all private considerations for his country; he is to lay aside all private capacities, and, as it were, to transmigrate into a publick alliance and affinity, *Cum calculis suffragiorum sumeret magnanimitatem reipublicæ*, as Demosthenes used to advise the people of Athens in great causes of estate: He used to advise, that, when they took into their hands the balls, whereby to give their voices (according to the manner then in practice at Athens) they should raise their thoughts, and lay aside those considerations, which their private vocations and degrees might minister and represent unto them; and should take upon them cogitations and minds agreeable to the dignity of the state: And there is good reason for this advice; for, certainly, if a man shall be only or chiefly sensible of those respects which his particular vocation or degree, or the state of the county or town which sends him, shall suggest and infuse into him, and not enter into true and worthy considerations of estate, he shall never be able aright to give or take counsel in parliamentary affairs, in the business of the senate-house.

The notion of integrity has been too much mistaken of late. The being of a particular church or party has christened men honest; and in this last parliament pretending to be for king William, has gained those that epithet, who never understood a king as the father of his country; who make his political capacity above the laws of men, if I may not say the laws of God too. Integrity, in the monarchy of England, implies more of a national than slavish spirit, more of common care than personal adoration; and it is sad to think, that any knave can redintegrate his reputation, only by being a Williamite, without being converted to an Englishman. Those cannot be thought (let them be as much Williamites as they will) to preserve the integrity of a parliament-man, who change or stifle their principles for a place; nor can those be thought fit members for that house, who, either for their pleasure, or private business, neglect coming up to town, no more than those who have so many offices, that they can scarce peep within those doors, or who are so lazy and loitering, that they come not till it is too late to hinder them, and so suffer the nation to be

246 REASONS FOR AN ANNUAL PARLIAMENT, &c.

circumvented by the artifices and tricks of the court, who always set them on foot, when the house is empty. I would have my countrymen beware (if ever they chuse again) of these self-interested and careless men. They ought, now their All is at stake, to examine how their members have behaved themselves, whether they have been tender of the liberty of our persons, frugal of our fortunes, bold against male administration, prosecutors of crimes, and not persecutors of men. Sense, courage, and integrity are necessary to make a man behave himself as he ought, in these important points. Let them chuse no MAN that has not sense, courage, and integrity, or that will not receive their instructions. There are no counties, and few towns, wherein they do not understand the interest of their country enough to give general instructions. Let me recommend those to them I have hinted at in this paper; order them to bring in bills to regulate the militia, to encourage the use of firelocks amongst the populace, to increase our navy, to reduce all our part of the war to that navy; to settle such salaries upon the judges as may make them impartial: And, above all things, order them to bring in a bill to secure annual parliaments, and the elections of members for the future. Advise them to ransack all our own records, and to consult all the several governments upon that head. Chuse but once wise and honest brave men, and they will find expedients to avoid the disputes, and baffle the arts which have rendered elections precarious and illegal. They will find methods to be too hard for court-tricks, and spend-thrift competitors. Chuse no man that is not willing to be instructed, you have a right to instruct them: It was the custom formerly to instruct all the members; and the nature of the deputation shews, that that custom was well grounded.

To conclude. Thus have I given my thoughts freely, as to two material points; viz. the old English right of annual parliaments (for a more ample account of which, I must refer my reader to Mr. Johnson's essay on that subject) and the qualifications requisite in such as represent the good people of England in the lower house; which I have done, without regard to any party or interest but that of my country. If what I have said shall have any influence on my fellow subjects, in the present elections; and on those that represent them when they come together, in order to obtain an act for the chusing of parliaments yearly, I shall obtain my utmost aim.

A CATALOGUE OF PETITIONS,

Ordered to be drawn up and presented to the honourable House at the next Session.

Quarto, containing four pages.

A PETITION of the brewers and butchers, that the former may be incorporated with the vintners, and the latter with the apothecaries.

A petition of the handbox-men and trunk-makers, that the Athenian Mercury, and all weekly papers of the like nature, be continued.

A petition of twenty-thousand tradesmen, that, if their wives offer to draw bills more than once a night upon them, they may be empowered honourably to reject them.

A petition of the quack-doctors, that the constables may not disturb the industrious night-walkers in the Strand, Fleet-street, and Cheap-side.

A petition of Dr. Salmon, and two more of the fraternity, that they may have the sole benefit of a new religion, by them lately invented; and that no other persons presume to interlope upon them.

A petition of the quakers, that their bare word may be equivalent to swearing, and nonsense to true reasoning; and likewise, that it may be lawful for them to fornicate out of their own tribe.

A petition of all the married women in the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweede, that the Dog-days be immediately repealed.

A petition of the moderate divines, that the thirtieth of January and twenty-ninth of May be discarded out of the almanack, as being great eye-sores to the godly party.

A petition of the maids, that the Mosaical signs of virginity be declared void and unnecessary, and unfit to be required under the Christian dispensation.

A petition of the ribbon-weavers, that shoulder-knots and pantaloons of happy memory be revived.

A petition of the booksellers to declare, that licensing of books is popish and superstitious, and destructive of the liberty of the subject.

A petition of the inhabitants of White-Friars, that their bounds be enlarged, that they may have room enough to receive the broken merchants and tradesmen, that daily flock in to them.

A petition of the poets, for a speedy restoration of claret, and the utter banishment of little diminutive pagan bottles.

A petition of the midwives and highway-men, that Savin and Hemp may be rooted out of the commonwealth.

A petition of the glasiars and tallow-chandlers, that it may be lawful to break windows, on thanksgiving-days, where no lights are set out.

A petition of Dr. Otes, that every evidence, for the future, shall be obliged to repair to him for a license.

A petition of the prisoners in Newgate, that their confessions and dying-speeches may not be printed before they are hanged.

A petition of Dr. Partridge, that no almanack-maker pretend to prophesy for the government, but himself.

A petition of the fiddlers, that kicking down stairs and broken heads be reckoned no scandal.

A petition of the players, that they may be allowed plurality of wives, in order to be sure of a maidenhead once in their lives.

A second petition of the booksellers, that, when a dull heavy book lies upon their hands, it may be publicly burnt, to promote the sale of it.

A petition of Bully Dawson, and the rest of his brethren, that swearing and roaring be adjudged as effectual a sign of valour, as fighting.

A petition of several young gentlemen of the inns of court, that a statue be erected to Dr. Wall, at the publick charge.

A petition of the northern attornies, for a speedy conclusion of the war, because, at present, the people cannot spare money to go to law.

A petition of the harlots, that pluralities be denied to all married women, of what degree or quality soever.

A petition of the coffee-houses, that they may be privileged in fornication up stairs; and for treason and false news below.

A petition of the country parsons, that, in favour of them, the house will be pleased to take off the additional duty upon tobacco.

A petition of the city clergymen's daughters, that *increase and multiply* be made the eleventh commandment.

A petition of the knights of the post, that all the pillories in the kingdom be burnt on the next thanksgiving-day.

A petition of the drawers, about the Temple and Covent-Garden, that they may be allowed to lie a-bed till eleven.

A petition of the Royal Society, that the comb-makers, mouse-trap men, and Athenians be suppressed, as interlopers upon them.

A petition of the chimney-sweepers, that they may have the scouring of all ecclesiastical consciences, every spring and fall.

A petition of the city, that none be suffered to talk treason, but such as are well-affected to the commonwealth.

A petition of the College of Physicians, that the importation of Dutch doctors be prohibited, as prejudicial to the manufacture of our own universities.

A petition of the taylors, that leave be given to bring in a long bill to promote new fashions.

A petition of the seamen, that the parsons may not meddle with politicks, but every one keep in his own element.

A petition of the barbers, that they may be made free of the church, since the divines have usurped upon their trade, by turning trimmers.

A petition of the country inn-keepers, that the soldiers, quartered in their houses, would be content to tap their hogsheds, but not their wives, or daughters.

A petition of the dissenting divines, that none shall be admitted into that class, but men of strong lungs and stronger backs.

A petition of the anabaptists, that they may be impowered to erect a publick dipping-pond at Lambeth Ferry.

A petition of the painters, that they may have leave to enter all the conventicles in town, and draw their respective pastors in their proper colours.

A petition of the waistcoateers of Wapping, that it may be lawful for them to go sixteen months with child, in cases of necessity.

A petition of the printers, that all distinctions of bawdry, blasphemy, and treason be utterly abolished.

A petition of the proctors of the commons, to have fornication encouraged, that they may have the sole punishing of it afterwards.

A petition of the claret-drinkers, that red noses shall qualify people for all sorts of preferment.

A petition of several mayors and aldermen, that money be adjudged to comprehend both wit, sense, and good breeding.

A petition of several recorders in the kingdom, that making of speeches be utterly abolished, unless Bulls be tolerated.

A petition of the ordinary of Newgate, that all sorts of breaking be declared sinful, but especially sabbath-breaking.

A petition of the orphans that the monument be hung with mourning once a year, and that at the expence of the chamber.

A petition of the several ladies living near Westminster, that all deserters be brought to condign punishment.

A petition of the Athenians, that they may have a patent for their new invention of making second-hand Spira's.

A petition of the parish-clerks, that a day be set apart to celebrate the pious memory of Hopkins and Sternhold, and that the city poet draw up the service for the day.

And for your worships then we'll pray,
Fore eke, for ever, and for ay.

HOW TO ADVANCE THE TRADE

OF

THE NATION,

AND TO EMPLOY THE POOR.

Folio, containing four pages.

*Humbly offered to the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgettes
assembled in Parliament.*

TO employ our poor, and advance the trade of the nation, are matters of great concern at this time. This honourable assembly are not insensible of the abundance of complaints throughout the kingdom in general in most trades, for want of sale for their goods. It is supposed there may be five-hundred thousand poor of one sort or other in the nation; and if these poor are to be put to work on the same manufactories which we are over-stocked with already, what will be done with all those goods so many thousand hands shall make more every year? It is but undoing in one place to make another. The merchants generally send but very little more to markets abroad one year than another; they commonly know what quantities of goods will glut each market abroad. Most commodities and manufactories are brought to so low an ebb, that slow workmen cannot get their living at their trades, and many of such, with their families, are become the poor of the parish wherein they are; yet the slowest of handicraft tradesmen will out-do those poor which never wrought before in each trade, if they were put into a work-house together; and for any number of persons joining together to employ the poor in the woollen manufactories, or any other where the price is beat down to so low a rate that the slow workmen cannot maintain themselves, what those persons gain by such poor is by oppressing the oppressed, and the cries of them will rage against the kingdom and government, because of the hard usage of several of their task-masters for lucre of gain to themselves. The poor ought to be encouraged, and mercifully dealt with, and kindly used, until their slow hands be brought to ready working, and ought at first to have the highest price the commodity will bear to themselves, and their overseers, and master-workmen that teach them, be paid by the parish; it is sufficient advantage for them if they can in some small time bring those poor to maintain themselves, which has been so burthensome to em heretofore. But how to set so many hands at work at this time, in trade is at so low an ebb, requires great consideration; and several

manufactories, which at present are manufactured abroad, must be encouraged at home. There are several commodities in this kingdom, which cannot be had in any of our neighbouring countries, which ought to be wrought up at home; but we encourage foreign wrought goods to be brought here, and send our unwrought goods to our neighbouring countries, who manufacture the same. By such methods we may well wonder what is become of the trade of the nation, whereby our merchants are undersold at markets abroad in those commodities which cannot be well had elsewhere but from England; which, if they were manufactured at home, and kept amongst our merchants to export, it would be an inlet to the selling of several other commodities, which are supplied now by the Dutch, and others of our neighbouring countries. But our trade is over-burthened by duties laid on our wrought goods, and our unwrought encouraged to be exported, with several other obstructions too tedious to set forth; by which the poor tradesmen and their families are become a far greater tax to the nation than all that the king's customs amount to.

Likewise in our merchants goods, which are imported and exported again in less than a year, are allowed to draw back the duty so formerly paid by them, if the property be not altered, by chipping, cutting, grinding, garbling, shaving, or rasping, or otherways altering thereof, so that the Dutch and other countries employ their poor, in doing that which ours ought to do; by which their merchants serve abundance of markets abroad with such goods as we cannot do, because, if the property be altered, the draw-back will not be allowed; which is in several goods about twenty-five pounds per cent. which is a great hindrance to the merchant, and quite loses the profit of working the same here. And suppose the property should be altered, so that the same be exported in time, it would occasion a greater employ of the poor, and it would be no detriment or hindrance to the King in his customs, nor obstruct our navigation, and our merchants may serve other countries with those commodities as well as the Dutch and others.

The Dutch consider how to employ their poor, and prepare all the work they possibly can contrive for them; and all goods, which are capable of labour, they commonly have it done before they will part with it; which is the reason they have none but what get their living at one thing or other. They employ their poor in rasping dyers woods, which they have commonly from us, and serve all markets abroad with that commodity, which we cannot do, by reason of that obstruction at the custom-house, in not allowing the draw-back where the property is altered. And in abundance of other goods too long to insert here.

The Dutch buy their hemp at Riga, and other places where we buy ours; but they employ their people to manufacture the same into sail-cloth, and they import it on us, and we, to encourage them, use it for our royal navy, and all our merchants ships, and all other small vessels, hoys, busses, lighters, and boat-sails; which trade, were it encouraged here, would go a great way in the maintenance of our poor, and great gain is to be had thereby. We had at first our woollen manufactory from the Dutch, we sold them wool and fulling-clay, and we took their woollen-cloth, and now we take their sail-cloth; but after we prohib-

bited our wool and fulling-earth from being sent to Holland, and their cloth from coming here, it put our workmen on invention, and in a little time we became the famousest at that trade in the world; and so we might be as well at sail-cloth, were we encouraged, and the Dutch discouraged. We ought to contrive all ways to employ our poor, and keep within ourselves the working up of all our own commodities; as leather, lead, fulling-clay, wool, copper, Calaminaris, tin, pewter, and all other of our own product. The planting of trees is neglected, by which in a little time we shall lose the making of iron and steel, the refining our brass and other metals, and great part of our lands lie waste and barren, not cleared or tilled, whilst thousands of our people want employment, and many thousands hide themselves in obscurity, in places remote from their beings, for fear of arrests, who are not able to pay their debts, and would willingly fly any where for refuge. Bad debts contracted to relieve some in necessity, and many others in prisons without any satisfaction to the creditor but revenge, and their families become chargeable to the parishes wherein they are; many by their poverty, are driven to the last extremity, take to ill courses to rob and steal, and our counties sued; great sums of money paid for apprehending and trying these robbers, and several other great mischiefs occasioned by poverty, which is burthensome to the country; which if all matters were computed is more loss to the nation than the charge will amount to in clearing most of our barren lands throughout the kingdom; and rightly considering, so sure as the people work in clearing and tilling the ground, so consequently those lands will be so much richer, and what is laid out will bring in again with considerable profit, and enrich the nation. It would be better for the kingdom in general, that there were a tax laid on every parish to regulate these great mischiefs, than to lie under the burthen thereof, without any hopes of relief. Therefore this following method is humbly proposed,

By *William Goffe.*

THE PROPOSALS.

Imprimis, That there be a tax laid on every parish throughout the kingdom, according to the poor tax-rate, to be continued for three years, and paid quarterly.

2. That there be six pounds per cent, per annum, allowed to any person or persons who shall lend the said three years tax at once, that there may be money sufficient to carry on the undertaking.

3. Near each fishing-port throughout the kingdom, there are commonly barren lands, which may be rented at four pence or six pence, per annum, an acre.

4. That a convenient parcel of such lands, near each fishing-port, be rented or purchased at the nation's charge, to erect fishing factories on, for sowing hemp and flax, and planting of trees, such as are convenient or building of ships, hoys, and busses.

5. That there be some knowing men chosen out of the neighbouring parishes, near each of these fishing-ports, to mark out the land into parcels, and that they ascertain the price of every acre what the labour is worth to clear the same.

6. That there be a proclamation published throughout the kingdom, that all persons that are willing to work in clearing those lands, at the price ascertained, shall have ready money for their labour as they constantly do their work; and each of them shall have-ground given them to build a house on free. And all those who are in debt, and do deliver up to their creditors all the effects they have, wearing apparel and household goods only excepted, shall be protected from being arrested or molested from any such debt or debts; and all tradesmen likewise, that are willing to inhabit or settle there on any of the fishing-factories, shall be likewise protected.

7. That these persons shall not be protected at any other place or places, but at these fishing-ports or factories, or whilst these persons are fishing or selling their fish in any other markets throughout the kingdom.

8. And that whereas, at most of these ports are places, where wool is commonly sent away at stealth, and prohibited, and other custom-goods privately run a-shore, that any person belonging to these fishing-factories, who shall seize any of such goods, shall be allowed one half-part of all such goods, to themselves.

9. That, at every of these fishing-ports, there be four fishing-busses belonging to each factory, with all nets and other fishing-tackle, provided with the master, and manned with fishermen to teach the people to catch fish, and they to be paid first, at the publick charge. And all those belonging to these factories, that are willing to go a fishing, may every one take their turn each month; and that two thirds of all such fish be divided amongst those who go a fishing; the other third of the fish to be sold, and applied towards wear and tear and charges in nets and tackle. And, that some of the masters and officers belonging to the neighbouring parishes be chosen to take charge of the same, and see all things performed.

10. That, in every of these factories, some of the military officers be appointed to discipline these men, every week or fortnight, and they to be the governors over these people, at each of these fishing factories; the men to be paid by the publick, those days they exercise.

11. That all the parishes throughout the kingdom do send their ablest poor to be employed at these factories; some to dig, plant, and till the ground, and the others to be employed to work up the hemp and flax, and to make sail-cloth, cordage, nets, twine, lines, and sails; the women to spin, and make coarse linnen, &c. and, as the profits come in by this undertaking, the parish-taxes will abate throughout the kingdom.

12. That there be a large work-house, or work-houses, erected at every of these fishing-ports, and that there be master-workmen, paid at the publick charge, to teach the people to work, which, in time, will teach one another; that these master-workmen be men of knowledge and understanding in making of sail-cloth, nets, cordage, twine

lines, and all other necessities belonging to the fishing-trade. And that they do take care, that the people's stock of goods be not embezled, and that they do give account to the masters of the neighbouring parishes, who shall be appointed for that purpose every week, and that they be appointed to pay and receive all goods, and to keep the stores, and give an account of all rising profits.

13. That, in every particular sort of work the full current price for every thing be ascertained, and that they be allowed a sufficient rate for their work, until their slow hands be brought to quick working, for afterwards, the price will fall in course, and those which are become used to clearing of lands will take lands of their own accord, and clear it to get themselves a livelihood; and so likewise, in fishing, they will in time be able to join together, and go a fishing at their own charge, when they find the profit thereof.

14. To encourage this undertaking, that all the sail-cloth which shall be used for the royal navy be wrought up at these workhouses belonging to these fishing-factories; and to bring the merchant-men to buy theirs, in the nation, the following method is proposed:

15. That there be a high duty laid on all new sails of foreign-made cloth, which shall be used to any of our English ships, hoys, lighters, buesses, boats, or any others; that the duty be collected at the custom-house, which will in time hinder merchant-men, and others, from buying their sails at markets abroad; and that all our sail-cloth be made with some blue stripe or other mark through every piece.

16. That all foreign nets be prohibited from being imported, because now most nets come from France and other parts.

17. That in every parish throughout the kingdom there be workhouses erected; and, instead of supplying the poor's necessities with money, as now they do, that they be obliged to supply them with a stock of goods to work up, and let them have the full price for the same. It is better for each parish to receive goods, which carry the intrinsick value with them, than to lose all the money so gathered every year, as they now do.

18. That all charity-money, voluntarily given by any person or persons to the poor of each parish, be laid out in unwrought goods, and equally divided, to every one share and share alike; and that the parish be obliged to take all such goods so made by the poor, and give them ready money for the same, or more stock of unwrought goods to put them to work again.

19. That the poor be most encouraged to work on those commodities, which at present are wrought beyond sea, as, sail-cloth, hemp and flax-dressing, making of coarse linnen and woollen-cloth, &c. We ought to consider how to force all trades, and how to find as much employment for our trades, as possible; therefore it is proposed,

20. That all foreign hemp and flax be imported duty-free.

21. That there be a high duty laid on all unwrought lead and tin exported.

22. That all manufactured lead, or tin, be exported duty-free.

23. That there be a duty laid on all fulling-earth, tobacco-pipe, and calaminaris, to be paid at the pit, at so much a yard.

rod; and not suffered to be dug without oath first made, and a certificate from the next justice of the peace, of what quantity, and what use, and where to be sent, and the duty gathered by those of the parish, who collect the King's tax, &c. For the duty-sake these pits will be taken notice of, which will hinder the carrying it away by stealth.

24. That there be a duty laid on all unwrought leather exported.

25. That all leather, manufactured into shoes, boots, harnesses, &c. be exported duty free.

26. That all raw silks, cotton, or any other commodities, which are useful to employ the tradesmen, imported, may not be allowed any draw-back at the custom-house on exportation, as in other goods, which will hinder merchants from exporting them abroad again, that our tradesmen may be supplied, as cheap as our neighbouring countries, with those goods they want to put them to work.

27. That all goods, which are imported, and exported again in time, may be allowed the usual draw-back at the custom-house, as well in goods where the property is altered, as in others where the property is not altered; by which means several of our poor may be employed, and all those who want work, and are in debt, and have not to pay, will flock to these fishing-factories; and, instead of lying in jails, and their families becoming burdensome to the parishes, we shall have our barren lands cleared, tilled, manured, and well wooded with fine groves of trees fit to build shipping; which will shelter those bleak and wild places; and those ports in time will become famous fish-markets, and these men well disciplined, which will be good outguards for our kingdom, ready to assist in time of necessity, and will breed up a nursery of seamen ready to man our royal navy on any occasion. By this, our lands and our livings will be secure from the attempts of any foreign enemy, our trade will flourish, and our poor be provided for, and will be an everlasting safety and happiness to our kingdom and government: Which God long preserve.

THE STATE GAMESTERS;

OR

THE OLD CARDS NEW PACKED AND SHUFFLED.

Folio, containing two pages.

A SET of gamesters all together met,
Some came to play, and others came to bet.
The cards produc'd, they first for dealing set,
Some play'd at noddie, and the rest at put.

The noddy gamesters, having drunk too hard,
 Could not distinguish knave from other card;
 But like true Scots, being eager of the cup,
 They cou'd not tell the game when it was up.
 Instead of minding how the cards were laid,
 Fell all asleep, while t'other gamesters play'd;
 But, being wak'd to pay their drunken scores,
 They chang'd their noddy game into all-fours:
 And then, with one consent, new cards they buy,
 And vow'd they'd play the strict severity.
 A cunning blade, that knew each card i'th' pack,
 And gain'd experience in the art that's black:
 Says he, " I'll fairly lay the cards all down,
 And hold a wager of an even crown,
 That we will have both lowest, Jack, and game,
 Tho' you have shuffled them, and cut the same."
 With that the cards being dealt about again,
 Instead of Jack, comes up a single ten;
 And clubs were trumps, at which the standers-by
 Cry'd it was foul play, and gave this reason why,
 Because the king o'th' hearts, which should have come,
 Was put below the knave, by th' dealer's thumb.
 So quick and nimble was that card convey'd,
 None knew how it was dealt, nor how 'twas play'd.
 But yet the other gamesters hop'd that Jack
 Was not in hand, but still among the pack.
 Yet some, who fear'd the worst, were in the dumps,
 Lest Jack, next time, he should be turn'd up trumps.
 Says one, ' Chear up, I've cards I will not name,
 Tho' they are lowest, we'll secure the game;
 And, if we lose it, then we are to blame.' }
 With that he play'd the queen, a card of honour,
 But t'other threw the knave of trumps upon her;
 When those, that betted, saw the queen was lost,
 They knew which way the game was riding post.
 (Yet, like true voters at a new election,
 Who scorn to yield it up by bare inspection,
 Call for a poll, and so, by telling noses,
 Know which side wins, and which side 'tis that loses.)
 So these high gamesters, they would tell for game,
 For chalks, on both sides, are the very same.
 But, seeing them produce two knaves and Jack,
 Concluded they had all the knaves i'th' pack.
 Alas! say they, what good doth highest do,
 When they have got both Jack and lowest too?
 Besides, we now must yield our game is gone,
 For you have got three knaves to our one;
 Which proves the proverb true, just to a letter,
 Most knaves in number makes men's luck the better.

A CATALOGUE OF BOOKS, &c.

157

We'll game no more, till we have learn'd more skill,
Knaves will be knaves, let men play ne'er so well.
But we this resolution have laid down,
Never to play so high as for a crown.

A CATALOGUE OF BOOKS,

Of the newest Fashion,

to be sold by Auction, at the Whigs Coffee-House, at the Sign of the
Jackanapes, in Prating-Alley, near the Deanery of St. Paul's.

Quarto, containing eight pages.

- E**CCEBOLIUS ANGLICUS: The Oxford turn-coat, or the
duty of conforming to all times and circumstances of prevail-
ing wickedness of the contrary, by Hum-ble Ho—y, an humble asserter
of that doctrine, dedicated to his master, St.—.
2. Mercurius Deformatus: Or the Picture of Mercury, with a
F's head on, and no brains in it; by that contemptible witling, the
city Observator. Dedicated to the learned and worthy Dr. Wel-
od.
3. Lues Germanica: The Dutch Pox in folio. A modern treatise,
holding forth a surer way of clapping our consciences, than a land fire-
p can our cod-pieces.
4. Si fortuna velit fies, de, &c. Gravel-lane to day, D—n of P—I's
morrow, and Gravel-lane again, as moody fortune or spouse pleases:
smock-pecked Sh—k.
5. Quos Jupiter vult perdere, &c. England first made a Bethlem,
priests of latitude, and then an Aceldama, by the Dutch pilgrims
Soho; published as a specimen of the blessings we may rationally
expect from a general comprehension of all religions; as well as of a
general naturalisation of all nations.
6. Non magna loquimur sed, &c. By the pious author, and reli-
gious practiser, of the letter to the dying Lord Russ—l, addressed
chiefly to his arch-brother and quondam pupil Dr. Sh—, as an an-
tidote against shame and remorse; with a use of instruction, that those
ing, you cannot get fairly rid of by argument or reason, you must
unsolidly to out-face.

7. *Clodius accusat mœchos*: Or three discourses against Tom Fir—n, and a fourth against hell-torments; the first tract extorted from the author, by the importunate clamours of those who hate hereticks in masquerade, as the author himself tells you, lest you should think he drew his pen in the defence of christianity voluntarily; the second published as a brief summary of his creed, by way of communicatory letter. Dedicated to his sub-intruders.

8. *Hec quantum nobis profuit, &c.* A treatise shewing that hypocrisy's the best religion, by him that gain'd six-thousand pounds, per annum, by it; these three last, by the same hand.

9. *Dux femina facti*: Conquest the best title to body and conscience, by Dr. Sh—k's wife, dedicated to her humble servant her husband; wherein these two points are proved at large: First, That no man is a good husband, who will not sacrifice his conscience, to the importunity of a wife: And secondly, That the doctor was visibly under her power, and, therefore, he was forced to submit, and might do so according to his hypothesis of force, which dissolves all obligation, especially since the female usurpation had been for a long time, and thoroughly settled.

10. *Dum vitium fugiunt stulti, &c.* An infallible cure for the cramp in the great toe, by cutting both legs off; the operation performed by the associated conventioners of eighty-eight, and approved by some of the task-masters of last Sessions. Together with apologies for the same, by those two foxes, John—n and Bar—t, each of which, though their heads stand different ways, has the fire-brand of rebellion in his tail.

11. *Parturiunt montes, nascetur, &c.* An exact list of all the countries, cities, towns, fortresses, castles, laden vessels, cannon, baggage, &c. taken from the French, since the commencement of the last war; by Johannes Pudendus, a speaker of short hand. Dedicated to the invisible, invulnerable, and thrice puissant protector of these three once flourishing kingdoms.

12. *Manus manum fricat*: Or, a king-maker deserves to be a wages-taker; by a club of those confiding Kn—s that sold their country last session; dedicated to their pay-master; wherein they gratefully own they have taken his money, but withal tell him they have not been behind-hand, but, for every hundred pounds they have received from him, they have given him ten-thousand.

13. *E quovis ligno non fit Mercurius*: Clearly demonstrating, that you will sooner make a sweet punch-bowl of a wooden close-stool, than an orthodox bishop of an old stinking fanatick; humbly offered to the crack-brained frantick window-breaker of Cripplegate, a lively and living testimony of the truth of that treatise.

14. *Semper idem*: Or, a covenant in 47, an engager in 52, a negative and &c. Oath-man in 57, a surplice-renouncer in 61, a conformist and covenant-renouncer in 64, a rebel in 83, a scandalous intruder in 90, and a Judas always; by R——— K———r, and several others: Dedicated to undipt John, and are to be sold at the mill in Turncoat-Alley; where are alcorans or bibles, common or mass books, Geneva clokes or gowns and cassocks, mitres or

turbants of all sorts and sizes, for the use of the persevering confessors aforesaid.

15. Quæ genus et flexum variant, &c. Or, a prophecy of the six grand intruders; proving them to be heteroclitcs and heterodox, from the rudiments of grammar and christianity.

16. Nos patriæ fines, &c. Room for sooterkins, or, the neighbourly kindness of a general naturalisation; shewing, that, since foreigners have naturalised and adopted all our money, it is but reasonable that we should adopt and naturalise some of their men; because we have nothing left now to oblige them with, but our Terra Firma, and, since it is not possible to transport our mountains to them, we should bring them to our mountains.

17. Græculus esuricens, &c. A catalogue of refugees turned witches, in hopes of the honours and revenues of English bishopricks. By Gil—t Bu—t, founder of that order. Dedicated to Monsieur Alix, already a treasurer of one cathedral, and a forward putter for the government of another.

18. Exorcista. Or, England dispossessed of a Low-Country Devil, by the High-Dutch conjurer of the Savoy.

19. Ecclesia liberata. The established church preserved, by damning her doctrines to steal her pelf. By Brother I——n of the Char—r-house; presented for a new year's gift to Sister Sym—n; wherein is learnedly proved, that passive obedience, without a parsonage and prebendary, and pater-nosters without pence, are unedifying tenets, and, that no church is worth the saving, that will not allow tent and eggs to one's breakfast.

20. Proximus sum egomet mihi. Near is my King, but nearer is my skin. By that renowned vindicator of the church, the martyr Dr. Pel—g. Dedicated to M. G. Ludlow, as a thankful return to his last obliging letter on that subject; containing the reasons of Jeshurun's kicking, and the doctor's deserting. Printed for Aminadab Rebellion, and are to be sold at the sign of the Jack-Pudding, in Tayler's court, near West——r.

21. Asperius nihil est humili, &c. A new-invented mathematical instrument, by the help of which one may discover, that, the higher a jackanapes climbs, the more he shews his arse. Published for a warning to Dr. Birch's fathers that never were sons, that they may take effectual care to double line their breeches, because there is an old saying, 'That 'Fools will be peeping.'

22. Octavus Sapientum: Or, Bog-witticisms improved, for the diversion of both sexes; being some small gleanings from the plentiful stock of the worshipful Sir Sal—l Lov—l R—r L——.

23. Asinus ad Lyram: An argument in law, proving, That killing of horses is downright murder. Published as a caution to prevent the effusion of christian blood. By the same ingenious author.

24. In dubiis tutor pars. Or, the broad way to save a man's bacon, and damn his soul.

25. Junius Brutus Redivivus. The loyal converter of the 30th of January, into a day of preparation for the sacrament; to be received only by such, who make it the first article of their religion, That the

murdering, or driving away lawful Kings, is not only lawful, but saint-like, performed on the last anniversary. By W—ms of the Poultry.

26. *Filius ante diem*: A vindication of disobedience and parricide, proving, that children owe no duty to parents, unless so long as they did not understand it; but, when they come to years of discretion, they may, and ought to maintain their liberty of disobedience, even to the destruction of their parents, if they but suspect that they will labour to prevent such undutifulness. Dedicated to a very dutiful lady, at the great house near Ch—ng-cross; by the plier at St. Andrew's, Holborn.

27. *Semel insanivimus omnes*: Or, a treatise shewing, That he is no good philosopher, that has not committed one folly. But, at the same time, shewing, That he is an ass and a knave, that pursues it, when he sees the cheat. Published by a club of relenting abdicators; and by them, dedicated to the several counties, cities, towns corporate, and boroughs they represent.

28. *Unguentum Ophthalmicum*: Sovereign eye-bright, to remove the mists from the people's eyes, that they may see their condition, and reward their riders. Addressed to the unfeigned lovers of England, of what condition or persuasion soever.

29. *Nolumus hunc regnare*: An epitome of all the learned reasons given by our intruders, and present riders, against returning to our senses, and restoring the King; with an appendix of fear of punishment and disgrace. Dedicated to half a dozen of henpecked London divines.

30. *Nunquam sera est ad bonos, &c.*: Or, the resurrection of allegiance and discipline, from the grave of rebellion and schism, by the oppressed and abused sons of the old church of England. Published to the confusion of those sons of Latitude and Belial, that make heaven pimp to their interest.

31. *Ex nihilo nihil fit*: Or, a dissertation of the no power of a no parliament, making a no King, that will always be doing us no good, by leaving us no parliaments without perjury and pensioners, no church without knaves and intruders, no trade without hazard and losses, no credit at home or abroad, no honour nor conscience, no blood in our veins, nor money in our pockets, none but Holland frogs and caterpillars in the nation, and nothing but repentance at the last.

Cases of Conscience, and Queries.

1. Whether a pensioner be not ten times worse than a Lapland wizard, since the latter only sells his own soul to the devil, but the pensioner sells other men's souls, bodies, and all?

2. Whether a coachman may not drive post to the D—l, by profaning the Lord's-day, notwithstanding the licence of the house?

3. Whether the remaining four of the unrepealed commandments ought not to be cashiered next session?

4. Whether the members were asleep in St. Margaret's, or St. Stephen's, when they voted Dr. Birch a saint in one place, and a malignant in the other?

5. Whether the fifth commandment be part of the coronation-oath, since our governors observe it so strictly?

6. Whether protestant tyranny be not better than popish tyranny, by six millions, per annum?

7. Whether popish knaves and gridirons have done us half so much mischief, as Dutch declarations and English pensioners?

8. Whether it is not a cordial to an Englishman's stomach, to hear a nasty Dutchman swear, that they have given us a King to wipe their stadtholder's backside?

9. Whether it is better to have some religion, all peace, and moderate taxes? or no peace, no religion, and all taxes?

10. Whether, when the roguish engraver fixed old Noll's head on W——m's shoulders, the figure were not all of a piece?

11. Whether six-hundred thousand pounds were not too small a gratuity to our dear saviours, the Dutch? And whether we had not better openly give them all, than let them take it underhand, and laugh at us into the bargain?

12. Whether our governors do not act wisely, in sacrificing our seamen, and starving their wives, since they design shortly we shall have no ships?

13. Whether it was not a true blunder, in him that took the pope's picture for that of K. W. since he interpreted the two keys to be those of our coffers and consciences?

14. Whether Julian, or Sherlock, deserve the whetstone; since Julian has been always true to a false principle, and Sherlock a traitor, and false to a true one?

15. Whether S—— be not the most excusable instrument in our present slavery, since treason and rebellion, in him, are original sin?

16. Whether Cumb——d and Ten——n ever confuted ten Hobbists by their bawling and printing? And whether they have not made ten-thousand by their practice?

17. Whether Julian, the house, or the hangman have made the best second treble to Gilbert's pastoral?

18. Whether Father Sim——n has been rebaptised, since he publicly renounced christianity in Peter——gh cathedral?

19. Whether the Scotch conferences and the Friendly debate are not damnably ashamed of their rascally authors?

20. Whether the Pilgrim's Progress, or the Parable of the Pilgrim, had the better tinker to their author, since they both set up for a pair of church-menders?

21. Whether Richard of Kidderminster had not much more episcopacy and uniformity in him, than our St. Richard Kidder?

22. Whether the Latin reason of Auri sacra fames, or the English

of the 'Grey mare is the better horse', did operate most in making Sherlock a changeling?

23. Whether Bedlam ever produced any thing half so lewd and frantick, as Cresner's lampoons upon the Apocalypse?

24. Whether the old Welch seer may not, with the help of a small looking-glass, see an old crazy-crowned infidel, since he pawned his creed in 88, that Lewis the Grand and Old Nick should be chamber-fellows in the other world, before the end of 92?

25. Whether J. C. or J. Y. have not all the reason imaginable to admit ranters, sweet-singers, Mugglestonians, Jews, Turks, and infidels to be church-members, since their own hearts tell them, they are as good christians as themselves?

26. Whether, in the next edition of his shame, the renowned author of the 'Contempt of the Clergy' ought not to add one other lamentable reason, besides those of ignorance and poverty, viz. Time-serving, together with his own phiz in the frontispiece?

27. Whether Dame Britannia was not less culpable, in being forced to endure a thirteen years rape from Oliver and the rump, than by living a five-years adulteress now by consent?

A

LETTER FROM A COUNTRY CLERGYMAN

To his Brother in the Neighbourhood,

TOUCHING SOME REPROACHES CAST UPON THE BISHOPS*.

Quarto, containing eight pages.

Dear Brother,

THE unhappy flames which of late have been blown up among us, by interesting ourselves in the disputes between the bishops and the lower house of convocation, and the unkind reflexions which are but too often cast upon the greater part of those venerable prelates by many even of our order, I conceive to be so great an offence to Almighty God, so dangerous to the welfare of our church, and to be such a reproach to our holy religion, that I cannot think it a great degree of forwardness in myself, or in any other, to endeavour whatever may

* Supposed to be writ by Dr. Wake.

in our power to compose those sad differences and animosities, the consequences whereof look so very fatal towards us. This is the occasion of troubling you with this letter; in which I shall take the liberty to excuse myself from making animadversions upon any miscarriages of your superiors, which some of them, by inadvertency, and the common filth of human nature, may have fallen into, that being a part which cannot think myself by duty called to, nor to be becoming a person who moves in so mean a sphere as I; and besides, I fancy I shall find matter enough to fill up this letter, in pointing at the faults which we are guilty of on our side, and shewing, that we have taken up very mistaken characters of very good and excellent men, by taxing them with actions with which they are no ways chargeable, or for which they are no ways blameable.

I. And indeed it is very dismal to consider what vile reproaches are cast upon the greatest part of those reverend persons by too many of their own coat: To hear us so frequently taxing them as affecting a tyrannical, despotick power over the clergy, as being betrayers of the common liberties of the church, mercenary instruments and parasites of the court, fanaticks in their hearts, and avowed enemies of every part of our ecclesiastical constitution, unless it be the fair revenues which they have the happiness to enjoy under it. For clergymen to utter these things in their discourse, both publick and private, and to publish them like, by writings, to the whole world, can be no ways suitable to the rules of the holy religion we profess, nor to the character we sustain in God's church; and, I think I may add, does bid the utmost defiance to the principles of the church of England, which bespeak the highest esteem and veneration for the order of bishops. This is a practice which there is none of us, some time past, but would have condemned with the greatest abhorrence and detestation. Let us, for once, suppose some body to have prophesied fourteen or fifteen years ago, that many of us who then valued ourselves so much upon our duty and obedience to our bishops, and passed such severe reflexions upon the undutiful carriage of others, that we should, within a few years, treat them with so unhandsome deportment, and give them all those good compliments which have been so freely of late bestowed upon them, would not every one of us have been ready to return, with indignation, that of lazrael, 'Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?' This, my good brother, does deserve a deep and serious reflexion; for these gospel duties, you know, are of eternal verity, and will be as true a thousand years hence, as they were twenty years ago; nor can I imagine that any one of us does think that a part of our religion can grow in or out of fashion, as people's clothes do. If there are no duties owing to our diocesans, we ought to recant the error we were in, by betraying the dignity of our own order, whilst we were, in time past, so liberally taxing them; or, if there be any regards owing, the methods, which have been of late taken, have been but a pretty odd way of discharging them. And, since we are entered upon this point, I will beg the freedom to recommend to your consideration something farther upon it: and let us consider,

II. That the very railery we, some of us, are wont to exert upon this occasion, if it was not levelled at our superiors, and the ground of it was never so well bottomed, is a part not altogether becoming our function. We that are the ministers of Jesus Christ are obliged more nicely to follow our great Master's copy and example, who, 'when he was reviled, reviled not again.' A christian pastor can never look with so ill a grace, as when he assumes the character of a droll, or a satyr. Sarcasm and buffoonery are at best but a sorry part of wit, and, I am confident, no part at all of religion. We frequently are commanded in scripture to afford to those who are committed to our charge a shining example of peaceableness and charity, but I cannot observe, that God has any where commissioned us a power to instruct them in the arts of taunts and invectives. This vile trade, we know well enough, was taken up by the accursed enemies of christianity. The Lucians, and Julians, and Celsus's, had singular talents this way, and did a great deal of mischief to the gospel by them; but I am at a loss to find when it received any benefit from ill-natured wits. The gospel thrived well by the meekness and patience of its first professors, and by such holy steps made its way over all the Pagan world, whilst heathenism, which was supported by the drollery and satyr of its philosophers, did daily lose ground, till it fell at last into nothing. This is argument sufficient to persuade us, that we pursue but very ill advised methods, whilst we are carrying on a cause that we are willing to have succeed; by means which are such a reproach to our profession, which shew so ill an example to our people, and which we have not the least hopes to expect, that God Almighty will crown with any manner of blessing. Now, if we would seriously apply this, we should have an end of such smart books, and fine jests upon our bishops, especially if we considered, that these jests are not only very unmannerly, as being advanced against our betters, but do likewise share a great degree of irreligion and profaneness; for those holy persons, who, by their office, do bear so nigh a relation to our blessed Lord, cannot be so unhand-somely sported with, without reflecting a reproach also upon Christ and his religion.

III. And as I look upon it a great fault to make use of such unhandsome drollery upon our diocesans, so I take it to be a very imprudent and unchristian way for us to trumpet about their faults, although they were guilty of them in those particulars, and in that degree, as some of us pretend. It is a kind of a natural law, which the vilest of men are scarce hardy enough to transgress, not to vilify those of our own body, and which bear any nigh relation to us. Those unkind offices are left for strangers only to execute, every wise person esteeming it a madness to discover those defects which must, in the event, reflect upon himself. For the contempt, which one part of the body suffers, is, by an easy deduction, transferrable to the other. We of the clergy are apt to be loaded enough, of all conscience, by other people without doors; and the bishops of the church do find sufficient opposition from papists and sectaries; therefore, I presume, we clergymen are at that time, in the most warrantable employment, when we our-

selves are proclaiming to the world what ill actions we impute to our bishops. If, as a late ingenious author says, 'that those men who read lessons to princes, how to strain ecclesiastical power to the utmost, without exceeding it, be church Empsons and Dudleys,' I think I may as well conclude (if I delighted in hard words) that those who accuse the bishops of their own church for such ill men as some of our order do, are church Hams and Judas's, for discovering their father's nakedness, and betraying their spiritual governors.

IV. In the next place, it behoves a little to consider, before we make too bold with our bishops characters, how much we gratify our common enemies of all sorts, and expose our mother-church, by such a representation of the governors thereof, to the scorn and obloquy of those who greedily watch for such opportunities to revile us. Don't you think, that this must needs give a powerful encouragement to the several sectaries among us to come into the church, the governors whereof they see set off in those delicate colours, which some of us of late have so liberally adorned them with? What a curious history of English bishops must we expect from the next Popish pamphlets that come over from Doway and St. Omers? And what domestick authorities will be vouched to make their slanders good? It is easy enough to imagine, and common enough to observe, what fine sport the quarrels with our bishops make among our atheists and deists. Sometimes they take a handle from these differences to expose the bishops for "affecting an incompetent power, and for minding no part of their office so much, as to lord it over their fellow-shepherds; deny this, and they call upon the authorities of many of the clergy to assert it; and then it goes for undeniable. At other times they are pleased to be quit with these authorities themselves, and call them all a parcel of hypocritical sparks, that make a world of stir with duty and obedience, till it begins to pinch them, and then they fly in the face of the king and bishops without fear or discretion.' One would think, that we are under a perfect insatiation to make ourselves, and the religion and church we are ministers of, a jest and mockery to these prophane wretches. But the highest degree of madness is, for some of us, to court the favour of these very men to support us against our bishops, and lay open their character so unhandsomely before such men. Certainly the affairs of the church are safer in the hands of the most tyrannical bishops, than of them who are enemies to all religion: Neither are the presbyters like to find any extraordinary redress from them, who look upon the whole function to be impostors alike.

It is no excuse to say, that this freedom taken with the bishops is but by way of reprisal, to be even with a writer on the bishops side, who took as great a freedom with the inferior clergy. I must confess that I, for my part, and a great many other indifferent persons, never liked that part of that writer's book; and I think his cause had not been the worse, if it had been spared. But let him answer for that—Now as these reproaches did not proceed from the bishops, so this is the unjustest way of retaliation, to make them suffer for the faults of others; or, if the bishops had any share in promoting them, our holy

religion has taught us a better lesson, than to "return evil for evil." If one part of the clergy have been falsely traduced, we should be cautious how we involve the remaining part under the same imputation. What sad events will follow upon the keenness of these disputes God alone knows; but this I am sure of, that, between this writer and his answerer, the church of England has suffered more in her reputation than will easily be retrieved: For the bishops are represented in such a dress by the one, and the presbyters by the other, that it wants only the hand of a Sanders or a Parsons to put them both together; and then out comes such a picture of the English reformation, as will make us all curse these unhappy disputes which have brought such shame upon us.

V. If these considerations be not of weight enough to make us leave off this prevailing custom of aspersing our bishops, I shall add one more, and that is our oath of canonical obedience. Now we all know what canonical obedience is, viz. all that respect and submission, which the canons require to be paid to our diocesans. An injurious accuser of a bishop is by the canons to have a perpetual brand of infamy fixed upon him, and to be excommunicated: An obedience is to be paid them "in omnibus licitis & honestis, &c." Now I cannot tell how to reconcile an ignominious treatment and bespattering their character with the ecclesiastical precepts which we swear to. Our guilt must needs stare some of us in the face, when we reflect upon this; as having taken no more care to discharge these obligations which we have so sacredly engaged to perform. This were a grievous crime, though there were sufficient ground for these clamours against our diocesans, especially to do it in the way that is generally practised; but, when there is so little foundation for these heavy imputations, I conceive it to be such an aggravation of the fault, as we can never be easy under, when we seriously lay it to heart. And, therefore, in the remaining part of this letter, I shall set myself to vindicate our present bench of bishops from these aspersions, which either by unthinking, or designing men, have of late so plentifully been thrown upon them.

VI. One fault, which is mightily laid to their charge, is, their being of latitudinarian principles as they are called, that is, no hearty friends to our ecclesiastical constitution, but are rather inclined to the dissenters tenets, and endeavour by all means to bring the church to the conventicle level; and that it is in order to this end they are so very fond of setting a comprehension on foot, thereby to destroy our present church establishment and discipline, and set up something else which likes them better. But what a ridiculous calumny is this? To think that the bishops, who enjoy so great a share in the church's revenues, should be engaged in a design of pulling it down; this would be such a degree of self-denial, that their adversaries in other cases would hardly allow them. But how do they know that these bishops have such a disliking to the ecclesiastical settlement? If men's principles are to be discovered by their words and actions, the present bishops have both on their side to vindicate them from this asersion. Their frequent

subscriptions to the articles, their usual discourse both in publick and private, together with their sermons, are all of them in contradiction to what is here objected. There are several of them, who have strenuously wrote in defence of our constitution; witness the cases against the dissenters, which were mostly wrote by the pens of those very men who are thus calumniated. Though, by the way, I do not find in my accounts that any great number of those who bear so hard upon the bishops, and put so much upon this head, did give any hand to this noble work; therefore methinks it is pretty strange, that the present bishops should commence fanatics for writing so bravely against the schism, and others should be the only church of England men for being silent under it. As for the matters of alteration which were on foot about a dozen years ago, these present bishops are not more to be blamed for them, than those other bishops who declared to the late king James, that they would be willing to come to such a temper, as that all differences in religion, as far as possible, might be composed among us. This was not thought such an offence, when the resolution was first made, and therefore why are they so much to be blamed for endeavouring afterwards to make their words good? The unlucky disputes, which then happened, run up men's bloods so high, and frightened men with such misapprehensions of some strange designs upon the church in that affair, that those bishops, who appeared in behalf of that project, could hardly recover the hearty affections of their clergy ever since. And, if we consider the loud clamours which have been raised against some of their lordships about this business, we could not think but that they were contriving at that time the very unhinging of our whole constitution. And yet I am fully assured, that all, that was then designed, was no more than the changing a few apocryphal lessons for canonical scripture; appointing the new translation of the psalms for singing and reading in lieu of the old; making all the collects agree more with the epistles and gospels, as was begun, though abruptly left off by the commissioners at the Savoy, in 1662, and changing an exceptionable passage or two in the other services. I would wish their lordships would be so just to themselves as to publish the resolutions of the committee in Jerusalem chamber; and then I am persuaded, that we should all be of opinion that their lordships are so far from meriting the reproach, which is for that reason thrown upon them, that they would appear to deserve the highest commendation. And, since people have grown cool upon that matter, I hardly find any sensible man, who pretends to find more fault now, than ill timing of that design. But, by the way, is it not a little hard, that we should bear a perpetual enmity to our bishops for the ill timing of an action? Nay, this was no more than what was before designed in the Comprehension bill in the lords house, which was liked well enough by some of those persons who appeared so keenly, against the commission, and so treating of that affair in convocation, afterwards; though, upon that reason, they changed their opinion, I pretend not to secret history enough to understand; unless they began to dislike it, because some other persons, besides themselves, came to take a part in the doing it.

VII. Another misapprehension of their lordships actions, and which the generality of people, at present, seem to be the most incurably possessed with, is, concerning their voting in parliament, always, as it is said, on the government's side; whereby, it is pretended, they give occasion to suspect, that they are not always led by impartial considerations; but exert their zeal in that interest, which is best able to reward them with higher preferments. This, I know, is a terrible cry, among the atheists and jacobites, and some other unthinking people, who have the wit to be made tools to their designs; which are by weakening the king's interest, and bespattering all men of high station in the church, to compass the glorious end, they are pursuing, of irreligion and slavery. But this imputation, false and scandalous as it is, carries a compliment with it, which the objectors did not design, when they say, that the bishops vote always on the court side. And I will assure you, this very virtue of constancy deserves, in this age, no small commendation; for we have seen some others, who are not bishops, to have changed sides, two or three times, since his majesty's accession to the crown, who never were against the king's affairs, when any thing was to be got by them; and always against them, when nothing was to be lost by the opposition. But, why is it such a crime to vote on the king's side? His affairs are not the more unjust, because he has the happiness to be able to reward the assiders of them. Nay, I am confident, though it was out of the king's power to shew any further marks of favour, upon any of the present bishops, who are hereby calumniated; the king would not have much fewer votes, from that venerable bench, than he has. There is nobody doubts, but that the archbishop of Canterbury is as hearty in the king's interest, and gives his vote as frequently on his side, as any of his comprovincials; and yet, I dare say, he has no hopes of a translation, on this side heaven. And why should we not expect a like sincerity from the rest? Methinks, their bare gratitude to the king, for being advanced by him, should sooner engage them to his majesty's interest, than to side with some ambitious and disobliged men, who are known enemies both to the king, and them too. But there is a higher motive, which, I am persuaded, the bishops are swayed by, in giving their suffrages in parliament; and that is, to support the present government, on which all our liberties and religion depend. And, let me tell you, Sir, for all the talk of thoughtless and intriguing men, the bishops have had their share, and have gone a good way, in the securing it. In the midst of warm disputes, they have held such a temper and moderation, and acted with such a steady resolution, for the support of the government, that future ages will be bound to bless their memory for it. Therefore, upon the whole, it can be no fault in the bishops to give their votes, with regard to the king's interest; unless it can be proved, that the king has any interest separate from the church and nation; which he is so far from appearing ever to have had, that he has all along, under God, been the greatest preserver of both. But if it should please God, that this, or any other king, should ever pursue methods contrary to the good of these: I do verily believe, no temporal expectations will engage men, of their good-

ness and sincerity, to act any thing in compliance with them, that may be inconsistent with their honour and conscience.

VIII. Another matter there is, which we of the gown do chiefly quarrel with our bishops for; and that is, their hindering the clergy to act in convocation, for eight, or ten years together; and when at last, after a great deal of baiting, they were wearied into a concession for their sitting, they were pleased to trump up a right of adjournment of the lower house, to all times, and upon all occasions; whereby, the whole end of their meeting is utterly defeated. But I have some reason to be of opinion, that our grounds do not a little fail us, when we suppose, that this long intermission of a convocation did proceed from any arbitrary resolution of the bishops; for it is not improbable to think, that this whole affair was adjusted, by wise and mature deliberation, without any mixture of private pique and resentment, and that all due regard was had to the case and welfare, both of church and state. The nation had been afflicted by a long and expensive war, which afforded neither leisure, nor sufficient maintenance for the clergy, to stay long off from their cures in a synodical attendance. Neither was it so proper to venture, then, upon any warm ecclesiastical disputes, which do usually attend such meetings; at a time, when contests in the state had raised men's bloods but too high already. Afterwards, since the end of the war, upon the seeming desire of the generality of the clergy, that a convocation should meet, they accordingly did, had several sessions, and were going upon very commendable business in both houses. But alas! these noble designs were blasted by a dispute, which arose about the right of adjournments; which the members of the lower house were prompted to claim, having found something, in a dark part of history, and in registers, then not so exactly scanned, which seemed to make in some measure for them. How far these few instances of adjournment against those multitudes, which are produced on the archbishop's side, will maintain a right: I leave those, who understand these matters better than myself, to judge. But, if the lower house have a right of adjourning themselves, it is a power, which their predecessors have thought fit very seldom to claim; it is not pretended more than two or three times, in almost as many centuries; and why should the clergy, in our times, set such a value upon a right, which our forefathers did hardly think worth the claiming in theirs? It is sufficient to remove a bar, against their right, to have claimed it, and put themselves, for once, in an actual possession of it, and so to leave the nice dispute of it, till better times; or, if no more be said of it in our times, they are so far from betraying a right, which our forefathers have bequeathed us, as it is said by some, that the last convocation did as much in that affair, as can be pretended, any of our forefathers did. In short, there is no doubt, but that the convocation may sit and act, if they please, for all the archbishop's power of adjourning, and the king's right of license, upon humble desire thereof; for neither of them both have ever given any occasion to suspect, that they will be at any time wanting to hearken to any proposals, that may be for the good of their church and people. And, when the necessity of a convocation,

in the present conjuncture, as we all of us confess, does press us so hard, it is not worth while to dispute from what authority the power of their acting or their adjournments do proceed. The lamentable growth of irreligion, the abuses in spiritual courts, and the very low ebb of all ecclesiastical authority, do call aloud for synodical meetings, to consider, with the utmost wisdom and application, for speedy remedies to such growing evils. These matters require an immediate redress, whilst those other questions will keep cold, to a more convenient season. Now since the archbishop had been so long in possession of the right of adjournment, and his comprovincials have some reason to believe that the lower house, by assuming this privilege, do prepare a way to an equality with their order, and to be a co-ordinate power with them, they cannot be blamed for asserting their own, and their metropolitan's dignity; and are less I think to be accused for hindering the advantages of a synod, because all the advantages, which a synod can pretend to confer, may, upon the ancient accustomed way of application to superiors, be obtained, without the insisting upon these claims. When the lower house shall desire to meet upon intermediate days for dispatch of business, and a license, by humble petition asked for, to frame ecclesiastical laws, and these requests shall not be gratified; it is time to begin a clamour then, when more reason is given to think it deserved, than now there has been. Power, I know, is a sweet thing; and those, who hope to have a share in it, are wont to contend eagerly for it; and therefore it is no wonder, that, for this reason, the controversy is carried on, with some warmth, on both sides; but, when common danger does on every side threaten, prophaneness and irreligion at home, and popery and slavery from abroad, I hope, we shall follow the example of the gallant old Romans, who left off their squabbles among themselves, whenever they were attacked by their enemies, and never resumed their contests, till they were sure, that all was so safe from without, that a little scolding at home could not hurt them.

IX. The last prejudice which is advanced against our present bishops, and handed about to the detriment of their character, is their interesting themselves in elections to parliament, and appearing, as is suggested, for fanatics and whigs, in opposition to those who are true sons of the church, and well grounded in their principles too, in relation to the monarchical government of the nation.

But why, I pray, have not the bishops as good a plea to exert their interest in their country to serve their friends, as any of the lay lords to assist theirs? And, if there be any thing in this objection, it arraigns the whole house of lords, as well as the bench of the bishops. The bishops have frequent occasion to make use of the authority and friendship of many of their neighbouring gentry, for the redressing hardships, which are too frequently thrown upon some of their clergy, and for their bestowing preferments upon others whose merits deserve further encouragements. And can any bishop handsomely refuse to obtain a few votes from some of his dependants for a person, to whom he stands obliged for services both to the church and himself? Why should the bishops, of all the men in the nation, be abridged the privileges of serving their friends upon such a publick occasion? Shall every petty

freeholder, and some who have no property at all, be allowed to canvass about for any one they have a fancy for, and must not the bishops, who have so large estates, and so much greater prudence to judge of the fitness of a choice, be tied up from assisting a person of merit in his competition? But the persons they appear for are whigs and fanaticks. And this is all vile calumny. I do not think there can be an instance given, in the whole nation, of a bishop's appearing for any gentleman, but who is an habitual member of the church of England. They have never opposed any gentleman's interest, but who has been of known, or, at least, suspected disaffection to the government; and to endeavour to keep out such, in this juncture of affairs, can need no apology. Every hearty lover of the King and our present constitution is a whig and fanatick to the jacobites; and this is all the title they have to those ill names, which their enemies so unkindly bestow upon them. Now, though the common people are frequently imposed upon by such slanderous characters, the bishops have sagacity enough to penetrate through the artifices of malice; and cannot think it just, that the nation should be deprived of the assistance of a member of worth and fidelity, for the sake of a few bespattering reflexions without any ground.

X. And now having, I think, sufficiently vindicated our present bishops against these imputations, by which some have endeavoured to sully their character, I beg leave to say something farther to engage our hearty love and esteem for them; and to let you understand that we have reason to bless God for raising up amongst us such excellent fathers in the church, that do so eminently adorn the high station they are in, by all the good qualifications which are desirable for that calling. For, as to their life and conversation, those, that are most calumniated amongst them, have nothing that can be objected to them upon this account; they having all along led lives of the greatest circumspection and exactness, and shewn forth shining examples of sobriety, meekness, and charity. Neither is their learning inferior to that of the bishops of the last age, and the books, which they have wrote, have such a vein of reasoning, and a calmness, running through them, as is superior to that of their predecessors. That humility, which adorns the life of every Christian, renders theirs illustrious; for I will defy the memory of the present age, or the annals of the former, to shew such a set of men, so famous for their personal qualifications, and raised to such an eminency of station, that have shewed such an obliging familiarity to those below them, as these bishops have done. This, next to the grace of God, is owing, I believe, to the long and painful discharge of their labours, in their parishes, before their promotion: being thereby freed from that high kind of deportment, which some of their predecessors have been charged with; who, having lived mostly in the grandeur of a cathedraical dignity, were trained up to a superiority over their rural brethren, which they did not, to be sure, forget, as their honour increased upon them. Nay, I will venture to say, That, when it shall please God to take to himself these good men, whom some of us do so disesteem, it will not be easy to find a great many amongst us, who will fill those places as well as they have done.

Then what a pity is it, that they who are possessed of so much personal worth, and so much obliging condescension, should find so unkind returns from many of their own clergy? This can proceed only from a fore-conceived prejudice and misapprehension of their true character, which arises not from any just ground, but, from being engaged in a party, and, for that reason, unadvisedly believing all that is said in their disparagement. If this unhandsome and ungodly custom do not stop in good time, God knows whither it will at last carry us. The ancient heresies and schisms, which so sadly pestered the primitive church, had their original from presbyters quarrelling with their bishops. This gave a rise to the heresies of Arius and Novatianus, and to the schism of the Donatists. But I hope, the good God will afford us more grace and wisdom than to let matters run so far. I do not think this humour to be spread so very wide as to affect any great part of our clergy; the far greater number I am persuaded do stick fast to their ancient principles and duty, and have never ceased to pay that love and respect to their diocessans, which our forefathers were so hearty in; and that ill example, which some disobliged persons have set, will, I hope, be so far from being copied, that they themselves will see their error, and be sorry for it.

But I would not have you mistake me, as if I charged these faults upon the lower house of convocation, in their disputes with the bishops; for though, I confess, I cannot go into opinion with them in all they have advanced, yet they, as acting in a synodical authority, have a privilege to remonstrate upon any grievances they think to be hard upon them, without breach of their duty to superiors. Or, if rules of decency be sometimes transgressed, the warmth of the disputes, they may be engaged in, goes a good way in alleviation. But my business is to silence, if I could, the reflecting talk of those, who reproach the bishops without doors; which, though they were of the house, they have no synodical privilege to excuse them for. For every presbyter then is upon the level with you and me, and owe as much duty and regard to their respective bishops. But I am afraid, there are the greatest number of tongues running upon this theme, that have had no share in these disputes, but what they have been pleased to take to themselves, without being called to it. And I think it is time for all, who have nothing to do in these matters, to be quiet, when the chief managers of the lower house controversy, and all the worthy members of the body now met, seem inclined to peace, and the ancient good correspondence. Now these, I think, we may both of us, as occasion shall offer, put in mind of their duty, without assuming an authority which does not belong to us. For brotherly admonition is a common duty of Christianity; and therefore, to be sure, does not lie out of our way, that have the honour to take a share in the ministerial function. For, if you take seasonable opportunities to speak calmly upon these heads, or others, which yourself may suggest, where you shall find need, I doubt not, but in time, and with God's blessing, your discourse will have its desired effect in the neighbourhood; and, if others would take them to do the like elsewhere in the nation, I am persuaded we

should all grow into a good humour once again, and love our bishops as we have done formerly. Thus, recommending you to the divine protection, and praying for good success in the attempt you shall make in the kind I advise, or any other good work of your calling,

I am your faithful friend,

and brother in Christ, &c.

AN ACCOUNT

OF

THE ORIGINAL OF WRITING AND PAPER,

Out of a Book, intituled, La Libreria Vaticana,

Written by Mutio Panza, Keeper of the said Library.

Printed at Rome. Quarto, containing thirty pages.

1st, *Of the Use of Books, and Invention of Letters.*

DISCOURSE I.

THAT the use of books and libraries is very ancient, appears by many authors, both Christian and heathen, from whom it may in some measure be gathered, that they have been in use ever since the world began; for we read, that Jude the Apostle, in one of his epistles quotes the book of Enoch, which was before the flood. (The words of the epistle are: ‘And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, &c.’ So that here is a prophecy, but nothing expressly of a book of his writing, whence a debate may arise, whether this prophecy was not left by oral tradition, without more positive proof; but to return to our author.) And tho’ authors differ very much concerning the invention of letters, of which afterwards books were composed; yet we take it for granted, that they were invented by Adam, his sons, and grandsons, in the first age of the world, before the flood, and were after preserved by Noah and his progeny, till they came to Abraham, and so to Moses; and of this opinion was St. Augustin, lib. xv. de Civitate Dei, and Josephus, a Jewish writer of great credit, who, in

the first book of his antiquities, writes, That Adam's grandsons, the sons of Seth, erected two pillars, the one of stone and the other of brick, on which they left written, and engraved, all the arts discovered by them, and he affirms he saw one of the pillars in Syria; from the which, I am of opinion, the Egyptians afterwards learnt the way of writing, and expressing their mysteries with those characters called hieroglyphicks, on several obelisks, wherein Egypt formerly so much abounded, that some of them are still to be seen in Rome, whither they were transported by the first Emperors. This is the more credible, because we read, that Adam was by God created in so great a state of perfection, of knowledge, and of wisdom, that he gave names to all things, according to their nature and qualities; and that none ever so well understood the revolutions of the heavens, the motions of the stars and planets, and so thoroughly knew the nature of herbs, plants, animals, and all other things in the world, as he did. It is therefore to be believed, that he found out the method for preserving the memory hereof to posterity. Pliny, in his Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. ult. confirms this opinion; for there, after delivering the sentiments of many concerning the invention of letters, as that some pretend they were invented in Syria by the Assyrians, and others in Egypt by Mercury; that they were brought into Italy by the Pelasgi, and into Greece by the Phœnicians, and Cadmus their leader; that Palamedes, during the Trojan war, added four more; he concludes, it is his opinion, that letters were eternal, which is almost the same, as to say they began with the world. Hence it follows, that their opinion is vain, who say the Egyptians were the inventors of letters and arts, as Diodorus Siculus holds lib. i. where he says, that Mercury found them out in Egypt; though, in his fourth book, he writes, that others think the Æthiopians had letters before, and the Egyptians from them. Hence we may further infer, that Moses was not the first inventor of letters, as some Jews and Christians affirm, because he was ancients than any one of those by whom they are said to have been first found; as Cadmus, who lived in the days when Othniel governed Israel, which was forty-seven years after the written law was given to Moses; and therefore the Egyptians learnt the letters of him, and they communicated them to the Phœnicians, whence Cadmus carried them into Greece. True it is, that Attabanius and Eupolemus, heathen authors, say, that Moses was by the Egyptians called Mercury, and the same that taught them letters. Thus, we see, the invention of letters was ancients than Philo the Jew believes it, who says, that Abraham first found them; for, as has been said, they were in being even in the days of Adam and his children, and afterwards preserved by Noah, who was a man of learning and letters, and it is to be believed that he saved them with him in the ark; though, after the confusion of tongues at the tower of Babel, most nations might lose the letters, and the knowledge of them might only remain in the family of Heber, from whom the Hebrews afterwards descended, who lost not their first language, as St. Augustin, Eusebius, and most learned men of our time affirm. Philo, and the rest, who thought that Moses had been the inventor of letters, were the more easily deceived, because it is manifest, that the books and history writ by Moses are the

ancientest in the world, or than the wisdom of the Egyptians, or the philosophy of the Greeks, as is made out by St. Augustin and Josephus writing against Appion the grammarian, as also by Eusebius and Justin Martyr: And that there were letters before Moses is visible, because we find it written, that he learnt in Egypt unto Pharoah the arts and wisdom of the Egyptians; nor do I know how this could be, unless they had letters before, though, it is true, we know they had some characters called hieroglyphicks, by which they taught most of their sciences. Howsoever it was, the invention of letters is certainly divine, as being those that preserve and secure all other invention, for without them none can subsist; and they are of such worth, that they make men immortal, rendering those things present which happened a thousand years ago; and joining those which are distant, communicating them, as if they were not asunder. By them are known and learnt all sorts of sciences, teaching those in being all that past ages knew, and preserving for posterity all that those now living found out. In short, the benefit of them is almost infinite and inexpressible, and therefore their invention may deservedly be called rather divine than human. What order was observed in the characters of ancient times, methinks is not to be sought after, as depending on the will and pleasure of the inventor; as we daily see is done by those who frame cyphers or characters, and other sorts of common letters, who observe no order. It is true they were, in process of time, for the more distinction, put into that order we now see them: And, because many afterwards successively added other letters, or made new characters, therefore many were thought the inventors of them; of whom we shall speak to purpose hereafter, when we come to discourse of the pictures in the Vatican library, among which are those, of all such as were famous in the world for the invention of letters, or for adding any to them.

Of the Paper of the Ancients, of the Papyrus of the Romans, of the several sorts of it, and of the Paper of our Times.

DISCOURSE II.

HAVING hitherto discoursed of the letters, it will now be convenient to say something of paper, as the matter on which they are made; and, to speak the truth, it is no small difficulty to decide what they writ on in former ages, because we have no account in history what they did write on before the flood, but what we said before, that Adam's grandchildren, the sons of Seth, writ an account of arts on those two pillars abovementioned. After the flood, all authors agree that men had no paper, but writ on the leaves of palm trees, whence, to this

day, those of books are called leaves. Next they writ on the fine bark of trees, and particularly on that sort which slips off easiest; such as the elder, the plane, the ash, and the elm; and these were the inward films, which grow between the bark and the wood, which, being curiously taken off, were joined together, and books made of them; and, because this film in Latin is called *liber*, thence the same name was given to a book, though now they are not made of that substance. The wit of man, which still improved, after this found out a way of writing on the thinnest sheets of lead, of which private people made books and pillars. Next, the ancients found the way of writing on linnen-cloths slicked and waxed, on which they writ, not with a pen, but with a small cane or reed, as some write to this day. And, as Pliny tells us, we find in Homer, that these waxed cloths were used before the time of the Trojans; and Mutianus, who, as he writes himself, was thrice consul, that, when he was president in Lycia, he read there, in a temple, a letter writ on one of these cloths by Sarpedon, king of Lycia, then at Troy, where he assisted Priam in his war against the Greeks, and was at last killed by Patroclus. In process of time, the method was found out of writing on parchment made of sheep-skins, mentioned by Herodotus, lib. vii. the invention whereof Varro assigns to the people of Pergamus, a city in Asia, on the banks of the river Caicus, whereof Eumenes was king, and from that city it was called *Pergamenum*, which we have corrupted to parchment. Pliny says, this Eumenes first sent it to Rome; but Elianus says it was Attalus, king of the same country, who first sent it. Josephus, the Jew, makes the writing on parchment ancients, and says, the books of the Jews, so much ancients than Eumenes, and the rest of that sort, were writ upon skins; and relates, that when Eleazer, the high priest, sent the books of the holy scripture to Ptolemy by the Septuagint, to be translated out of Hebrew into Greek, king Ptolemy Philadelphus was much amazed at the fineness of those skins or parchment; so that writing on them was easier and more lasting than the ancients use of barks and leaves of trees; and it is to be believed, this invention was not yet in Egypt, since Ptolemy wondered at it. After this, there was found a sort of paper made of a rush, or plant, called *Papyrus*, growing in the marshes, about the river Nile, though Pliny says there are some of them in Syria, near the river Euphrates. These rushes bear small leaves betwixt the outward rind and the pith, which, being neatly opened with the point of a needle, and then prepared with fine flour and other ingredients, served to write on and made paper, the innermost part making the finest, and, according to the several sorts, it had several names, and was put to sundry uses; being from this rush called *Papyrus*, which name has continued to our days, and is given to our paper, though made of rags, because this serves for the same uses as that did. I saw one of these rushes at Rome, which was shewed me by that worthy gentleman Castor Durante, of happy memory, my master in the college, who told me it came from Egypt; and he had it from Padua, sent him by Signior Cortuso, a man excellently learned in simples, of whom he had got other more strange and rare

things, as I have several times seen myself, and particularly a sheet of this papyrus, or paper, made of that rush.

The first invention of making paper of this rush, Varro affirms, was in the days of Alexander the Great, when Alexandria was founded; but Pliny proves it was ancients, by the books which Gn. Tarentinus found in his vineyard in a marble chest on the hill Janiculus, in which were also the bones of Numa Pompilius. These books were of the papyrus, and it is certain that Numa Pompilius was long before Alexander. The Romans had several sorts of this paper; one of them was called hieratica, as Pliny writes, and only dedicated to religious books, which afterwards, through flattery, took Augustus's name, and was called Augustana, as the second sort from his wife Livia was called Liviana, as among us there is now imperial and royal paper. There was another sort called Amphitheatrica, from the place where it was made, being about the amphitheatre; and the first that began to make this paper in Rome was one Fannius, who brought it to such fineness, that, whereas before it was for common use, it became equal with the best and took his name, being called Fanniana, whereas that, which was not so curiously prepared, kept its old name of Amphitheatrica; and these were the best sorts of paper in those days. Afterwards came the Saitica, so named from a city where it was made, where there was great abundance of the papyrus, and this was made of the worst part of it. There was still another sort made of the outward part next the rhind, and called Teniotica, from the place where it was made, which was sold rather by weight than by choice. Lastly, there was the Emporetica, answerable to our brown or wrapping-paper, unfit for writing, and only used to make covers for the other paper, and to wrap up goods, therefore called shop-paper. All these sorts of paper were different from one another, for the best was thirteen inches broad, the hieratica two inches less, the fanniana of ten, and the amphitheatrica two narrower; the saitica still less, and the coarse emporetica not above six. Besides, Augustus's paper was in great esteem for its whiteness, as well as its smoothness, but was so thin, it would scarce bear the pen; besides that, it sunk, and the letters appeared through it; and therefore, in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, it lost the first place, and another sort was made, from him called Claudia, which was preferred before all the others, and the Augusta was reserved for writing of imperial letters. The Livian paper kept its rank, having nothing of the first, but, in all respects, like the second. This sort of paper, made of papyrus, the Romans used a long time, on which many books were writ; and, as Pliny informs us, there were, in his times, abundance of volumes of Caius, and Tiberius Gracchus, of Cicero, of Augustus, and of Virgil.

That this paper was good and lasting, appears by what was said above of Numa's books, found in the consulship of P. Cornelius, L. F. Cethegus, M. Balbius, and Q. F. Pamphilus; and, from the reign of Numa till their time, we find there passed five-hundred and thirty-five years, it being wonderful they should last so long without rotting, especially having been all that while buried under ground. Authors dif-

fer very much about the number of these books, for some, as Livy, say, they were two, and found by Lucius Petilius; of which opinion are Lactantius and Plutarch, in the Life of Numa. Others say they were fourteen, seven of the pontifical laws, and the other seven of the precepts of Pythagorean philosophy; others say they were twelve, as Varro in his book of Antiquities. Tuditanus, lib. ii. writes, they were thirteen of Numa's decretals, yet Antia affirms, there were two Latin, one of the pontifical rites, and as many Greek of Pythagorean philosophy, and were therefore burnt by Q. Petilius the pretor. Certain it is, that the invention of paper, made of the rush papyrus, continued long among the Romans, and very many books were writ on it by several authors, as has been said above.

In the last place was found out the paper of our days, a most noble invention, which has afforded the opportunity of writing and publishing a vast quantity of books. It is made of linnen rags beaten to atoms; and it is wonderful that so mean a thing should perpetuate and immortalise the memorable actions of men. It is made in all parts of the world, and of several sorts great and small, and so white and curious, that nothing can exceed it. On this, as the most perfect, are printed so many volumes as are daily seen, laying aside the papyrus, the parchment, and all others, which gave occasion to the finding out of this in our forefathers days.

THE

CHARACTER

OF A

CERTAIN GREAT DUCHESS DECEASED,

By a certain great Poet lately deceased. MS.

BUT what are these to great Atossa's mind?
 Scarce once herself, by turns all womankind.
 Who with herself, or others, from her birth,
 Finds all her life one warfare upon earth:
 Shines in exposing knaves, or painting fools,
 Yet is what'er she hates or ridicules:

No thought advances, but her eddy brain
 Whisks it about, and down it goes again.
 Full sixty years, the world has been her trade,
 The wisest fool that time has ever made.
 From loveless youth, to unrespected age,
 No passion gratify'd, except her rage:
 So much the fury still out-ran the wit,
 The pleasure miss'd her, and the scandal hit.
 Who breaks with her, provokes revenge from hell;
 But he's a bolder man, who dares be well:
 Her ev'ry turn, with violence pursu'd,
 Nor more a storm her hate, than gratitude.
 To that each passion turns, or soon or late,
 Love, if it makes her yield, must make her hate;
 Superiors, death;—if equals, what a curse?
 But an inferior, not dependent, worse.
 Offend her, and she knows not to forgive;
 Oblige her, and she'll hate you while you live.
 But die, and she'll adore you,—then the lust,
 And temple too,—then fall again to dust.
 Last night her lord was all that's good and great,
 A knave this morning, and his will a cheat.
 Strange! by the means, defeated of the ends,
 By spirit robb'd of power, by warmth of friends:
 By wealth of followers; without one distress,
 Sick of herself, thro' very selfishness:
 Atossa curs'd with every granted prayer,
 Childless with all her children, wants an heir;
 To heirs unknown, descends th' unguarded store,
 Or wanders, heaven-directed, to the poor.

*the following should have been prefixed to the Declaration of Francis
 Throckmorton's Treasons, in Vol. i. p. 522, and is here preserved.*

THE TRUE COPY OF A LETTER,

SENT FROM

The most Reverend William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, to the University of Oxford, when he resigned his Office of Chancellor.

Published, by occasion of a base Libel and Forgery, that runs under this Title. And also the Answer of the University to the said Letter.

Oxford, printed by Leonard Lichfield, Printer to the University, Anno Dom 1641. Quarto, containing twelve Pages.

To my very loving Friends, the Vice-Chancellor, the Doctors, the Proctors, and the rest of the Convocation of the University of Oxford.

AFTER my hearty commendations, &c. these are to remember my love to that whole body: that love, than which never any chancellor bore greater, or with more ferventness and zeal to the publick good and happiness of that place. And I do heartily pray all, and every of you to believe me, for most true it is, that the unfortunateness of my affliction doth not trouble me for any one thing more, than that I can be no farther useful or beneficial to that place, which I so much love and honour.

I was once resolved not to resign my place of chancellor, till I saw the issue of my troubles one way or other. And this resolution I took, partly because I had no reason to desert myself, and occasion the world to think me guilty: and partly, because I have found so much love from the university, that I could not make myself willing to leave it, till some greater cause should take me off from that which I so resolved on.

That cause, if I be not much mistaken, doth now present itself: for I see the university hath great need of friends, great and daily need. I see my trial not hastened; so that I am neither able to assist your great occasions myself, nor procure friends for them; I see that, if you had another chancellor, you could not want the help which now you do. And I cannot but know that, were your love never so great to me, it must needs cool, when you see me able to give no assistance, and yet fill the place which should afford it to you. And I should hardly satisfy myself, that I love you so well as I do, if I did not further your good and happiness by all the means I can, and even by this my resignation.

The serious consideration of these things, and the foresight which I have, that I shall never be able to serve you as I have done, have prevailed with me at this time, to send the resignation of the chancellorship, to your body met in convocation. And I do hereby pray you, that it may be publickly read and accepted, the time being now most fit, that so your honourable succeeding chancellor may presently appoint an able deputy for the government according to his own judgment.

And now I do earnestly desire of you all, either to remember, or to know, that I never sought, or thought of the honour of this place to myself; and yet, that, since it was by the great favour and love of that university laid upon me, I have discharged it, by God's grace and goodness to me, with great pains and care, and, God's blessing, I humbly thank him, hath not been wanting. And I profess singly, and from my heart, if there be any good which I ought to have done to that place, and have not done it, it proceeded from want of understanding or ability, not will or affection. And though I do, for the causes aforesaid, resign this place, yet I shall serve it still with my prayers, so long as God continues my life.

And as I doubt not, but God will bless you with an honourable chancellor, and one able to do more for that place, than I have been; so I pray God, to give you a peaceable and quiet election, and to direct it to the good of this his church, and the honour and happiness of that famous university: that you may have no miss in the least of me, who, after your prayers heartily desired, now writes himself the last time,

*From the Tower, June
25, 1641.*

Your very loving poor Friend

and Chancellor,

W. CANT.

*Amplissimo et Reverendissimo Domino Gulielmo Archi-Præsuli
Cantuariensi.*

*Reverendissime Archi-Præsul—Hoc enim solum Tibi (sic voluisti) Nomen
relictum est—*

Novissimæ literæ tuæ, amoris, sed & doloris, plenæ, fecerunt ut dehinc nos planè ære dirutos diruptosque profiteri debeamus. Cum effusissimo amoris tuo, verbis (quod unicum nobis suppetit peculium) ut paria faceremus, nunquam sperandum fuit; nedum dolori nostro verba nos reperturos paria; ne si passis quidem eloquentiæ velis vehi, & totâ doloris prærogativâ frui liceret. Hodie verò, ut sunt tempora, ad justissimum dolorem nostrum non levis hic accessit cumulus, quòd eum in sinu premere & quasi strangulare necesse habeamus; quibus ne illud quidem tutò queri licet, in ea nos tempora incidisse, in quibus singulari

tuae prudentiae & erga nos amori consultissimum visum sit, nostraque quam maximè interesse, ut Res ac Fortunas nostras à tuis segregas habeamus & sejunctas. Quanquam verò supremo Numini sic visum est, ut illud nobis beneficii loco imputandum haberes, quòd maximum beneficiorum tuorum, Teipsum, à nobis segregares, & Cancellarii munus abdicares; affectus tamen tuus erga Academiam nostram propensissimus, tum literis tuis novissimis, tum aliis frequentibus argumentis abundè testatus, dubitare nos non sinit, quin, deposito invidioso Cancellarii titulo, amantissimi Patroni affectum adhuc in sinu tuo retineas. Quamdiu Manuscripta * illa *manuscripta* tua, Orientis spolia, & verè *invaluable* Bibliothecam nostram illustrabunt; quamdiu Lectura Arabica, à Te † dotata, frequentabitur; quamdiu Antiquitatis vindices simul & testes antiqua ‡ Numismata visentur; quamdiu castigatio disciplina, mores emendati, morumque Canon Statuta vigeant; quamdiu pro studio partium bonarum Artium studia coleantur; quamdiu literis honores, honori literæ erunt, Cancellarium adhuc esse Te, sentiet præsens Ætas; fuisse, postera agnoscet. Dehinc, immortalitatis securus, gloriæque tuæ superstes, diu hîc posteritati tuæ intus; ac denum, ubi mortalitatis numeros omnes impleveris, plenus annis abeas, plenus honoribus, illis etiam quos abdicasti. Ita vovet

Dat. è Domo Convocat.

6. Julii 1641.

*Amplitudini Tuae omni cultûs ac ob-
servantiæ nexu devinctissima,*

ACADEMIA OXON.

* MSS. Cod. plus quàm MCCC. De quibus plus quàm CCCXXX Linguis Oriental. scripti, & poulò minus C. Ling. Gr. † Salarium Professoris Ling. Arab. XL. lb. Annue. ‡ Hebr. Græc. Roman. Famil. & Imper. Britannic.

BN:

FINIS.

AN

ALPHABETICAL INDEX,

TO

THE TWELFTH VOLUME.

	Page.		Page
BOT, archbishop, resisted illegal taxes	66	Bonham, sir John, a worthy of London . .	180
rian, emperor, his mausoleum	95	Bontius, his account of thee or tea . . .	23
ies, tobacco recommended against them	31	Bourbon, cardinal de, on being confessor to	
ance, king James I.'s error in his ambi-		Edward IV.	16
tious views of	56	Boyle, his opinion of tea	24
se-houses proposed to be endowed for		—, Mr. eat the kernels of cacaw . . .	25
batchelors	201	— recommends tobacco clysters in	
inus, Prosper, on the coffee tree . . .	21	cholicks	31
lens, the number of English there . .	15	— on oil of turpentine	35
phitheatrica, a species of paper so		Brabourn, Theophilus, on the Jewish sab-	
named	277	bath	68
phitheatrum Vespasianum, its great ex-		Bridget, queen of Sweden, some account	
tent	113	of her	102
ona in Italy, a description of it . . .	81	Britany, duke of, is befriended by Edward	
iquity of Letters discussed and stated	274	IV.	16
onians columns, an account of it . .	106	Brunswick mum, how made	34
ia, a way so called without Rome . .	103	Buanoretto, Michael Angelo, a famous	
inians, the sentiments of a jesuit of		painting of	96
them	62	Burgundy, duke of, his alliance with Eng-	
lery-house of Venice, a description of		land	9
it	73	—, upbraids Edward IV.	14
rians, whether the inventors of letters	274	—, makes peace with	
unius, St. brief notes on the Creed		Lewis XI.	12
of	130	Burton, his avowed hatred to government	67
venant. See Davenant.			
astans, a species of paper so called .	274		

C.	
CACAW, or cocoa-nut, a description of it	25
—, the kernels of it eaten by Mr.	
Boyle	25
Cadmus, the leader of the Phœnicians . .	274
Cæsar, C. Julius, his message to Cassiba-	
line	159
Cabwa, or coffee, on drinking it to excess	22
Calixtus and the martyrs, some account of	103
Calves-Head club, the secret history of .	216
Calvin's doctrine opposed by archbishop	
Laud	67
Campodoglio, or Roman council-house .	112

B.	
CK of trees, its use for writing on . .	276
wick, on his malice to government . .	67
bolors, on the propriety of taxing	
them	200
—, on building almshouses for	
borgne, a nickname for the king of	201
England	13
pas, a description of it	24

INDEX.

	Page.		Page.
Caparola, a palace of cardinal Farnesio . . .	93	Courtship and marriage of a doctor of divinity . . .	205
Capuchins, the monastery so called . . .	76	Creed of St. Athanasius, notes upon it . . .	130
Carleton, lord, insulted at the French court . . .	57	Cremona, a description of the city . . .	128
Carolina tree, its similarity to thee . . .	25	Croker, sir Christopher, a London worthy . . .	184
Cassibeline, receives a message from C. J. Caesar . . .	159	Cromwell's army, sir Philip Warwick upon it . . .	71
's answer to Caesar's message . . .	160	, Oliver, a description of him . . .	72
Cassius, the palace of, some account of it . . .	89	Crosse, is sent to attack the jesuits college . . .	61
Castle of Otranto, some account of it . . .	119	Curtius, Marcus, his leaping into the gulf . . .	112
Caswin, sultan Mahomet, a great drinker of coffee . . .	22		
Cataracts, on smoking tobacco for them . . .	31		
Cavallo Monte at Rome, an account of it . . .	115		
Cerio, Zacharias, betrays Sammatius . . .	78		
Ceremonies in the church, an increase of them . . .	68		
Character of a late great duchess . . .	278		
Charles I. a view of his reign . . .	50		
his ill-fated marriage . . .	56		
treats the Hugonots as enemies . . .	58		
Charthause, a famous monastery of Pavia . . .	127		
Chest of silver, how it assuages tempests . . .	125		
Chinese mode of gathering and using thee . . .	25		
Chiozza, a town of Venice, an account of it . . .	88		
Chocolate, the natural history of it . . .	25		
, Cortez is treated with by Montezuma . . .	26		
, how the Indians made it . . .	ib.		
, drank by the Spaniards in churches . . .	ib.		
, the mode of mixing it . . .	27		
, Mr. Gage's account of drinking it . . .	28		
, Dr. Grew's artificial described . . .	29		
Cholicks, whether tobacco clysters good for . . .	31		
Church ceremonies, their increase . . .	68		
of Holy Cross at Rome . . .	105		
Peter in Vinculo at Rome . . .	107		
Churches, the Spaniards drink chocolate in them . . .	26		
Civil war, causes of it stated . . .	52		
Clarendon, the earl of, on causes of civil war . . .	ib.		
, on the French intrigues . . .	58		
Claudia, a species of paper so called . . .	277		
Cleret, Mr. pays French pensioners in England . . .	19		
Clerkenwell, a college of jesuits there . . .	61		
Clysters of tobacco in cholicks recommended . . .	31		
Cocles, Horatio, his exploit at Pons Supplicum . . .	101		
Cocoa-nut, or cacaw, a description of it . . .	25		
tree, on the place of its growth . . .	26		
Coffee, the natural history of it . . .	20		
, on drinking it to excess . . .	22		
, an account of its virtues . . .	ib.		
Columna Antoniniana, account of . . .	108		
Trajanas, ditto . . .	ib.		
Cemines, his account of a treaty with France . . .	9		
Compeigne, on Lewis XI. being there . . .	10		
Conscience, cases of, and queries upon them . . .	260		
Constantine, built the Thermæ Antoninæ . . .	103		
Contay, M. de, procures peace with duke of Burgundy . . .	18		
Convocation, how continued without a parliament . . .	67		
Cortez treated with chocolate by Montezuma . . .	26		
Cosmus, his pillar for the victory of Siena . . .	89		
, on the cup he presented to pope Gregory . . .	97		
Country clergyman's letter to his brother . . .	262		
Courage, a qualification for a parliamentman . . .	244		
		D.	
		D'AVENANT, on the Balance of Power . . .	55
		Descent from France considered . . .	38
		Dialogue on Matrimony, or, the Lovellers . . .	193
		Digby, lord, the impolicy of his advice . . .	52
		Dioclesiani thermæ, at Rome . . .	114
		Discoverie of Treasons, account of Throckmorton's . . .	280
		Discoveries, pillars anciently recorded them . . .	274
		Doctor of divinity, his strange courtship . . .	205
		D'Orleans. See Orleans.	
		Drake, sir Francis, brought tobacco seed to England . . .	29
		Dropsies, Dr. Needham on elder-berries in them . . .	33
		Duchess, the character of a late great one . . .	278
		Dutch protestants encouraged in England . . .	59
		E.	
		EDUCATION, the faults of it exemplified . . .	198
		Edward IV. makes a truce with France . . .	11
		his interview with Lewis XI. . .	15
		befriends the duke of Burgundy . . .	16
		, cardinal de Bourbon proposed as his confessor . . .	ib.
		Egyptians, whether they invented letters . . .	274
		, whence they practised hieroglyphicks . . .	ib.
		Elder-berries, on the uses of them . . .	32
		, Dr. Needham recommends for dropsies . . .	33
		Electors of parliament-men, reasons offered to . . .	230
		Elisabeth, queen, encouraged Walloons, &c. . .	59
		, curtailed the bishoprick of Ely . . .	69
		Ely, the bishop of, is chancellor of England . . .	16
		, how its bishoprick was curtailed . . .	69
		Emporetica, a species of paper so called . . .	277
		English, their relative temperance virtues . . .	38
		L'Estrange. See Lestrangle.	
		Exportation of raw materials, on prohibiting . . .	252
		F.	
		FANNIANA, a kind of paper so named . . .	277
		Fano in Italy, a custom there stated . . .	81
		Fardausi, Hakim, the eastern poet laureat . . .	292
		Farnesii Palatium . . .	111
		Farnesio, cardinal, his palace . . .	98
		Palatio . . .	110
		Ferrara, a description of it . . .	83
		Ferte, mons. de, French ambassador's intrigues . . .	28
		Fir-tops, on their use in scurvy . . .	35.

INDEX.

	Page.
Fisher, on Laud's book against him . . .	64
Fishing-trade how to improve it . . .	252
Fleet, the French, many of them destroyed	42
Florence, a description of . . .	87
France, Comines' account of a treaty with	9
Edward IV. makes a truce with . . .	11
duke of Burgundy blames the truce	14
with . . .	14
and Navarre, the king's declaration	238
against English rebels . . .	9
French their old way of managing treaties	19
king, sir Thomas Montgomery's em-	42
bassy to . . .	45
fleet, many of them destroyed . . .	57
ships burnt at Le Hogue . . .	46
court, their insult to lord Carleton	58
match, Dr. Kennet's sermon upon	59
it . . .	59
intrigues stated by the earl of Cla-	
rendon . . .	
protestants are encouraged in Eng-	
land . . .	

G.

GABRIEL Castle, the key of Naples . . .	116
Gaetano, L. Casare, attempt to escape from	94
prison . . .	23
Gage, Mr. his account of drinking chocolate	255
flamsters, the State ones, or old Cards	124
new packed . . .	213
Genoa, the city of, briefly described . . .	57
Gentleman, a young one, equipment for	250
courtship . . .	80
George, Madam St. foment's disturbances	54
Goffe, William, on advancing the trade of	22
the nation . . .	974
Gondolas of Venice, their number . . .	98
Goring, colonel, governor of Portsmouth,	97
his fidelity . . .	26
Gout, on the use of coffee in it . . .	29
Greece, letters brought thither by the Peni-	66
cians . . .	
Gregoriana, the chapel of . . .	
Gregory, pope, on a cup presented to him	
Grew, Dr. his description of the cocoa-nut	
on artificial chocolate . . .	
Grievances, those of Charles I.'s reign	
stated . . .	

H.

HARTMAN recommends tobacco against	31
agues . . .	20
Hastings, lord, his conduct to Mr. Cleret	44
captain of the Sandwich, killed	187
Haukwood, sir John, one of the London	203
worthies . . .	120
Hedger, an ingenious manœuvre of one . . .	57
Helmo. St. castle at Naples . . .	277
Henrietta, queen, bishop of Mende is al-	274
moner to . . .	67
Hieratica, a species of paper so called . . .	69
Hieroglyphicks, whence the Egyptians prac-	
tised them . . .	
High-commission court, its original design	
History of the parliament, by May . . .	
Histrio-mastix, against stage-plays, by	
Frynne . . .	
Frynne is prosecuted for it . . .	
Le Hogue, the French ships burnt there . . .	
Holy Cross Church at Rome . . .	
Hotham, sir John, his strong position in	
Hull . . .	

Hughes, Mr. his account of the cocoa-	26
nut . . .	58, 59
Hugonots, are treated as enemies to Charles	
I. . .	53
Hull, on sir John Hotham's strong position	
there . . .	71
Hypocrisy, a principal cause of king	
Charles's murder . . .	

I. J.

JAMES I. the error of his ambitious views	56
of alliance . . .	68
his toleration of Sunday sports . . .	39
II. on the impolicy of supporting	
him . . .	23
Japan, on the dearness of tea there . . .	26
account of the tea or tea of it . . .	24
on the use of tea there and in	
China . . .	25
Japonians, on their manner of using tea or	
tea . . .	24
Jesuit, Alexander de Rhodes, his use of	
these . . .	60
Jesuits, on their resort to England . . .	61
a college of in Clerkenwell . . .	62
Crosse sent to attack their college	
their sentiments of Arminians . . .	61, 64
their designs from Rushworth's col-	
lections . . .	68
Jewish sabbath, Theophilus Brabourn upon	
it . . .	45
Immorality, a cause of king Charles's mur-	
der . . .	31
Indian priests, on their burning tobacco . . .	26
Indians, how they made chocolate . . .	209
Indifference about marriage in a Suffolk	
minister . . .	228
Innocence and peace, a good expedient for	
integrity, a qualification for a parliament-	
man . . .	15
Interview of Edward IV. and Lewis XI. . .	33
Intrigues, political ones of Mary de Medicis	
of the French by the earl of Cla-	
rendon . . .	46
ambassador mons.	
de Ferte . . .	169
Invasion, the Roman one, Cassibeline's an-	
swer upon it . . .	164
Johnson, Richard, on the nine worthies of	
London . . .	63
Ireland, the earl of Strafford is lord lieuten-	
ant of . . .	21
Ispahan, Tavernier's account of a coffee-	
house there . . .	80
Italy, an account of the Nunciata there . . .	124
Laris, a sea-port there . . .	46
Porto Venero ditto . . .	32
Juniper-berries, on the use of them . . .	46
their efficacy against the	
stone . . .	115
Justice, how a country one reformed a	
street-walker . . .	69
Juxen, bishop of London, lord treasurer . . .	

K.

KENNET, Dr. his sermon on the 31st of	50
January . . .	57
French . . .	26
match . . .	27
Kernels of the cacaw, eaten by Mr. Boyle,	
&c. . .	
account of by Fiso . . .	

INDEX.

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INDEX.

OATHS , on laying aside publick ones . . .	Page 238
—, the mischiefs of imposing publick ones . . .	233
Olearius, on the coffee-houses of Persia . .	81
D'orleans on the revolutions of England 62, 71	
Ovo castle at Naples, an account of it . .	119
Oxford University, archbishop Laud's letter to it	238

P.

PADUA , a description of the city	129
Palace of Peter Strossi	89
— Casina	46
— cardinal Farnesio at Caprarola	93
— and garden of Lord George Ursini	107
— Tivoli near Rome	115
Palaces, an account of those in Naples . .	119
Palatio Farnesio	110
Palatium Farnesii	111
Palermo, a concise description of	121
Paper, account of various sorts among the Romans	277
—, the modern manufacture of it	278
— general	278
Papists, why laws against them are suspended	60
Papyrus, how and when used for writing on	276
Parchment, its introduction for writing on .	46
Parlement of byrdes	139
Parliament-man, the character of an honest one	47
—, how a convocation without one of England, May's history of	69
— annual, reasons assigned for it	239
—, qualifications of a good member of	46
— man, reasons offered to electors of	46
—, qualifications for one	244, 245
—, petitions to be presented in next session of	247
Parliaments, were frequent in ancient times	240
Parson's wife, on carrying spinning-wheel to bed	211
Pavia, the city of briefly described . . .	126
—, the famous monastery of Charthause there	127
Paul, count de St. the tricking constable of France	9
— his double dealing	14
Pauli, Simon, on thee	23
—, his opinion of sugar	47
—, his book against tobacco	31
Peace of duke of Burgundy with Lewis XI. accomplished by M. de Contay	46
—, Innocence and, a good expedient for	282
Pelagii, said to have brought letters into Italy	274
Pensioners of France in England, paymaster of	19
Pergamenum, how corrupted into parchment	276
Persia, on the coffee-houses there	81
Petitions, to be presented in next session of parliament	247
Phenicians, said to bring letters into Greece .	274
—, conducted by Cadmus	46

Plato , Pontius, his palace	Page 100
Pillars, anciently erected for records . . .	274
Piss, a short description of it	122
Piso's account of the cocoa kernels	27
Pitchard, or Pritchard, sir Henry, account of him	173
Planets, the temples of, at Rome	113
Plays, Frynne's Histrio-mastix against them	57
Pliny's observations on the invention of letters	274
— of	277
— paper	277
Poet-laureat, Hakim Fardeusi, the eastern one	22
Politics, on an act for enforcing marriage .	193
Poor, on the means of employing them . .	250
Port of Laris in Italy described	194
— Venere ditto	46
Ports, fishing ones, on erecting workhouses at	253
Portsmouth, fidelity of colonel Goring, governor of	54
Power, D'Avenant on the balance of	86
Pozzuolo, a description of it	117
Prating-alley, books to be sold by auction there	257
Pratolino, a description of it	86
Priest, account of Sibthorp, a time-serving one	65
— Dr. Manwaring, ditto	66
Prophaneness, a cause of king Charles's murder	69
Proposal of endowing alma-houses for bachelors	291
Protestants, French, &c. encouraged by queen Elisabeth	50
Frynne's Histrio-mastix against stage plays .	57
—, Bastwick, &c. their malice to government	67
— persecution for his Histrio-mastix . . .	68

Q.

QUAKER , his letter to his friend in London	49
Qualifications of a good member of parliament	239
Qualities, Dr. Willis on those of coffee . .	21
Queen Henrietta, bishop of Mende almoner to	57
— Elisabeth impoverished the bishoprick of Ely	69

R.

RAWLEIGH , sir Walter, on bringing in tobacco	29
Ray, Mr. on fir-tops in the scurvy	35
Reasons for annual parliaments	240
— offered to electors of parliament-men	46
Reign, a view of Charles I.'s	50
Remarks, general ones on liquors	37
Republican unmasked, or Calves-Head Club	216
Rheumatism, on coffee being good for it . .	22
Rhodes, Alexander, a jesuit, his use of thee	24
Rialto of Venice, a place of resort	79
Roman invasion, Cassibeline's answer on it	160
Romans, on the kinds of paper amongst them	277
Rome, the Appian way without it	103
—, on the churches, &c. there	105
—, on palaces and gardens, &c. in it . . .	107

INDEX.

	Page		Page
Rome, on the temples of the planets, &c. there	113	T.	
—, on palaces and gardens, &c. near it	115	TARTARS, on their use of thee	25
Rushworth's Collections, on designs of jesuits	61, 64	Tartary, thee first known there	23
Russel, admiral, his letter to the earl of Nottingham	42	Tavernier, on the coffe-houses of Isaphan	21
		Taxes, illegal ones resisted by archbishop	66
		Robot	200
		Taxing betchellers, observations upon	200
		— widowers, when to commence	23
		Tchia of Japan, or tea	23
		Tea or thee, the natural history of	24
		—, the use of it in China and Japan	24
		—, the Chinese mode of gathering it	25
		Temperance, relative, a cardinal virtue of English	38
		Tempesta, how a chest of silver assuages	126
		Temples of the planets at Rome	113
		Teniotica, a species of paper so called	277
		Theatres, essay upon them	146
		Thee or tea, the natural history of	23
		—, the virtues of it by Kircher	24
		—, use of by Japonians and Tartars	25
		Thermæ Antoninæ, built by Constantine	108
		—, Dioclesiani	116
		Thevenot, on the virtues of dried sage	23
		Tivoli, a palace and garden near Rome	115
		Tobacco, the natural history of it	29
		—, the oil of, one of the strongest poisons	30
		—, burned by the Indian priests	31
		Toland's life of Milton referred to	218
		Tourville, the French admiral, his conduct	43
		Trade of the nation, how to advance it	250
		Trajana columna	108
		Treasons, a discoverie of	280
		Treaties, the old French way of managing them	9
		Trial, Dr. Nelson's preface to that of Charles I.	218
		Trigautius, his opinion of thee	23
		Troutbeck, Dr. on the virtues of juniper	32
		Truce of Edward IV. with the king of France	11
		—, a shameful one	14
		—, lord Narbonne's speech upon it	17
		Tulpius on the use of tea in China and Japan	24
		Turpentine, the oil of, Mr. Boyle's observations on it	35
		V. U.	
		VALUE of dried sage in China	23
		Vairo, his account of the invention of paper	277
		Venere, Porto, a sea-port of Italy	124
		Venetian, thoughts of on the English religion	70
		Venice, a description of it	73
		—, the duke of, marries the sea	74
		—, monasteries, &c. there	76
		—, the gondolas of, account of their numbers	80
		Veronica, St. the holy sweating-cloth of	98
		Vespasiana amphitheatrum, extent of	113
		Victory of Siena, Cosmus' pillar for	89
		View of Charles I.'s reign	50
		Views, ambitious ones of James I. in marriage	56
		Vinculo, Peter in, church in Rome so called	107

S.

SAGE, dried, on its value in China	23
—, mons. Thevenot upon it	26
Saitica, a species of paper so called	277
Sammatus Scario, a Candiote, his history	77
— is betrayed by Zacharias Cerio	78
Sandwich, captain Hastings killed in the ship	44
Savona, the city of briefly described	126
Schroder, on the virtues of roffee	22
— thee	24
— juniper-berries curing the stone	32
Scudamore, lord, his conduct in France	59
Scurvy, Mr. Ray on fir-tops for it	35
Sea, on the duke of Venice being married to it	74
Seauenoake, sir William, a worthy of London	176
Sense, a qualification for a parliament-man	244
Sentiments of jesuits about Arminians	62
Sepulchro, Santo, a monastery of Venice	76
Shavings of fir in wines, observations upon	36
Sibthorp, a time-serving priest, account of	65
Siens, the victory of, Cosmus' pillar for	89
—, High, account of the city of	91
Small-pox, Dr. Pitcairn on curing it	226
Smithfield bargains, a description of them	196
Smoking tobacco, whether good for catarrhs, &c.	31
Soldiers, tobacco recommended to them	26
Spaniards drink chocolate in churches	26
Speech of the lord of Narbonne on the truce	17
Spinning-wheel, on parson's wife carrying it to bed	211
Spirito, Sant, an hospital so named	99
Sports of Sunday, tolerated by king James I.	68
— revived by king Charles I.	26
Stage-plays, Prynne's Histrio-mastix against them	57
Star-chamber court, its progress to exorbitancy	68
Stone, juniper-berries good against it	32
Strasford, earl of, lord lieutenant of Ireland	63
Street-walker, how a country justice reformed one	215
Strozzi, Peter, his palace	89
Stubbe, Dr. eats the kernels of cacaw	20
Suffolk minister, his indifference about marriage	209
Sugar, Simon Pauli's opinion of it	27
—, Dr. Willis's ditto	26
Sunday sports, their toleration by king James	68
— no Sabbath, a book so called	70
Supplicium, Pons, a curious exploit there	101
Sweating-cloth, the holy one of St. Veronica	98
Sweden, some account of queen Bridget of	102
Switzers, the pope's guard of	95

INDEX.

	Page		Page
in Britannicum, on drying in the	25	Webbe, sir William, lord mayor, address	164
ade	25	to him	211
temperance, how a cardinal one of	38	Wedding, account of a curious one	51
e English	38	Wellwood, Dr. his memoirs	64
s of thee, by Kircher	32	— remarks on archbishop	257
— juniper, by Troutbeck	36	Laud	179
— mum, by Dr. Willis	92	Whigs coffee-house, sale of books there	220
o, an account of the city of	281	White, sir Thomas, a London worthie	245
rsity of Oxford, archbishop Laud's	107	—, Jerry, a member of Calves-head	21
tter to it	107	Club	27
i, lord George, his palace and garden	107	Widowers, in what manner to be taxed	31
		Williamite not always a true Englishman	36
		Willis, Dr. on the qualities of coffee	46
		—, his opinion of sugar	253
		—, how he recommends tobacco	164
		—, on the virtues of mum	59
		Wines, Dr. Merret on fir-shavings in	275
		Workhouses, on erecting at fishing-ports	276
		Worthies, the nine of London, by Johnson	46
		Wren, bishop, his oppression of foreigners	28
		Writing, leaves of palm-trees used for	
		—, bark of trees used for	
		—, parchment made for	
		—, papyrus used for	

W.

STAFF, Dr. defends Charles I. as an	218
author	262
, Dr. his letter to a clergyman	68
s, a cause of relaxation on Sundays	59
ons, their encouragement in England	169
orth, sir William, a worthy of London	52
civil, on the causes of it	71
ick, sir Philip, on Cromwell's army	9
the old French one of managing trea-	
se	

A GENERAL AND COPIOUS INDEX

TO THE TWELVE VOLUMES OF THE HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

	<i>Vol. Page.</i>
EY of Leicester, cardinal Wolsey arrives there from York	iv. 554
as, the visitation of them, by Henry VIII.	viii. 305
—, which were plundered by William the Conqueror	ix. 463
t, archbishop, his resistance of illegal taxes	xii. 60
deen, the provost of, declaration of persons fitted for trust	x. 234
ration, various cases of it stated	v. 20
lom's Conspiracy, a statement of its nature	viii. 478
—, counteracted by Hushai	— 479
nce, Declaration on Don Sebastian's	ii. 399
—, ditto	— 405
—, an unaccountable one of Wm. Harrison, gent.	viii. 87
se of the name of Eustathius	vi. 60
— on the public in the price of coals	viii. 59
ces and errors in the Laws discovered	vi. 322
lomy for Quacks	viii. 135
—, the Requisites for forming	— 136
dent, a serious one in the exchange	vi. 325
dents, strange ones in the Mogul's kingdom	iii. 421
unmodations, the advantages of an office for	— 158
implices in the plots and conspiracies of the Spaniards	viii. 150
sation of John, lord Finch	iv. 347
sations, the promoters of described	viii. 419
ising, the use of it to the godly	vii. 78
tophel, his true character represented	viii. 479
net, his election to be Emperor of the Turks	v. 183
— dream about Mustapha	— 184
— reception of Mustapha	— 185
— declaration of a successor	— 186
ta, Joseph, natural history of the Indies	iii. 187
a, or space of ground within the walls of London	vii. 331
for protecting the person of queen Elisabeth	ii. 7
, for the purpose of restraining names, titles, &c.	vii. 55
ton, an application of his story	vii. 418
ons of princes, who to be judges of them	i. 9
of the late parliament	vii. 53
ers, snakes, &c. an insulting character of	v. 430
ress for a French war in 1690	i. 74
—, Sir Robert Sherley's, to his native country of England	iii. 94
— to Charles, prince of Wales	— 115
— to parliament, Sir Edward Harwood's	v. 196
— on the king's to the freeholders of Yorkshire	— 555

	Vol.	Page.
Address to the House of Lords	vi.	42
—, a curious one to the House of Commons	—	45
—, Sir Walter Raleigh's to an English jury	—	224
—, Mr. Samuel Hall's to the Jews	—	438
— to parliament, the earl of Carew's	viii.	343
— of Mr. Trevor to the States of Holland	—	505
— to the Duke of York	—	521
— to Massillon on the wars	viii.	78
— of Bishop's, a famous one	—	304
— Stern's to bishops, merchants, and others	ix.	33
— protectors, advocates, &c.	—	34
— artificers and tradesmen	—	35
— prisoners	—	36
— the common soldiers	—	37
Addresses to the parliament of Paris	vi.	205
Ademarus, his attestation of the history of Pope Joan	iv.	52, 53
Administration, several queries on the protector Cromwell's	vi.	505
Admiral, its original investigated	viii.	173
Admirals, a catalogue of English ones in various reigns	—	176
Admiralty, officers of, in the parliament	vi.	407
— jurisdiction, the propriety of settling it	ix.	408
— Black Book of it	—	408
Admiralty, its jurisdiction, how settled	—	405
Admonition, to the Lords of the King's authority	i.	419
Adolph, the Simple, Count Palatine of the Rhine	iv.	139
Adrian, the Roman emperor, subdues the Caledonians	ii.	459
—, stamp upon his coin	—	46
—, his mausoleum	xii.	95
—, Pope, Tarasius's letter about him	iv.	97
Adrianople, the Tartarian forces disbanded there	v.	191
—, a copious description of it	viii.	99
—, on the horse-races and diversions at	—	101, 102
Adrianson, Peter, of Leyden, a speech of his	v.	179
Advantage of Dutch fishing stated	vii.	405
—, a copious account of Dutch fishing	—	528
—, the subject of it farther stated	—	530
Advantage of colonies to England estimated	ix.	467
Advantages of monarchy represented	viii.	474
— of fraud, Machiavel's discussion on	ix.	530
— of maritime laws represented	—	470
Adventurers, merchant, their charter seized	v.	367
Adventures of Don Sebastian, king of Portugal	ii.	355
—, the second part of them	—	367
Advertisements, about Young's frauds and forgeries	x.	87, 88
Advice of lord treasurer Burleigh to queen Elisabeth	ii.	276
— to the assembly in parliament	iv.	400
— of Sir Edward Harwood	v.	195
—, of ditto to king Charles	—	391
—, to the duke of Buckingham, is disregarded	—	318
—, to ditto, slightly, but not sufficiently attended to	—	350
—, to the godly	vii.	30
— General Monk	—	144
— a Soldier	viii.	353
— to a friend, on fornication, adultery, &c.	x.	240
— of Rasis, the physician, on the gout	—	405
— to a young clergyman	xi.	208
Adultery, on the expediency of punishing it with death	viii.	68
—, how it was punished by the ancients	—	69
—, advice to a friend upon	x.	240
Advocate, the lord, of Scotland, his letter to the earl of Mar	xi.	83
Advocates, but few at Amsterdam, with the reason	vi.	72
—, Stern's address to them and proctors, &c.	ix.	34
Aeneas Sylvius, on the celibacy of the Romish clergy	x.	446
Etna mount, on its roarings in 1693	—	189
Affairs of State, a Discussion on the secrets of them	iii.	428
—, the state of them at Scarborough in Yorkshire	v.	536
Affidavits in Chancery, on filing them	xi.	53
Africa, the conquest of it by the Vandals	viii.	409
African company, an account of it stated	ix.	433, &c.
Agas, the destruction of, with Samuel's ground for it	—	809
Agencourt, or Agincourt, the battle of, described	ii.	108
—, an account of the contest there	x.	308
Agreement between facilius and some celebrated characters, in 1641	iv.	393
— with the Irish Catholics stated	v.	469
— the earl of Glamorgan's terms of, with the Irish	—	598
Agricola, his speeches to his soldiers	ii.	414, 454
— arrives in Britain	—	447
— conciliates the Britons	—	449
—, his march against the Caledonians	—	451
— defeat of the Caledonians	—	458

	Vol.	Page.
is envied by the emperor Domitian	—	457
a, Cornelius, his account of Pope Joan	iv.	91
a, Hartman's recommendation of tobacco against	xii.	31
erius, his submission to be governed by Haman	viii.	374
phels, a reference to modern ones	ix.	381
the continent, the necessity of the English	viji.	113
f Mons, D'Estrées to the English, very doubtful	—	142
Des, an excise of France described	x.	209
felony, Frankling hanged for it	vi.	9
ius, wrote history before the time of Pope Joan	iv.	52
a strange phenomenon there stated	x.	189
St. the first English Christian Martyr	ii.	468
St. on Young's frauds in the post-office there	x.	36
arle, duke of, on his honour	vii.	415
k, earl of Hainault, the restorer of Mons	xi.	93
—, description of his castle	—	94, 95
—, his wall demolished	—	97
a, prince, the founder of Mons	—	90
—, his tower	—	91
archduke of Austria, improves and strengthens Mons	—	105
gate, on the meeting of Quakers there	vi.	437
strong beer, a vindication of	—	73
ana island, without inhabitants	iii.	177
se-keepers, the duty of them	—	126
—, trade thither for pigeons carried on by France	viii.	147
s of England, an humorous description of	iii.	476
der, an account of his treason	ii.	335
— III. pope, his insolence to the Emperor	iv.	44
— I. pope, Borgia Caesar's measures for him	iii.	534
— is poisoned by Caesar Borgia	v.	181
— pope, a dispute with him	vi.	529
dria, the Turkish galleys drawn up near to it	iii.	38
— to Jerusalem, the journey of two pilgrims from	—	323
—, return of two pilgrims from Jerusalem towards it	—	341
—, the two pilgrims arrive at the city of	—	344
earl Goodwin's conduct towards him	—	123
enquiry into his being at Rome stated	iv.	52, 53
on Hoveden's silence about it	—	66
es, less perfidious than the Dutch	vii.	546
the emperor Charles V's enterprize against it	i.	231
the effects of a war with it stated	viii.	392
a description of the town or city of	—	396
uce, enquiry about it, and to whom it is due	i.	61
—, oath of, to be required from papists	ii.	278
—, the oath of, refused by Humphrey Lloyd	iii.	58
y, the discourse of the Vocal Forest	viii.	134
ardinal, an account of him	ii.	211
3ir Thomas, attacks the Dutch Smyrna fleet	viii.	392
William, on killing no murder	ix.	284
re, Mr. his account of Young's frauds stated	x.	94
e, the triple one of England, Holland, and Sweden	vii.	568
— of duke of Burgundy with England	xii.	9
— James I's ambitious view of, its error	—	56
— sir, his story of a sea-fight	viii.	10
r to the king, Wolsey is appointed	iv.	493
— to queen Henrietta, the bishop of Mende	xii.	57
use for batchelors, an endowment of one proposed	xiii.	201
uses, observations about county ones	viii.	120
i, Prosper, on the coffee tree	xii.	21
— a description of it	xi.	353
uke of, his conduct in the Netherlands stated	v.	176
— cruelty distinctly represented	vii.	522
de Luna, a tyrannical Spanish minister	viii.	373
is, on their having lame gallants	x.	398
ador, Cornelius Haga is sent to Constantinople	iii.	213
—, the Spanish memorial of	viii.	530
—, the French one, his opposition to Dover harbour	x.	444
—, Colbert de Croissy, the French one, account of	ix.	3
—, his dealings against Hollanders	—	5
—, procures secret treaty with England	ib.	—
—, answer to the English	vi.	256
adors, the Britons send them to Caesar	ii.	419
ies, on the utility of them	—	239
y of Cornelius Haga to Constantinople	iii.	213
—, De Groot's in France, an account of	vii.	512
on and excess of bishops stated	vi.	12
—, a discussion of the nature of it	viii.	323
na, on the Dutch cruelties there	vii.	530
—, on the Dutch cruelties further stated	—	568
i, archbishop of, his libel	x.	489

	Vol.	Page.
Amiens, on the number of English in it	xii.	15
Amours, Cartismunda's degrading ones stated	ii.	438
Amphitheatrum Vespasianum, its extent described	xii.	113
Amsterdam, few advocates there, and the reason why	vi.	72
—, an emporium for the English rebels	vii.	537
Anabaptist rebels, an offer of pardon is tendered to them	v.	254
— refuse the proffered pardon, and are routed	—	255
Anabaptists, the doctrines maintained by them	—	256
— their proceedings at Munster	—	438
Anacharsis, the inventor of grappling-hooks	vii.	164
Anagram upon Sir Robert Sherley, ambassador to Persia	iii.	90
Anarchy, a character in the puritanical drama	vi.	82
Anastasio, the pretended seignior, expelled	viii.	459
Anastasiu II. on his sudden death	iv. 38, &c.	—
Anastasiu Bibliothecarius, Platina's account of	iv.	48, 49
—, a misrepresentation of	—	51
Anatomy of a woman's tongue dissected and exemplified	—	207
Anacalites, their submission to Cæsar	ii.	428
Ancestors Saxon, derived from Teutonick blood	vi.	97
Anchors, invention of them by the Tuscans	vii.	164
Ancona, a description of it	xii.	81
Ancurus, of Phrygia, some account of	ii.	102
Andrapela, governor of Madagascar	xi.	535
Andrews, lord mayor, a letter to him	vi.	275
—, bishop, an answer to his sermon by a quaker	vii.	312
Anecdote of the curate of Domfront	—	393
Anello, Thomas, his brutish valour	—	410
Angel, the counterfeit one, and the protestant shepherd	viii.	97
Angles, East, Sigebert the king of, turns monk	ii.	322
Angra, on Tercera island, the rebellion there stated	—	359
Anicetus, pope, Pontacus's account of him	ix.	31
Anjou, Francis duke of, prince of Holland	vii.	523
Annals of Mons, a Walloon MS.	xi.	97
—, of Charles I. by L'Estrange	xii. 97, 68	—
Anne, queen of England, on her victories	xi. 30, &c.	—
Annis, a Clare, on the baths so called at Hoxton near London	iii.	266
Anniversary Anthems of the Calves' Head Club	xii.	221
Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, some account of him	iv.	463
Answer to the English ambassadors	vi.	256
— of general Lesly to king Charles's trumpeter	vii.	415
Anthoine, Nicholas, his life and trial	iv.	168
—, his three petitions	—	173
Antonio, John, his account of losses of the Spanish navy	ii.	54
Anti-normanism, the author of	vi.	175
Antiquity and dignity of parliaments stated	viii.	216
Antoniniana Columna, a pillar at Rome, so called	xii.	108
Antonius, archbishop on the image of pope Joan	iv.	16
Antrim, a portrait of it	v.	348
Antwerp, a relation of Spanish cruelties there	—	179
—, on improvement of the nautical compass at it	vii.	167
—, is taken from the Hollanders	—	538
Aphorisms of state, for re edifying the Romish church	ii.	486
— on the kingdom of Ireland	ix.	311
—, of Emanuel de Sua	x.	447
Apocalypse, or revelation, a play upon the word	vii.	413
Apoplexies, cold humours, a cause of them	—	383
Apostasy and dissimulation of the Dutch at Japan	—	547
Apothecaries, on their practising physick	—	471
Appanages, a discussion on them	x.	491
Apparel, or cloathing, a discussion of it	ii.	520
—, on excessive abuse in it	iii.	554
Apparitions, an account of some strange ones	v.	211
Appia, a way from the city of Rome	xii.	103
Application, a curious one to Spain of the word Catholick	viii.	235
Apprentices of London, their bold declaration	v.	302
—, tumult of, against the earl of Strafford	viii.	420
Apsley, &c. how treated by Young	x. 33, &c.	—
Arabia, denominated, from its fragrance, nature's spicery	viii.	75
Arabian tolls, which are demanded from all travellers	iii.	385
Arbuda, is designed to defeat Huntingdon	iv.	477
Archbishop Stigand, and others, deprived by William I.	iii.	149
—, ambassador, the nick-name of Gondamore	—	546
— of Canterbury, letters to, on the plot	viii.	185, &c.
Archbishop Laud, Dr. Welwood's remarks on	xii.	68
—, opposed the doctrines of Calvin	—	67
Archbishops, their contention for priority	iii.	163
Archdeacon of Cambay, the medium of traitorous intelligence	viii.	206
Archduke's country, Overbury's account of it	iii.	109
Arguments of the Protector against single government	vi.	525
—, queries upon the protector's government	—	528

INDEX.

	Vol.	Page
Argyle, the last will of the marquis of	di.	568
—, the character of the marquis of	—	519
—, earl of, his speech in parliament	iv.	480
—, on his landing in Scotland	ix.	140
—, an account of his execution	x.	327
Arias of Seville, an account of him	viii.	432, 433
Ariovistus gives assistance to the Sequapish Gauls	vi.	98
Aristotle, his description of a tyrant	ix.	292
—, application of his description	—	304
Arithmetick, the utility of it stated	vi.	144
Arlotte, the skinner's daughter of Normandy	iii.	119
—, an account of her dream	—	16.
Armada, the Spanish, the orders found on board of,	ii.	42, &c.
—, of Spain, observations upon the invincible	iii.	516
—, on the nature of its equipment	—	16.
—, Theodore Beza's poem on the defeat of it	—	517
Armado, on the Spanish invincible one of 1588	vii.	525
Armagh in Ireland, the archbishop of, treated with ridicule	v.	342
—, Dewdall, the primate of, a violent papist	viii.	541—543
Armament by sea recommended to government	v.	308
Armand, cardinal of, Richelieu, account of him	—	338
—, his epitaph	—	16.
Armies, on the little dependance of mercenary ones	xii.	40
—, first regularly paid by Romans	ix.	483
Arminians, are distinctly favoured by archbishop Laud	iv.	450
—, a Jesuit's remarks on them	ix.	392
—, sentiments of Jesuits about them	xii.	68
Arminius, Stewart the ghost of him	v.	343
Arms, success of William I. in the use of	iii.	125
—, the Normans were accustomed to their use	—	134
—, causes of the cessation of in Ireland	v.	535
—, &c. solicited for Charles I. from Denmark	—	547
—, of John of Avesnes	xi.	99
Army, of the faults to be avoided in it	ii.	95, 96
—, of king of Sweden sent into England	iii.	151
—, of Scotland, articles for it	v.	426
—, is solely commanded by count Oberstein in Germany	—	474
—, a word in support of it	vi.	65, &c.
—, prince of Orange's, a description of	ix.	219
—, account of the imperial one	xi.	208
Arnt's True Christianity, a book so named	ix.	23
Arquennes, account of the battle of	xi.	113
Arques, William, duke of, makes a claim upon Normandy	iii.	121
—, trial, and condemnation of Robert Drewrie	—	58
Arraignment of the traitors in the gunpowder plot	—	45
—, duke of Norfolk, an account of it	ix.	125
Arras, the treaty of, stated	viii.	294
Arrest of Northampton, Somerset, &c. for murder of sir Thomas Over-	v.	391
—, bury	xi.	56
Arrests or attachments, remarks on them	v.	537
Arrival, on the queen's, with her reception, at Bath	iii.	145
Arrow and bow, the use of them in battle	vii.	260
Arthington, Henry, an account of his book	ii.	102
Arthur, the king, his enterprizes	iii.	168
—, Gawen, the nephew of, his sepulchre	iv.	393
Articles of agreement with Luciter stated	v.	422
—, for the army of Scotland	—	489
—, of agreement with the Irish Catholics	vi.	131
—, of the solemn league and covenant	—	263
—, on treaty of the 36	vii.	538
—, uniformly violated by the Dutch	x.	313
—, exhibited against mismanagement, &c.	vii.	281
Artifice of Cromwell against Fairfax	viii.	196
—, of Cuneus, the pope's legate	vi.	124
Artificers, the nature of their duty	ix.	33
—, Stern's address to them	xii.	73
Artillery house at Venice described	xi.	484
Artemidorus, his dream-book	vi.	9
Arts of Mrs. Turner and countess of Somerset	—	143
—, a plan for improving them	—	145
—, on the expediency of teaching them to all persons	ii.	459
Arviragus, his government as king in Britain	i.	246, &c.
Arundel, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, persecutes Lollards	viii.	198
—, earl and countess of, favourers of popery	—	203
—, countess of, a she-champion of the popish religion	—	16.
—, private conferences with the pope's legate	x.	81
Asaph, St. bishp of, letter to him from archbishop	—	84
—, answers to archbishop of Canterbury	ii.	307
Ascham, the schoolmaster to the queen	vi.	236
—, Anthony, an account of his death	—	—

	Vol.	Page
Ascension, Isle of, a description of it	xi.	197
Aselli, a torture of the inquisition	viii.	421
Ashford, rector of, Mary Hutt's falsities about him	x.	35
Ashton, colonel, his perley at Reading, in Berks	vi.	21
——, Mrs. refused christian burial, because a protestant	x.	280
Ashur, cardinal Wolsey is sent thither	iv.	538
Askew, the father of the German nation	vi.	98
Askew, sir George, his exploits in the West Indies	ix.	433
Assassins, the rescue of James Vitell from by Placidus	—	73
Assemblies Catechism, the fanatic's divinity	viii.	81
Assembly of divines, an account of them	v.	37
—— of Coblenz, the duke of Saxony meets it	—	468
——, Sternhold favoured by one	—	61
——, man, a portrait of one	vi.	57
——, repartee of Mr. Selden to it	—	58
——, man, use of Iorimers to one	—	62
——, man, compared with Hugh Peters	—	64
Assertions on tythes, the protector's false ones	—	507
Assizes at Huntingdon, the singular jury there	iii.	396
—— at York, serjeant Thorpe's charge to the jury at	vi.	106
Association, for, defending queen Elizabeth and her government	ii.	5
——, pretended one, to restore king James	x.	22
Astrologer, account of Herlicius	iv.	196
Astrological judgments, on the futility of	vii.	329
Asylum of Charles II. at Boscobel-house and oak	vi.	248
Athaliah, the case of killing by Jehoiaadah	x.	300
Athanasius, St. brief notes on the creed of	xii.	130
Atheism, an attempt to describe what it is	xi.	362
Atheistical politician, a description of	iv.	441
Atheling, Edgar, the darling of Englishmen	vi.	99
——, said to be disliked by the people	ix.	345
——, superseded by Harold the Usurper	—	457
Athelred encounters the Danish invaders	iv.	67
Athenian government, the danger of changing represented	—	467
Athenians, their claim to the invention of wrestling	ii.	332
Athens, on the time of an university there	iv.	83
——, the statuary of, were chusers of their gods	viii.	371
Atkins, Richard, his martyrdom at Rome	ii.	207
Attachments or Arrests, remarks on them	xi.	56
Attack of prince Rupert on the parliament forces at Brentford	vi.	18, 19
Attacots, their invasion of Britain	ii.	474
Attainder, a bill of, against the earl of Strafford	iv.	466
——, a motion for, against cardinal Wolsey	—	546
——, and treason, the nature of, stated	v.	53
——, of Shane O'Neal, who is slain	—	72
Attempt upon England, Philip of Spain's design to make	viii.	340
—— to force a strong enemy, the danger of	—	350
Attempts, popish ones, to pervert the English	ii.	211
Attila, leader of the Huns	xi.	314
Attornies, or Attorneys, the increasing evil of their number	iii.	559
——, account of their iniquities	viii.	50
——, on their service of five years	xi.	58
Atwater, John, his case of treason stated	v.	65
Aubigny, lord, slain in the fight at Edgehill	vi.	17
Auburn hills, in Wilts, on the skirmishes there	—	23
Audacity, its necessity to a quack	viii.	137
Audley, lord, his valour at Poictiers	—	169
——, beheaded on Tower-hill, and quartered	xi.	427
Avenant, D', on the balance of power in Europe	xii.	55
Aventinus, Johannes, an authority of little credit	iv.	15
Aversion of king Charles to the puritans	viii.	240
Avesnes, prince John of, his unnatural war, and death	xi.	98
Augusta, account of its destruction by an earthquake	x.	192
Augustus, presents are transmitted to him from the Britons	ii.	429
——, the ghost of	viii.	375
——, his taxation of the whole world	ix.	483
——, Caesar, his mausoleum	xii.	105
Aulic council, an account of it	xi.	277
Aumale, defeat of the duke of Parma there	iii.	543
Ausig, the history and description of it	xi.	319
Austin, St. omits Felix II. as a pope	iv.	62
——, his account of the pope as head of the church	—	106
Austria, on the state of Walstein there	—	198
——, house of, its right to the Spanish succession	x.	483
——, archduchy of, the boundaries of it	xi.	279
——, a description of the country	—	281
Author of anti-normanism, or Norman yoke uncased	vi.	175
—— of a plot, whether Mr. Sindercombe was so	ix.	267
——, sorty and power, the origin of stated	vi.	118

Authority of the pope in England discarded	viii.	304
—, how far from God, or from men	ix.	351
— and will of a king, how they differ	—	350
Authors, a discussion upon original ones	iv.	38
Autumn, whether it is a proper season at Bath	—	118
Awake, O England! an invitation to Charles II.	viii.	99
Azores, as a meridian, compared with the magnet	—	171

B

Babel and Babylon, remarks on them	vi.	193
Babington's plot against queen Elizabeth	iii.	516
Babylon and Babel, some observations relating to	vi.	193
Bacchus Bountie, a satyr upon drunkards	ii.	262
_____, Philip Foulface, the author of	—	263
Bacon, Sir Francis, his cases of treason	v.	12
_____, Sir Nicholas, an account of him	—	138
_____, Sir Francis, his speech on arrainging Somerset	—	293
_____, lord, on freedom of writing	viii.	397
Bagge-pudding, on being called London's joy	iv.	433
Bagoth, account of the family of Love near it	—	446
Bahama islands, their importance illustrated	xi.	8
Bailiffs, their iniquities stated	viii.	50
_____, on their requiring bail-bonds, &c.	xi.	50
_____, on their fees and extortions	—	46
Baily, fined and imprisoned for rescuing Kirton	x.	936
Baines, sir Thomas, died of the plague	viii.	102
Baker, &c. chaplains to archbishop of Laud	ix.	438
_____'s Chronicle, on the parliament of queen Mary	viii.	476
_____, rear admiral, instructions given to him	xi.	78
Bakers, on the duty of them	xi.	78
Balance of power, on England's preserving it	vi.	166
_____, its statement by D'Avenant	xii.	55
Baldock is made lord chancellor of England	i.	106
Baldwiu, provincial of English jesuits in Flanders	viii.	150
_____, father, an account of his intrigues	—	246
_____, III. earl, his wall demolished at Mons	xi.	97
_____, IV. earl, or the builder, his improvement of Mons	—	46
_____, his wall demolished at Mons	—	98
Bale, a sketch of his interesting life	i.	202
_____, his comedy or interlude of John Baptist in the Desert	—	203
_____, Bp. John, his Chronicle of sir John Oldcastle	—	235
_____, his account of sir John, or lord Cobham's trial	—	253
_____, John, his vocation to the bishoprick of Ossorie	—	328
_____, his account of God's worship from time to time	—	325
_____, the Irish priests and bishops	—	340
_____, his honesty defended	iv.	91
Ballard's plot against queen Elizabeth	iii.	516
Balls and dancing supported to excess	viii.	52
Balsas of the West Indies described	vii.	166
Baithash and Bernard's cases of treason	v.	62
Balthasar, on an owl's terrifying him	iv.	45
_____, strange appearances on his being elected pope	—	46
Bambridge, archbishop of York	—	466
Bancroft, his opposition to jesuits	viii.	233
Bands, the parliament of white ones	i.	102
_____, when they were first worn	iv.	218
Banishing papists, on the necessity of	ix.	381
Banishment of the English students from Rome, and recal	ii.	203
Banks of credit, the nature of them stated	x.	375
Banquet, on cardinal Wolsey's sumptuous one	iv.	523
_____, of king Henry VIII.	—	524
Bautan, the siege of it described	ix.	46
_____, on the English being favoured there	vi.	46
Barbadoes, island of, English army at Castle Bay there	vi.	377
_____, the state of the planters in that island	ix.	436
Barbarino, cardinal, his connections in England	viii.	106
Barbers, on their paying for licences in France	x.	217
Barcelona, its preservation from the French	xi.	27
Bargemau, his first dialogue with the ferryman	viii.	498
_____, his second dialogue with ditto	—	503
Bargen, marquis of, sent to Spain	v.	173
Barillon, mons. the France ambassador, resists Dover harbour	x.	444
Barkeley, lord, on surrendering his lands	iv.	676
Barker, Mr. Christopher, printer, not instructed in the business	vii.	107
_____, accused of suppressing the bible	—	109
Barkstead, colonel, or lord, his merits d.cribed	vi.	407
_____, the person engaged to smother Sindercomb	ix.	302

	Vol.	Page
Barnbow Hall, seat of sir Thomas Gascoigne, proceedings at	viii.	440
——, letter to, on sir Edmundbury Godfrey's murder	—	449
Barnacle for the tongue, a description of one	—	425
Barneveldt, mons. a shrewd and keen plotter	—	242
——, his connection with Gondamere's popish plots	—	243
Barnstable, an account of its submitting to parliament	vi.	31
Baronius, the papist's cardinal histeriographer	iv.	36
——, his observations on Pope Joan, unfair inferences, &c.	—	44, &c.
Barons, their resolute attack on Hugh Spencer	i.	102
Barrage in France, a description of it	x.	217
Barratry, what it is	vi.	118
Berratt, ambassador of France to Spain	iii.	544
Barrels of gunpowder discovered	—	20
Barrenness, Bath waters good against it	iv.	112
Barrimore, earl of, on Young's chaplaincy	x.	61
Barrows, Henry, his examination upon religion	ii.	11
Bartema, Ludovicus, on means of crossing the Arabian deserts	vii.	160
Barton, Elisabeth, maid of Kent, attainted of treason	v.	84
Barwick, lice called covenanters there	iv.	435
——, account of a foraging party near it	—	436
——, instructions for its government	v.	166
Basil, a favourer of Socinus	vi.	262
Bastard, the great one, described	ix.	273
Bastards, no obstacle to succession of government	iii.	120
——, excluded from government in France	—	46.
Bastile, mons I/Abbe Primi, confined in it ten days	ix.	3
——, Bloomfield, the quaker, sent to it	x.	277
Bastwick, or Bastwicke, Dr. relation of in star-chamber	iv.	220
——, lord Cottington's censure of	—	228
——, lord Finch's censure of him	—	46.
——, execution of the sentence of him	—	46.
——, his speech in the pillory	—	229
——, his blood the herald of archbishop's Laud's fall	—	465
——, and others, their keenness in smelling superstition	viii.	411
——, and others, their inveterate malice against monarchy	xii.	67
Batavia, the Dutch there assist the Tubanites	ix.	47
Batchelors, the remonstrance of against the ladies' petition	x.	175
——, petition, a reply to it	—	179
Batchelors, a proposal for taxing them	xii.	200
——, an alms-house to be endowed for, and how	—	201
Bates, his arraignment for the powder plot	iii.	45
——, executed for treason in St. Paul's church-yard	—	46
——, Thomas, the servant of Catesby, how a party to the plot	viii.	152
——, is taken prisoner and examined	—	158
——, is condemned and executed for treason	—	159
Bath, the baths of, an account of	iv.	110
——, diseases for which the waters are beneficial	—	112
——, the best seasons for the waters of	—	114
——, the autumn, whether a proper season there	—	118
——, waters, the manner of using them	—	122
——, waters, the use of by Dr. Guidott	—	124
——, observations upon them	—	46.
——, waters, the virtues of them stated	—	127
——, the waters of cause a dyeing tinge or colour	—	129
——, the queen of England's arrival there	v.	537
——, knights of, manner of their creation in peace	vii.	155
Baths of dame Annis a Clare, at Hexton, near London	iii.	265
——, or an account of the hot waters at Bath	iv.	110
Battle, the white one, and why so called	i.	99
——, of Stamford bridge in Yorkshire	iii.	126
——, of Hastings, and death of Harold	—	140
——, a stratagem used in it	—	143
——, above 6000 Normans slain there	—	144
——, use of bow and arrow in	—	145
——, of Tury, on the plain near it	—	542
——, of Lutetia, a copious account of it	iv.	183
——, of French and Scotch, and defeat of both by the English	viii.	107
——, of Cressy, an account of it	x.	237
——, Flectivera, a description of it	—	209
——, Agincourt, a relation of	—	205
——, Bosworth-field, an account of it	—	310
——, Mons. with the glory of the prince of Orange there	—	550
——, Seneff, and of the Boyne in Ireland	—	556
——, the Boyne, the effects of it	—	557
Battles, between the Romans and Britons	ii.	221
——, of Cressy, expelling the Britons from the woods	—	225
——, of Camlodon and the united Britons with the Romans	—	225
——, of the united Britons under Vespasian	—	415
——, between the Ordovices and Agricola	—	426

	Vol.	Page
Bavaria, a tub bursting in the way to the college there	iv.	46
——, the elder Otho, governor of	—	155
——, duke of, hypothetical argument of his revolt	viii.	112
——, elector of, supported by France	xi.	184
——, the electorate of, always dangerous to the empire	—	186
Baxter, his observations on the subject of amusements	viii.	363
Bayly and others expelled at Oxford	vi.	134
Beacons, cautions necessary to be attended to on firing them	v.	247
—— on guarding them	—	251
Beardbleck, Mr. a proctor of the university	vi.	53
Bears, on colonel Pride's murder of them	viii.	380
Beasts, venomous ones, on St. Patrick's driving from Ireland	iv.	44
——, divers sorts of them have stated seasons of removal	v.	501
Beauty, a dissertation upon it	ii.	520
Becher, John Joachim, his account of Wenceslaus	viii.	462
—— Dr. a witness of Wenceslaus's experiments	—	464
Beka, or Pichau, an account of it	xi.	246
Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, his insolent conduct	iv.	468
—— Thomas a., his usage of king Henry II.	x.	290
Becock, John, the mock king of Munster	v.	455
Bedford, earl of, governor of Berwick	—	166
—— county, on the petitions from it	vi.	308
——, duke of, an account of his death	x.	503
Bedminster, near Bristol, Naylor's procession at it	vi.	423
Beer and ale, a vindication of	—	73
Beersheba, Timberlake's account of it	iii.	327
Beeson, Dr. a violent papist, tutor to the prince of Wales	x.	282
Beigars, their petition against popery to Henry VIII.	i.	217
Belfore, sir William, a statement of his valour	vi.	17
——, his breaking through the king's army	—	33
Bell, on the image of Pope Joan	iv.	19
—— and Lacy, their cases of treason	v.	89
Bellarmino, cardinal, on the popes of Rome	iii.	503
—— on Pope Joan	iv.	15—19
——, his observations on Krantius and Pontanus	—	21
—— unjustly accuses Platina of being a compiler	—	29
—— on the owl's appearing at Balthasar's election	—	45
—— desires to clear Honorius of associating with heretics	—	49
—— and Baronius, their account of images	—	56
—— on the nature of defective testimony	—	61
—— allows the existence of Pope Joan, but misplaces her	—	89
—— mistakes the duration of her popedom	—	16.
—— states the want of schools in Pope Joan's time	—	84
——, the Goliath of Rome, confounded by Whitaker	vi.	304
Bellencombe, the Spaniards defeated at it	iii.	543
Bellman, the British one, or public cryer	vi.	181
Bellows-mender of Pimlico, account of	iv.	177
—— menders from Holland described	v.	343
Belman wanted a clapper	iv.	239
Belvoir Castle, a Pindarick Ode, in praise of it	viii.	249—290
Benefiting, on the nature of, and its opposite	ii.	432
Benno, cardinal, on the authority of popes	iii.	502
——, author of the Life of Hildebrand	iv.	57
Benock's stables broken open by Grant the conspirator	viii.	157
Bergen St. Winock, the surrender of it	x.	417
——, or the Hill, near Mons, an account of	xi.	138
—— op-Zoom, Colhorn's fortification of it	—	93
Bergomensis, Philippus, on Pope Joan	iv.	14
——, on the stool of easement	—	17
——, Trithemius's testimony of him	—	25
——, Jacobus, a good historiographer	—	34
Berkhamstead, submission of the English there to the Conqueror	ix.	459
Berlin, a description of the city of	xi.	333
——, Mr. Guy Dickens, the English resident there	—	339
Bermudas, Gondamore's aversion to English settlements at	viii.	241
Bernard, duke, his valorous conduct at the battle of Lutzen	iv.	191
——, the cause of the Swedish victory at Lutzen	—	192
——, his case, how made treason	v.	62
Bernartius, his opinion of Platina's Lives of the Popes	iv.	28
——, unworthy of credit, and why	—	86
Berries, on the use of juniper	xii.	32
——, on the virtues of elder	—	46.
——, the benefits of elder in dropsies	—	33
Berry, colonel, an account of him	vi.	499
Berwick is betrayed to the Scots by sir Peter Spalden	i.	98
——, the earl of Surrey retires to it	xi.	429
Bethlehem, entertainment of pilgrims at the monastery of	iii.	335
Bethphage, the English pilgrims come to it	—	331
Beza, Theodore, his poem on the defeat of Spanish armada	iii.	517

	Vol.	Page
Brannus's army, Gauls the relics of	vi.	105
Bress's prayer for the Jews	vi.	449
Bride, the pretended one of St. Jerom, shewn by the monks of Gemble	iv.	42
Bibles, on their secret conveyance, in English, to Seville	viii.	430
Bibliotheca Militum	vii.	87
— Fanatics	—	141
Biliboci, their submission to Cesar	ii.	428
Bignamy, Young's escape of being tried for	x.	32
Bill, John, Mr. not brought up to the business of a printer	vii.	107
Billers, Mr. of London, Robert Young's frauds on	x.	39
Billinggate rhetoric, some account of it	viii.	75
— language, &c. how excelled	x.	47
Bills, on making them assignable, proposal for	viii.	17
—, utility of enacting a law to warrant their being assigned	—	50
—, forged ones, copies of Robert Young's	x:	98, &c.
— of credit, the utility of them	—	376
—, many advantages of	—	379
—, counterfeit, the dangers of them removed	—	382
—, the means of avoiding them	—	383
Bilson, bishop, on resistance of power, unduly exercised	ix.	361
Binnus, his false and unfair representation of facts	iv.	31
Birth of the Pretender, and doubts about it stated and discussed	i.	11
Blacar, decree of fathers of the order of industry, in 1590	vii.	75
Blasenti, partially damaged by an earthquake	x.	106
Bishop of Rochester's letter to the ecclesiastical commissioners	i.	313
—'s potion, a dialogue	v.	41
Bishops of England deprived, by means of William the Conqueror	—	149
— of Canterbury and York, their contention for priority	—	166
— termed basilisks by the fanatics	v.	434
—, their ambition and excess	vii.	12
—, on their deciding civil causes	viii.	380
—, discussion of their temporal power	—	381
—, how frequently confounded with presbyters	—	382
—, on the prudence generally exercised by them	—	412
—, Stern's address to them	ix.	33
Black broth of the Lacædæmonians	viii.	77
— prince, his vanquishing and taking the French king	—	163
—, on his going to France	—	164
—, his message, &c. to the king of France	—	175-178
Blackhead, his wicked contrivance against the bishop of Rochester	x.	1
—, his conduct on his examination	—	9
—, his admission of having forged a letter	—	14
—, testimony about him of Warren, the bishop's butler	—	16
— Philip, the bishop's coachman	—	26
—, his coming to Bromley on Whitsunday	—	17
—, his second examination	—	20
—, is confronted with Robert Young	—	23
—, Stephen, is condemned to stand in the pillory	—	29
—, how he was saved from the pillory	—	30
—, the record of his conviction	—	44
Blackheath, Charles II. arrives at, from Holland	vii.	112
—, brutality of Du Vall in his robbery there	—	397
—, the Cornishmen, in rebellion, arrive at	xi.	425
Blackness, state of the garrison at the castle there	—	73, 76
Blacks in the West Indies, an account of them	ix.	414
Blagan, laird of, his house converted into a garrison	x.	236
Blake's defeat of the Dutch	vii.	269
Blamston, the fight there described	iv.	495
Blandford, in Dorsetshire, the residence of Mr. Fussel, who was murdered	vii.	11
Blasphemers, Stern's address to them	ix.	34
Blayborne, a nickname given to the king of England	xii.	13
Bleskey Sound, account of a Spanish ship lost there	ii.	49
Bloet rod, what it is	vii.	522
Bloody execution at Prague in Bohemia, by imperial mandate	iii.	409
Blower, Aminadah, his lecture in Waltham forest	iv.	177
Boats of the Egyptians described	vii.	165
—, account and description of those of Greenland	—	166
Boccalini's parliament of Parnassus	viii.	527
Bodkin, a rich sort of cloth so named	iv.	538
Boddley, sir Thomas, born at Exeter	vi.	51
—, family of, fled to Germany	—	52
—, a proctor of the University	—	66
—, his various embassies abroad	—	53
—, the reason of his retirement from publick life	—	55
—, his retirement to Oxford	—	56
Boduni, submit themselves to, and obtain the Roman protection	ii.	431
Bœotians, the original inventors of the oar	vii.	164
Boetius, banished by Theodoricus	viii.	372
Bohemia, death of the king of	iv.	196

	Vol.	Page
Bohemia the king and queen of, are friendly to the English	vi.	10
—, the king of, slain at the battle of Cressy	viii.	167
—, and Moravia, abound with fir-trees	xi.	290
—, its abounding in ponds	(	293
—, the effects of a hurricane there stated	(	294
—, the various circles or districts of it described	(	310
—, when the Bou first came to settle in it	(	313
—, when the Marcomanni first settled there	(	313
—, when it was conquered by the Huns	(	314
—, when Czech, the Sclavonian, settled in it	(	314
Boni, when they first took possession of Bohemia	(	313
Boldness, its use to the godly	vii.	77
Boleyn, Anne, letters from Henry VIII. to her	i.	183
—, her to cardinal Wolsey	(	199
Bolin, the modern, the same as the ancient Versoria	vii.	167
Bolloign, the capture of it by the duke of Suffolk	x.	316
—, its delivery to the French	(	318
Bologna, a description of it	xii.	84
Bolton, Robert, printer of the papist's bloody oath	viii.	440
—, his account of the conduct of William Rushton	(	450
Belton, Mr. a dissertation on cruelty to brutes	vii.	71
Bonds, &c. on making them assignable	viii.	17
—, &c. on the great utility of making them assignable	(	56
Bonesus, his gluttony alluded to	vi.	392
Bonham, sir John, his posthumous description of himself	xii.	180
Boniface the IXth. repaired, but did not first inhabit the Vatican	iv.	76
Bonner, bishop, his epithaph	i.	387
—'s blood, the herald of cardinal Wolsey's fall	iv.	465
Bonomia, Placidus and Vitelli leave it to go to Spain	ix.	73
Bontius, his observations on thee or tea	xv.	43
Book, the Domesday one, or Domus Dei book	iii.	153
—debts, on propriety of restraining them to three years	viii.	55
Books, the great loss of them in the fire of London	vii.	339
—, of the general use of them	viii.	292
—, of the nature of the Grecian	(	293
—, the licensing of them a dangerous monopoly	(	295
—, black one of the Admiralty, purport of	ix.	460
—, to be sold at the Whigs coffee-house in Prating-alley	xii.	257
Boonius, Engebertus, some account of him	iv.	23
Boreman's Triumph of Learning	vi.	295
—, prayer for the suppression of heresy	(	321
Borgia, Caesar, his measures for pope Alexander VI.	iii.	534
—, poisons pope Alexander VI.	v.	181
Borodzyck, George, his confession of Mr. Thynn's murder	ix.	44
Borosky, another account of the same thing	(	9
—, George, a native of Poland, some account of him	(	16
Borough Castle, a description of	ii.	321
Boscobel House and oak made an asylum	vi.	248
Boswell, Sir William, his first letter on plot against the king	viii.	183
—, second to the archbishop of Canterbury	(	192
—, third to ditto	(	193
—, his letter to archbishop Laud	ix.	200
Bosworth field, on the battle there	x.	310
Botanicum theatrum, the project of	vi.	146
Bouchiers, progenitors of the Essex family	(	7
Bouignies, on the importance of fortifying it	viii.	530
Bourben, duke of, quarrels with the French king	iv.	506—508
—, cardinal de, proposed as confessor to Edward IV.	xii.	16
Bourdeaux, on the English trade thither	iii.	293
—, a quaker's strange conduct there	vi.	434
—, the prisoners of Poitiers carried thither	viii.	174
—, an estimate of the measure there	x.	212
Bourn, an admiral under the parliament of England	xi.	11
Bow and arrow, on their use in battle	iii.	145
—, Church steeple, marks of lightning on it	vii.	338
Bowers, near Nottingham, where the rebels met king Henry VII.	xi.	385
Boyle, his opinion of thee or tea stated	xii.	24
—, Mr. eats the kernels of cacaw or cocoa nut	(	26
—, recommends tobacco clysters in cholicks	(	31
—, his observations on oil of turpentine	(	35
Brabourn, Theophilus, on the Jewish sabbath	(	68
Bradshaw is executed for treason	v.	59
Bramhall, bishop, his letter to archbishop Usher	ix.	201
Brandy and mum, on prohibiting their importation	viii.	17
—, importation of prevents consumption of barley	(	20
Brasiers, the duty of them stated	vi.	123
Bray, Philip king of France escapes thither from Cressy	vii.	167
Bread, none to be had near Jerusalem	iii.	341
Breda, its recovery by the English	vii.	524
—, the declaration of Charles II. there	viii.	612

	Vol.	Page.
Brennus's army, Gaul's the relics of	vi.	105
Brent, sir Nathanael, judge of the prerogative court	—	135
Brentford, attack of prince Rupert on the parliament forces there	—	18
—, colonel Holles resists prince Rupert successfully at	—	46.
—, the previous pillage of it by the king's forces	—	19
Bretton, sir William, his busy meddling to stop the course of justice	—	189
Bretagne, the duke of, murdered at Rouen	x.	592
Brett's narrative of the Jews council	vi.	225
Brewer's plea, or the vindication of strong beer	—	73
— widow, Cromwell marries, to improve his fortune	vii.	274
Brewhouses, on Pride's three, at London, &c.	viii.	364
—, a play upon them	—	366
Brian, Thady o' his being pilloried, &c.	—	539
Bribery, judge, his agreement with Lucifer	iv.	393
Bricks, on their contracting a magnetic property	vii.	170
Bride and Pride, a play upon the names	viii.	364
Bridget, queen of Sweden, some account of her	xii.	102
Bridgewater hospital, the records of it stolen	v.	60
Brie, a province of France, here from a candle-snuff	vii.	337
Brigantines, invented by the Rhodians	—	164
Brill, admiral the earl of March takes it	—	533
Brian, in Moravia, the limits of its toparchy or district	xi.	590
Bristol, city of, delivers Spencer the father, to be put to death	i.	102
— Castle, Spencer the father shuts himself up in it	—	117
—, on the waters of St. Vincent's rock there	iv.	120
—, a pourtraiture and description of it	v.	314
—, observations on the queen of England's going to it	—	537
—, Major-general Skippon, governor of	vi.	34
—, Maylor's procession near it	—	425
Bristow, Dr. his confutation, a statement of	iv.	34
Britain, Caesar's account of the country of	ii.	414
—, Cassius gives an account of it	—	45.
—, Dio's account of the country of	—	45.
—, Tacitus his account of the country of	—	414
—, Roman, Camden's account of it	—	415
—, the Roman lieutenants in it, statement of	—	416
—, is reconnoitered by Caius Volusensis	—	419
—, Caesar's first invasion of it	—	420
—, Caesar leaves the country of	—	424
—, returns to the country of	—	425
—, Plantius is sent into it	—	430
—, is neglected by Tiberius	—	46.
—, the Roman soldiers refuse to come to it	—	431
—, Ostorius Scapula arrives in it	—	433
—, Suetonius Paulinus, his government of it	—	438
—, degeneracy of the Roman army there	—	446
—, Agricola, comes into it	—	447
—, government of the country of	—	46.
—, Arviragus governs as king in it	—	459
—, the first stamping of coin in it	—	46.
—, on the reception of Christianity in it	—	460
—, Lucius governs as king in it	—	46.
—, Severus, the Roman emperor, visits it	—	464
—, on the landing of Constantine in it	—	468
—, the Picts make inroads into	—	474
—, was ill furnished with ships in Caesar's time	vii.	164
—, account of its first natives	xi.	449
—, on the Saxons settling first in it	—	451
Britaine, William de, on Dutch usurpation	vii.	521
Britannicus, a surname of Claudius	ii.	433
—, a surname of Lollius Urbicus	—	460
Britany, observations on Henry VII's losing it	viii.	342
—, on the insurrections there	x.	209
—, its exemption from the Des Aides of France	—	211
—, the excise there upon wine	—	212
—, the duke of, is befriended by Edward IV.	xii.	16
British, a description of one of their towns	ii.	428
—, lady, Voadicea, a noble one	—	441
—, government is new modelled by Constantine	—	470
—, words, many ancient ones are of Greek derivation	vi.	217
—, Sens, on the English sovereignty in them	vii.	539
—, Ambassadors's speech to the French king	xi.	81
Briton, on Mandubratius, a traitor to his country	ii.	427
—, Nennius, a worthy one, his resolution and valour, &c.	xii.	157
Britons, on their original and habits	ii.	418
—, sending ambassadors to Caesar	—	419
—, defeated and pardoned by Caesar	—	422
—, wrold on the destruction of the Roman ships	—	423
—, stratagem of placing piles in the Thames	—	427
—, sending presents to Augustus	—	429

	Vol.	Page.
Britons, the tribute and custom among them	ii.	16.
—, Caius Caligula's letters to them	—	430
—, on their revolt	—	440
—, are headed by Voadicea	—	441
—, their destruction of Camalodunum	—	443
—, a battle with the Romans	—	445
—, the Saxon assistance to them stated	vi.	97
—, harassed by the Picts and Scots	—	98
—, Danes of Teutonic race	—	16.
—, their opposition to Germanicus	—	99
—, the laws of, subverted by the Romans and Saxons	—	216
—, are expelled by their Saxon auxiliaries	ix.	345
Brogkil, lord, a representation of his pretended merits	vi.	496
—, one of the tools and creatures of Cromwell	ix.	291
Bromio, cardinal, transmits a copy of faculties	viii.	436
Bromley, on Blackhead's going to the palace there on Whitsunday	x.	17
—, on Young and Mary Hutt's coming to the palace there	—	35
—, college, Young's letter to the widows of	—	36
—, Walsingham King on Young's behaviour at	—	88
Brooksby, the native place of the duke of Buckingham	v.	308
Broth, black, of the Lacedæmonians, what it was	viii.	77
Brothers, the mischief of their going to law	iii.	558
Broughton, sir Thomas, and others, their attempt at rebellion	xi.	373
Brown's old charice, portrayed	vi.	344
Browne, archbishop of Dublin, his letters on supremacy, &c.	viii.	534—537
—, his primacy revoked by queen Mary	—	543
Bruce, Robert, Scotch nobility's, resolution to adhere to him	i.	128
—, king, an account of his various fortune	vi.	261
Bruges, the improvement of the nautical compass at	vii.	167
—, the Spaniards arrival there	x.	412
Bruna in Moravia, account of the monastery there	viii.	453
—, copper box found in the monastery of	—	455
—, Wenceslaus his residence in the monastery	—	466
—, count Peter Paar's visit to the monastery of	—	467
Brunswick, the duke of, his opposition to the anabaptists	v.	254
—, a description of it by travellers	xi.	342
—, the method of making rum there	xii.	34
Brussels, a letter from a Jesuit in England thither	ix.	391
Brute, on his coming into Britain	ii.	413
Brutes, on cruelty to them by Mr. Perkins	vii.	71
Brutus, of the English republic, sir Arthur Hazlerig	—	118
Buanoetto, Michael Angelo, a famous painting of	xii.	96
Buchanan, his differing from St. Paul, in the nature of rebellion	v.	410
—, his false distinction about person and power	—	415
Bachino, its partial destruction by an earthquake	x.	194
Buck's life of Richard III. observation on	viii.	515
Buckhurst, lord, an account of him	v.	149
Buckingham, marquis of, on his poisoning the duke of Hamilton	iv.	410
—, the duke of, on his poisoning king James	v.	211
—, a short view of his life and death	—	307
—, the nature of his fortunes stated	—	313—315
—, his creation, and embassy to Holland	—	318
—, advice of lord Goring of his danger	—	36.
—, is met on the road by an old woman	—	36.
—, lord viscount Fielding changes cloaths with	—	319
—, conjectures of the enmity towards him	—	320
—, Eggleston's libellous book against him	—	36.
—, remonstrance of the commons against	—	36.
—, Felton's access to him at Portsmouth	—	36.
—, sir Clement Throckmorton's advice slighted	—	321
—, certain pre-sentiments of his fate	—	551
—, Henry, duke of, beheaded	—	205
—, duchess of, an inveterate papist	viii.	205
—, duke of, his proceedings at the isle of Rhee	x.	323
—, is stabbed by Felton at Portsmouth	—	324
Budin, a small town of Bohemia, an account of	xi.	319
Bugnall, and other cases of treason	v.	406
Buildings about London, observations about restraining	viii.	17
Bulbeggars, what meant by them stated	iv.	435
Bull, a disclosure of the great one	i.	483
—, of pope Pius Quintus, against queen Elisabeth	iii.	513
—, the answer of queen Elisabeth to it	—	514
—, of pope Gregory the Thirtieth burnt at Tours and Chalons	—	548
—, baiting at Madrid, a large account of	ix.	60
—, how the Spaniards encounter one in fight	—	65
Bulleu, Mrs. Anne, her enmity the cause of Wolsey's fall	iv.	503
—, a particular favourite of Henry VIII.	—	505
—, Henry VIII's particular partiality for	—	526

Ballen, Mrs. Anne, the stratagem she used at Grafton	vii. 537
————, a severe remark on her	vi. 516
Ballion, the means to be used for augmenting it	x. 370
Bulloign, or Bolloigne, betrayed to the French	iv. 476
————, on Henry VII. being there	xi. 391
Bam-bailey, a description of one	viii. 181
Banhill-fields, on Dr. Emma's resurrection there	xi. 63
Bardet's case of treason stated	v. 405
————, esq. the cause of his execution represented	xi. 407
Bare, king Henry of England strips the Spaniards at it	lii. 548
Burglary, account of one at the lord chancellor's	viii. 103
Burgundy, the duke of, his fright at the nine worthies	lii. 533
————, Margaret duchess of, sets up Perkin Warbeck	xi. 373
————, her support of Warbeck stated	— 393
————, her two monstrous births	— 401
————, her speech to English ambassadors	— 46
————, duchess dowager, reflections about her	— 440
————, duke of, in alliance with England	xii. 9
————, disgusted with Edward IV. for his shameful truce	— 14
————, his peace with Lewis XI.	— 18
Burial, that of pope Joan described	iv. 74
————, of Charles I., an account of it	vii. 271
————, of the dead, in what manner done at Dunkirk	xi. 178
Burleigh, lord treasurer, his advice on religion	ii. 276
————, account of France	— 281
————, Spain	— 282
————, his friendship for sir Thomas Bodley	vi. 54
————, on a Scotsman's character of king James	viii. 513
Burley, Dr. William, tutor to the Black prince	— 109
————, Mr. William, retreats from Perkin Warbeck's party	xi. 406
Burnet, Dr. Gilbert, his account of Stern and others, for murder	ix. 9
————, meets with Vrats at the execution	— 18
————, his sermon before the execution of Stern	— 38
————, his letter on cardinal Pole's secret powers	— 146, 153
Burrell, John, an account of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem	iii. 365
————, his good reception there as a Greek	— 357
Barrows, sir John, was slain at the isle of Rhee	— 356
Bart, Richard, on Young's forgery	x. 50
Burton, Mr. account of proceedings in the Star-chamber	iv. 220
————, his speech on the pillory	— 233
————, his execution for treason	v. 59
————, Bastwick, and Prynne described	viii. 411
————, their malice to the government	xii. 67
Bary St. Edmund's, in Suffolk, on Young's being seized there	x. 34
————, the manner of his being there stated	— 67
————, Mary Hunt's information there of Young	— 88
Burrings, an account of them in Scotland	vii. 440
Busch, Herman, his opposition to German anabaptists	v. 460
Business, stage-coaches stated to be prejudicial to it	viii. 42
Busses, account of fleets of them for fishing	iii. 236
————, state of those belonging to the Hollanders	— 311
Busy-body's curious dialogue with his friend Scrape-all	iv. 419
Butchers, on the improper conduct of them	vi. 123, 124, 126
Butter, is charged with duty in France	x. 213
Byrdes, the parlement of various ones	xii. 139

C.

Cabinet, the Irish one, on establishing popish clergy in Ireland	v. 485
————, the king's opened, which was taken at Naseby	— 514
————, the emperor's at Vienna, on the medals in it	xi. 260
Cacaw, or cocoa-nut a description of	xii. 25
————, the kernels of it eaten by Mr. Boyle	— 26
Cade of Herrings, the original of the name	ii. 331
————, Jack, an account of his rebellion	v. 412
Cadiz, burning of, in 1596, by Robert, earl of Essex	iii. 507
————, account of the expedition to it	vi. 10
Caen, in France, the rates and duties paid there	x. 214
Cæsar, his account of Britain	ii. 414
————, receives ambassadors from the Britons	— 419
————, his arrival in Britain	— 420
————, his defeat and pardon of the Britons	— 422
————, his collecting corn for winter provision	— 423
————, Trinobantes offer him submission	— 427
————, the Ancalires submit to him	— 428
————, receives the submission of the Bibroci, &c.	— 46

	Vol.	Page.
Cæsar and Pompey, their civil wars described	iv.	477
the Britons had few ships to oppose to him	vii.	164
C. Julius, his message to Cassibeline, king of Britain	xii.	159
Cahwa, or coffee, the effects of drinking it to excess	—	22
Caiene, the excellence of its harbour	lii.	184
the inhabitants of the province stated	—	185
Caius Volusensis, reconnoitres Britain	li.	419
Caligula's letters on the Britons	—	430
Calais, how betrayed to the French	iv.	476
the treasurer of, on Wolsey's acquaintance with	—	491
the Dutch fleet defeated between it and Dover	vi.	269
to Dover the passage of it described	viii.	140
in what manner it was captured by the French	x.	319
lord Fitz-walter beheaded there	xii.	404
Calamities of a French conquest of Britain stated	ix.	456
of England, a discovery of them	x.	254
Calatigirone, its partial destruction by an earthquake	—	192
Caledonians, their assault upon the ninth Roman legion	ii.	451
the speech of Calgacus to encourage them	—	452
their spirited assault upon the Romans	—	464
make peace with the Romans	—	46
Calender, the earl of, his house seized and made a garrison	—	236
Caligula, his disposition to tyranny manifested	ix.	304
Calixtus and the martyrs	xii.	103
Caluerley, sir Hugh, one of the nine worthies of London	xii.	189
Calves-Head Club, the secret history of it, with the anthems, &c.	—	216
Calvin's letter to Socinus, on his airy speculations	vi.	359
doctrine opposed by archbishop Laud	xii.	67
Calvinist, a strange assertion of Dr. Twiss	x.	395
Camalodunum, the residence of Cuno-belin, king of the Trinobantes	ii.	429
taken by the Romans, and fortified	ii.	436
oppressions of the people there by the Romish soldiers	—	440
inauspicious signs observed at	—	441
Cambr, on the nature and utility of a haven there	x.	436
Cambray, archdeacon of, traitorous correspondence sent to	viii.	206
the treaty of in 1529, Henry VIII's preponderance in	—	228
Cambridge, one of the towns exempted from the pardon of Richard II.	v.	60
university, the petition of students there to parliament	—	239
on Arabick manuscripts presented to it	—	315
an ordinance for regulating it	—	323
earl of Northampton is elected chancellor	—	359
Cromwell is elected member of parliament for	vii.	276
Queen's college at, by whom founded	xi.	381
Camden, approbation of his judgment as an historian	ii.	415
remarks on a passage in his annals of queen Elisabeth	viii.	239
Camilton's Discovery of the devilish designs of the Jesuits	v.	303
Camp, a Call to it, or Honour's Invitation	vii.	606
Chaplain, a petition for redress of grievances	x.	162
Campaign of sir Thomas Morgan in Flanders	x.	409, 416
Campaine, cardinal, his refusal to pass judgment of divorce	iv.	533
Campanella, his horrid plot for introducing popery	i.	34
Campden in Gloucestershire, on Mr. William Harrison's disappearance	viii.	87
Campion, Sherwin executed with him, deemed a singular scholar	ii.	200
Campodoglio, or the Roman council-house described	xii.	112
Canaan, on Holland's being so named by Dutchmen	vii.	549
Canada, a proposal for subdividing the country of	xi.	8
Canas, Inegrode, a sport so called in Spain	—	557
Candioli, the history of Sammatius Senior	xii.	77
Candish, the nature of his evidence against the duke of Norfolk	ix.	131
Candies, hallowed ones, delivered at Candlemasse to the students	ii.	175
Candy, the arrival of certain christian slaves there from Turkey	—	42
Cangl, on Ostorius, the Roman general, marching against them	—	434
Canon, colonel, the manner in which he was treated by papists	x.	278
Canoes, or Indian long-boats, a description of	vii.	166
Canon laws of Normandy, no obstacle to a regal succession	iii.	120
Canons, the pope's, ordain that all the western priests are to be shaven	iv.	31
Canons of archbishop Stratford for regulation of marriages	—	500
Canterbury, Arundel, archbishop of, persecutes the Lollards	i.	246
the controversy of its archbishop with the see of York	iii.	165
Laud, archbishop of, an account of his birth and life	iv.	450
his parallel with Wolsey	—	492
insolently called the pope's champion	v.	341
the archbishop of, obtains letters of the earl of Somerset	—	309
his speech or funeral sermon	—	478
his lamentation for the church of England	—	481
his first prayer on the scaffold	—	482
his last prayer on the scaffold	—	484
danger of Strafford's precedent to	—	552
on king Charles II's reception there	vii.	112

	Vol.	Page.
Canterbury, the hack, half paca, half gallop, fanatick compared to	viii.	81
—, Edward the Black Prince died and was buried at	—	177
—, Habernfeld's letter to the archbishop of	—	185
—, archbishop of, his letter to the king	—	191
—, Cuneus avails himself of intelligence from	—	197
—, letters to bishop of Chichester about Young	x.	81
—, of Norwich ditto	—	84.
—, of Asaph, ditto	—	85.
—, from the bishop of Chichester to	—	85
—, St. Asaph to	—	86
Cantium, messengers dispatched thither by Cassibelin	ii.	408
Canutus, son of Swamus, the Dane, his wars and success in England	iii.	198
—, his large navy prepared for the invasion of England	—	197
Cape of Good Hope, its inhabitants and climate commended	—	421
Capet, Hugh, the family of, succeeds to the French monarchy	x.	491
Capitulation of Luxembourg, an account of it	ix.	107
Caprarola, a palace of cardinal Farnesio	xii.	99
Captivity, on the French king's redemption out of it	iv.	516
Capuchin, the habit of a monk of that order described	xi.	180
Capuchins, the monastery of, at Venice, its description	xii.	76
Caractacus, a famous British chieftain	ii.	494
—, his spirited and valorous behaviour in battle	—	495
—, his wife, family, &c, led in triumph by the Romans	—	495
Carbontini, the great destruction there by an earthquake	x.	197
Caravans and stage-coaches, on the evil of their numbers	viii.	16
—, on the suppression of them	—	36
—, destructive to the trade of the kingdom	—	36
—, manufactures injured by them	—	36.
Cardinals, Sir Peter Middleton is executed for robbing two of them	i.	98
Cardiff, the ship, sets sail from the West Indies for England	vi.	398
Cardross, lord, fined and imprisoned in Edinburgh castle	x.	236
—, his house converted into a garrison	—	236
Cards new Shuffled, or the Royal Gamesters	xi.	46
—, new packed and shuffled, or the State Gamesters	xii.	255
Carew, Mr. John, his arraignment for sitting as judge on Charles I.	vii.	139
Carleton, lord, how insulted at the French court	xii.	57
Carlisle, earl of, creation of Harleley	i.	166
Carnè Vale in Rome, the manner of keeping it	ii.	205
Carniola, the curious sound of Cs in that country	i.	234, 235
—, this curious sound is of Hungarian extraction	—	235
—, the excellence of the wine in the province of it	—	46.
—, a general account of the province of	—	290
Carolina tree, somewhat similar to the Tree of Tea tree	xii.	25
Caron, Francis, director of the factory, his description of Japan	vii.	546
Carpinger, George, an account of his miraculous preservation	ix.	80
Carr, Mr. one of the twelve pages of king James of Scotland	v.	353
—, sir Robert, entrusts Overbury with various employments	—	356
—, created viscount Rochester	—	357
Carre, Pierre, a Fleming, his examination on Spanish losses	ii.	57
Carriapoory, on the coast of South America, a description of	iii.	178
Carthage, on the council there about the year 400	viii.	293
Carthaginians, very considerable in shipping, after the Tyrians	vii.	164
—, a ship or galley of theirs driven to the Romans	—	46.
Certismandua takes Venutius' brother and kinsmen, and war renewed	ii.	438
Carvers in Pope Joan's time, observation on their want of skill	iv.	15
—, amongst the Roman catholics, little worthy of credit	—	59
Cassaubon, Isaac, Gondamore's design to procure his library	viii.	247
Case of England and protestant interest, the present one	i.	41
—, of the bishop of Ross, committed to the tower for treason	—	405
—, of treason stated and discussed	iv.	407
—, of law, if doubtful, how resolved and settled by parliament	—	56
—, of levying war, as an act of treason, discussed and stated	v.	62
—, of John Alwater, indicted for high-treason in Kent	—	65
—, of bail for treason, by an Irish statute of the 5th of Edw. IV.	—	68
—, of felony, its aggravation, and operation of its punishment	—	68
—, a perverted one, of deeming treason a misdemeanor only	—	405
—, a remarkable one of abstinence of Martha Taylor	vii.	355
—, of Moses and the Egyptian stated	—	298
—, of Samson's destruction of the Philistines discussed	ix.	299
—, of queen Mary's succession to the government considered	—	347
Cases of treason, written by Sir Francis Bacon, knight	v.	12
—, abjuration, exile, and heresy	—	80
—, sir Thomas Talbot, William Bell, &c. to control the laws	—	59
—, rebellion, two sorts of it distinctly stated	—	408
Casse, Du, the French admiral attacked by admiral John Bembow	x.	545
Cassibelane, king of Britain, receives a message from Cesar	xii.	159
—, returns an answer to Cesar	—	169
Cassi, and other petty states of Britain submit themselves to Cesar	ii.	428

	Vol.	Page
effin, chief of the Trinobantes, is made general of the British	ii.	466-468
as, the palace of	xii.	80
as, an approved writer of the ancient British history	ii.	414
as and Leon, the king of driven from his kingdom as a tyrant	viii.	175
of Bristol, Hugh Spencer shuts himself up in it	i.	117
Borough, on the coast of Norfolk, an account of it	ii.	381
Bay, in the island of Barbadoes, rendezvous of a fleet there	vi.	377
and others, their readiness, as Romish agents, to commit murders	viii.	442
Reah, in the diocese of Waterford, Young curate at	x.	36
his exploits at stated	—	46
Novo, and other castles of Naples in Italy	xii.	119
of defence in Scotland, almost impregnable	vii.	445
, the great increase of them after the Norman conquest	ix.	461
of Blackness, the state of its garrison	xi.	73
f Dumbarton ditto	—	76
f Mikowitz in Bohemia	—	319
f Dover is reconnoitred by Perkin Warbeck	—	412
f Norham is besieged; and defended by the bishop of Durham	—	408
f Hailton is surrendered, and then demolished	—	409
ases, near Newcastle, the gift of king John	—	465
f Morpeth, whence it received its name	—	467
f Alnwick, Wark, and Norham, some account of	—	46
tion of Popish Ecclesiasticks proposed	z.	445
the law upon that subject in Sweden	—	460
i, sultan Mahomet, a great drinker of coffee	xii.	28
as, a presage of an earthquake there	x.	788
the total destruction of it by an earthquake	—	100
as, on the good of smoking tobacco in such complaints	xii.	31
ism of the Rebels, exposing their strongest subtrefuges	v.	403
the Assemblies, the height of a fanatics divinity	viii.	81
y, Robert, his concern in the gunpowder plot stated	iii.	22
his private conversation with Guy Fawkes	—	25
his house deemed fittest to prosecute the plot	—	26
his unlimited power to procure more conspirators	—	29
and conspirators are pursued, and he is shot	—	29
a gentleman of good quality	viii.	150
communicates the plot to the conspirators	—	151
in what manner he was mortally wounded	—	158
ine, the repudiated wife of king Henry VIII. at Kymbolton	vi.	514
St. and other courts, their infamy stated	viii.	50
ine, queen, her Lamentation of a Sinner	i.	286
sister of Lady Jane Gray, her last Letter to	—	369
queen of England, summoned on the divorce	iv.	529
ick cause, the horrid practice of murdering kings stated	ii.	130
Religion, duchess of York's letter on her embracing it	vii.	430
King of Spain, his power to unlock the secrets of princes	viii.	235
M. Esardus, a bigotted one	xi.	353
lecks Roman, James II. entrusts them with the militia	i.	10
deem it meritorious to murder heretical princes	iii.	9
and Papists, address to them on the dialogue of pope Joan	iv.	11
Roman confederate, their commissioners stated	v.	485
to have free enjoyment of their religion in Ireland	—	485
of Ireland, the articles of agreement with them	—	489
king Charles promises to take away the penal laws	—	521
their design to procure all scripture manuscripts	viii.	248
as's wicked conspiracy compared	x.	448
as, smoking tobacco recommended for	xii.	31
on repealing prohibition of the importation of Irish	viii.	17, 26
ade at Adrianople, a description of one	—	101
y, the necessity of them at Tangier	—	401
a Monte at Rome described	xii.	115
on Young's being incarcerated at Caven, &c.	x.	32
gaol, Young imprisoned there for bigamy	—	31
farther accounts of Young's imprisonment in	—	52, &c.
ish, Mr. his account of the negotiations of cardinal Wolsey	iv.	468
a great one of judgment upon the nation	v.	533
, civil, on impropriety of bishops deciding them	viii.	580
um-hill near Reading taken by the earl of Essex	vi.	20
bridge, the fight there described	—	21
nary towns, on their being given up to the Dutch	vii.	520
, the keys of the Low-Countries	vii.	241
as, proper to be regarded in the firing of beacons	v.	247
d, cardinal Wolsey there, and preparation for his installation	iv.	547
, burnt and deserted by the rebel forces	v.	535
, William, the first printer in England	vii.	105
used printing in Westminster Abbey	z.	505
secretary William, his diligence and attention in business	v.	133
air Robert, son of lord Burleigh, lord treasurer	—	152

	Vol.	Page
Cecil, sir Robert, his death under a suspicion of poison	v.	356
—, his excellent character as a statesman and protestant	—	46.
—, sir Edward, created viscount Wimbledon	vi.	10
Cesamero, on the damage done there by an earthquake	x.	198
Celibacy of the Romish clergy, discussed by Æneas Sylvius	—	446
Cellar, a noted one in Hamburg described	xi.	354
Cellier, madam, is tempted to murder the earl of Shaftesbury	ix.	51
—, on establishing a royal hospital for midwives	—	191
Celtes, their situation anciently in Bohemia	xi.	313
Cenit magni, one of the petty states of Britain, which submitted to Caesar	ii.	468
Censure of herrings in proverbial phrases, scouted	—	331
—, Nashe's appeal to the publick to defend him from	—	333
—, passed on Bastwick, Burton, and Frynne in the star-chamber	iv.	232
— of the Rota on Milton's book on a Commonwealth	vii.	115
Century of inventibus by the marquis of Worcester	vi.	405
Cerdick Sands or Shore, an account of the name from Cerdicus	ii.	296
—, curious account of their early state	—	321
Ceremonies, increase of them in the church	xii.	76
Cerio, Zacharias, betrays Sammatius Scario	—	78
Certificate of Robert Young's first marriage	x.	51
— of the dean of Kilmore of his second marriage	—	65.
— of his being in Cavan gael for bigamy	—	65.
Cestrensis, Raulufus, a fair MS. of his in New College library	iv.	43
Chair of marble for pope's being examined at his election	—	18
Chaise's, fatherly, project, for the extirpation of hereticks	ix.	222
Chalcondyas, Laomæus, his testimony of the marble chair	iv.	17
—, how belied by papists	—	39
—, his testimony about pope Joan	—	43
—, his assertion that priests were shaven in her time	—	73
Chalices, Duaren's saying on the ancient ones	iv.	44
Chalons and Tours, on the pope's bulls burnt there	iii.	546
Chalybeates, on the efficacy of them	viii.	377
—, on their properties, a discussion	ix.	178
Chamberlain, Hugh Spencer is made, and soon banished	i.	146
—, Thomas Radcliffe, earl of Sussex, succeeds to be	v.	132
—, Thomas, arrives from cardinal Richlieu	viii.	200
Champagne, cardinal Wolsey's arrival there on his negotiation	iv.	517
—, the means by which the negotiation was effected at	—	518
Champerly, a description what it is	vi.	118
Champion of protestants, archbishop Whitgift	—	304
—, and wo thy defender, bishop Davenant	—	305
Chancellor of England, Baldoes is appointed	i.	106
—, Lord, Judge Hales communication with him	—	325
—, sued in the star-chamber on a premanire	v.	388
—, is strongly exposed by lord Coke	—	389
—, burglary at the house of	viii.	103
—, Jelferies is appointed to be	ix.	309
—, an office within the statute against sale of offices	x.	258
—, lord of Ireland, account of Geraldine	xi.	377
Chancery, on cardinal Wolsey sitting in as lord chancellor	iv.	538
Change of government, attempts at deemed treason	—	407
—, Houses in Scotland, a description of them	vii.	444
Channel, news from it, being a description of the life of Serke	xii.	522
Chapel of printers, whence the name originated	x.	565
Chapels, on images or pictures in them, by ordinance of parliament	v.	441
Chapmans, the three benedicted ones of archbishop Laud	iv.	458
—, on Wolsey's succession to be one of the king's	—	461
—, the necessity of good ones in the army	viii.	357
—, their petition for redress of grievances	x.	152
—, on having vicious ones on board our ships	xi.	14
Character of the town of Yarmouth in its early state	ii.	302
— of Richard III's history by sir Thomas Moore	—	412
— of the ancient Druids, and their practice in Galia	—	439
— of Ulfus Marcellus, and his conduct in Britain	—	461
— of the late marquis of Argyll fully stated	—	512
— of man, as to his industry, considered	—	512
— of Bellarmine and Barinius stated	iv.	36
— of Beuno the cardinal, and others discussed	—	37
— of the king in Sweden, killed at the battle of Lutzen	—	397
— of the earl of Lancaster depicted	—	479
— of the war at Stratford, in a letter to a friend	—	482
— of the long parliament by Milton	v.	37
— of the parliament comously discussed	—	529
— of an Oxford secretary	—	329
— and objections of the English language considered	—	437
— of the nobilius episcopi, prince Rupert and prince Maurice	—	46.
— of marquis Hartford, duke of Richmond, and others	—	426
— of a rockatrice, snakes, adders, and other vipers	—	426

	Vol.	Page.
ster in the drama of presbytery, the directory	vi.	81
— the liturgy	—	46
— of presbyterians fully stated	—	184
— of Mr. John Fussel, of Blandford, in Dorset	viii.	13
— of Holland stated	—	321
— of a town-wit, a description of	viii.	11
— of a fanatick stated	—	79
— of an Englishman, as given by the French	—	107
— of an unconscionable pawn-broker described	—	179
— of Architophel stated	—	479
— of a disbanded courtier described	—	509
—, a Scotsman's of king James, lord Burleigh's remarks	—	513
— of trimmers stated	ix.	59
— of Scotland, largely pourtrayed	x.	509
— of the prince of Orange stated	—	545
— of the king of Prussia stated	xi.	334
—, the excellent one of M. Wolfius	—	353
— of an honest parliament-man	xii.	47
isa, his account of pope Joan stated	iv.	21
— the forces which joined the earl of Essex there	vi.	30
— of serjeant Thorpe at the assizes at York	—	106
— edict of the Dutch, a malicious one	vii.	556
— of Mr. Howell's being a malignant, discussed	viii.	131
—, on Dr. Wilkins's winged one	vii.	92
—, on Dr. Wilkins's performing the service of	—	83
—, the English forces reviewed there	x.	410
— I. his murder defended by Milton	i.	7
—, a vindication of his government	—	53
—, prince of Wales, Hayward's dedication to him	iii.	115
—, copy of the petition presented to him at York	iv.	391
—, his triumphal entry into London from the north	v.	86
—, procession of the lord mayor and sheriffs, &c. to meet him	—	91
—, the address of the recorder of London to him	—	92
—, his reply to the recorder's speech	—	93
—, colonel Harwood's advice on French preparation at sea	—	301
—, address of the people on their loyalty	—	264
—, a case of the parliament's resistance to him supposed	—	391
—, prince, account of his expedition to France	—	311
—, on his proceedings about the city of York	vi.	13
—, summons the city of Gloucester to surrender	—	22
—, on his being sent to the Isle of Wight	—	187
— II. on his escape from Worcester	—	247
— on his arrival at White-ladies and Boscobel	—	248
— is accompanied by Mrs. Lane from Mosely	—	254
— the Great, erected schools with churches	—	305
— I. the ghost of him at Windsor	—	509
— his ruin occasioned by the defection of the Scots	—	516
—, an account of his burial	vii.	271
—, his ill usage of sir Walter Raleigh's family	—	391
—, prince, the pope's letter to him accounted for	viii.	132
—, his answer, and account of him at Madrid	—	133
— of Lichtenstein, a favourer of chymistry	—	460
— I. the earl of Strafford's letter to the king	—	480
— II. assists the king of France	ix.	1
— makes warm professions of protestantism	—	2
—, his partiality and tenderness for the duke of York	—	45
—, prince of Wales, at the bull-fight at Madrid	—	66
— II. papers said to be written by him	—	159
— I. an account of his reign	x.	323
— the narrative of his death	—	325
— II. brought to England in the ship called, The Naseby	xi.	17
— the warrior, successor to duke Philip	xi.	103
— II. of Spain, his wars with the French	—	106
— VI. emperor, his various titles	—	276
— the ship of that name, sails to Madagascar	—	536
— I. a view of his reign	xii.	50
—, his ill-fated marriage	—	5
—, the Hugonots treated as enemies to him	—	58, 56
—, the grievances of his reign stated	—	69
—, immorality one of the causes of his murder	—	65
—, hypocrisy, a principal cause of his murder	—	71
— II. an invitation to, or, Awake, O England!	vii.	98
—, on his landing at Dover from the Netherlands	—	111
—, on his arrival at Canterbury and Rochester	—	219
— Deptford	—	111
—, an epistle addressed to him	—	262
—, on his encamping at Stirling	—	283
—, his danger of being betrayed by the Dutch	—	535
—, on his disclaiming Mrs. Walters	viii.	511
—, conduct of Tiberius recommended to him	—	51
—, his marriage by Fuller, bishop of Lincoln	—	3

Charles II. his declaration at Breda in the Low Countries	viii.	519
—, an account of his reign	x.	338
Charles V. emperor, his enterprize against Algiers failed	i.	231
—, cardinal Wolsey's second embassy to him	iv.	400
—, emperor, came into England, and was well received	—	26.
—, on the resignation of his crown	x.	338
Charles, king of France, his meditation of hostilities	viii.	178
Charnwood forest, on the wonderful breach there	—	228
Charter, the first and earliest to the town of Yarmouth	ii.	207
— of liberty, procured by the bishop of London for the city	iii.	152
— of the merchant adventurers is seized on	v.	382
Charters of Newcastle, an account of them	xi.	456
Charthouse, a famous monastery of Favia	xii.	157
Chatham, Dutch treachery in burning the English ships there	vii.	535
Chatillon's garden, the fort in it rased and demolished	x.	317
Cheats of gaming, a discovery of them	vii.	351
—, the Hollanders most notorious ones	—	353
Chedder, servant to sir John Brooke, on a breach of parliament	v.	83
Cheese, charged with duty in France	xi.	213
Chemnitz, taken by duke Bernard of Weimar	iv.	394
Cheney, Thomas, or the Hermit of fairies, his conspiracy and treason	v.	89
Chese, father le, on the revocation of the edict of Nantes	ix.	295
Cheshire cavaliers blamed	vi.	193
Chesney, a follower of La Clere, interview with sir Walter Raleigh	iii.	390
Chess, observations on the game of it	viii.	262
Chest of silver, in what manner it assuages tempests	xii.	185
Chester stage coaches, the number of passengers they carry	viii.	39
—, on Mary Hutt's narrow escape there	—	35
Cheviot and other hills of the north, a relation of	xi.	468
Cheyneff, appointed the head of St. John's college, Oxford	vi.	135
Chichester, bishop of, his letter to the archbishop of Canterbury	x.	83
Chickens, on hatching vast quantities of them by artificial heat	iii.	324
Chidley, Samuel, on the punishment of theft, &c.	vi.	272
—, his letter to the judges at the Old Bailey	—	278
—, regulators of the law	—	286
Children, or an account of the countess of Lincoln's nursery	iii.	453
—, how punished on account of their fathers	vi.	521
—, found, hospital rules for their regulation	ix.	194
Chilperick, king, his inclosure of Tournay	xi.	117
—, was originally visible, &c.	—	119-121
Chimay, prince of, general of artillery at Tournay	—	139
China, Paulus Venetus, on transporting the magnet from it	vii.	168
—, the printing of it described	x.	508
—, the value of dried sage thete	xii.	63, 24
Chinese method of gathering and using Thee or Tea	xii.	25
Chioramonte, the destruction of it by an earthquake	x.	195
Chiozza, a town of Venice, a description of it	xii.	80
Chippenham, the native place of Muggleton	viii.	83
Chmelnica, the synod of, its opposition to Socinus	vi.	368
Chocolate, the natural history of it stated	xii.	25-29
Cholicks, tobacco clysters recommended for	—	31
Cholmley, sir Hugh, his preservation of Scarborough for the king	v.	557
Chorographia, or a survey of Newcastle upon Tyne	xi.	446
Christening of the prince of Spain, ceremony attending it	ii.	553
Christenings, how performed in Scotland	vii.	440
Christendom, the earl of Gondamore termed the incendiary of	iii.	530
—, the present state of it described	viii.	185
—, the arms of France formidable to it	—	110
—, the danger to it from the aggressions of France	—	111
Christian religion, the corruption of it by popes	i.	84
—, fasts, in what manner they ought to be observed	—	87
—, religion, its persecution under Dioclesian	ii.	468
—, states of Europe, how circumstanced in politics	iii.	106
—, burial, the refusal of it for lord Dumferling	x.	278
—, — Mrs. Ashton	—	280
—, Clovis, the first king, whose sons divided France	x.	491
Christianismus Christianus, a book so named	xi.	185
Christianity, its early establishment in Britain	ii.	90
—, introduced into Britain after our Saviour's death	—	460
Christians, their grievous persecution under Dioclesian	ii.	468
—, Machiavel's bold speech on its making men cowards	iii.	460
Christians, whether the Jews ought to be received by them	vi.	438
—, in what manner it is endangered by war	viii.	116
Christmas, very frequently kept at Gloucester by William I.	iii.	156
—, kept by the king at Norwich	xi.	394
Chronicle of sir John Oldcastle, by bishop Bale	i.	245
— of Yarmouth or Cerdick sands	ii.	206
— of the kings of Scotland for nearly 2000 years	iii.	468
—, conclusion of the Scotch one	vii.	446
—, Baker's the parliament of queen Mary	viii.	476

	Vol.	Page
Chronology , investigation of popish errors in it	iv.	64
Chrysostom , St. a description of his thoughts upon gentleness	vii.	71
Church , Romish, their laws and decrees against hereticks	i.	35
of England, danger of it from popish intrigues	ii.	60
Romish, secret articles of Rome for re-edifying it	iii.	480
of York encroached upon in its rights by Henry VIII.	iv.	548
what has been done by the rebels for it	vi.	38
no immunity against murder	—	245
kingdom and nation, a prescription how to recover	vii.	89
rights of it asserted by archbishop Laud	viii.	411
of Ireland, historical collections about it	—	534
order for the English service there	—	540
of Rome, its form of excommunication, or the pope's curse	—	553
of England, its answer to the pope's letter	ix.	247
the character of it stated	x.	446
increase of ceremonies in it	xii.	68
of St. John Lateran at Rome described	—	105
of St. Peter in Vincolo described	—	107
Churches , monuments and images of kings, &c. allowed to remain in them	v.	441
on the Spaniards drinking chocolate in them	—	25
Churchill , lord, his letter to king James II.	xii.	221
Churchyard , Thomas, his spark of friendship and good will	ii.	109
Chymistry , how favoured by prince Charles of Lichtenstein	viii.	460
Gilley , a description of it	xi.	235
Cinque-ports , ships of, defeated by those of Yarmouth	ii.	297
Rye, as one of them, its inferiority to Yarmouth	—	308
lord Zouch is made lord warden of them	v.	306
the ship so named, touches at Juan Fernandez isle	xi.	40
Civara , or ships of burden, the invention of the Cypriots	vii.	164
Circumcision of Mustapha, a copious account of it	viii.	99
Cirencester , on the standards taken there	vi.	23
Cities of London and Paris, a dialogue between them	x.	494
Civil conversation on the state of the church between two scholars	iv.	377
wars of Marius and Sylla, and others, on their effects	—	407
England's tears for them	v.	444
jurisdiction incompatible with ecclesiastical polity	viii.	310
war, on the causes of them by the earl of Clarendon	xii.	52
Civility money to sheriffs officers, the nature of it	xi.	50
Clanrickard , earl of, father-in-law to Essex	vi.	6
Clans of Scotland, their nature and operations described	vii.	442
those of Dundee, and others, rebellion of	x.	555
Chare , dame Annis, on her unfortunate marriage and exit	iii.	265
Clarence , the duke of, his being drowned in malmsey	viii.	385
Clarendon , earl of, his address to the parliament	vii.	343
his two letters	—	430
causes assigned by, for the civil war	xii.	52
his observations on the French intrigues	—	50-62
Clarke , Mary, an assumed name of Mary Hutt	x.	37
Claudius honoured as a god by the Britons	ii.	433
Clauserus , his couzenage as a translator, doubtfully questioned	iv.	30
Claypole , lord, a creature of Cromwell's, an account of	vi.	495
Cleaver , Mr. on cruelty to brutes	vii.	71
Clemangis , Nicholas, archdeacon of Bayonne on presage of an owl	iv.	45
Clement , Mr. Gregory, his confession	vii.	140
a devoted tool of the papists	viii.	442
Clerc , le, sometime agent in England for the French king	iii.	385
Cleret , Mr. appointed to pay the French pensioners in England	xii.	19
Clergy , Romish, the shocking impurity of their lives	i.	32
regular or monastic, the pope's jauseries	—	88
Romish, their villainous intrigues against England	ii.	176
on their being shaven in pope Joan's days	iv.	73
English, on clipping their wings	—	486
the decline of their influence through Anne Bullen	—	536
London, on the sequestrations of their livings	vii.	181
English, in what manner degraded by the Conqueror	ix.	403
their decimes or tenths stated	x.	215
Romish, Italian proverbs about them	x.	455
French proverbs relating to them	—	46
Clergyman , advice to a young one	xi.	208
a nobleman's singular treatment of one	—	216
M. Willh. Ern. Ewaldus, a noted one of Altena	—	354
Clerkenwell , a college of Jesuits there	xii.	61
Clerks of attorneys, on the necessity of regulating their number	xi.	58
Clermont , viscount, taken prisoner at Hoddenfield by the earl of Surrey	iv.	495
Clifford , sir Robert, his journey to Flanders	xi.	398
is prevailed on to desert Warbeck's party	—	404
Climate , variety of it in different parts of Guiana	iii.	187
Clock , account of the famous one at Prague	xi.	306

	Vol.	Page.
Brennus's army, Gaul's the relics of	vi.	105
Brent, sir Nathaniel, judge of the prerogative court	—	135
Brentford, attack of prince Rupert on the parliament forces there	—	18
—, colonel Hollis resists prince Rupert successfully at	—	48.
—, the previous pillage of it by the king's forces	—	10
Bretton, sir William, his busy meddling to stop the course of justice	—	189
Brétagne, the duke of, murdered at Roan	x.	592
Brett's narrative of the Jews council	vi.	225
Brewer's plea, or the vindication of strong beer	—	73
— widow, Cromwell marries, to improve his fortune	vii.	274
Brewhouses, on Pride's three, at London, &c.	viii.	366
—, a play upon them	—	366
Brian, Thady o' his being pilloried, &c.	—	539
Bribery, judge, his agreement with Lucifer	iv.	391
Bricks, on their contracting a magnetic property	vii.	179
Bride and Pride, a play upon the names	viii.	364
Bridget, queen of Sweden, some account of her	xii.	102
Bridgewater hospital, the records of it stolen	v.	60
Frie, a province of France, fire from a candle-snuff	vii.	53
Brigantines, invented by the Rhodians	—	164
Brill, admiral the earl of March takes it	—	523
Brian, in Moravia, the limits of its toparchy or district	xi.	399
Bristol, city of, delivers Spencer the father, to be put to death	i.	108-118
—, Castle, Spencer the father shuts himself up in it	—	177
—, on the waters of St. Vincrat's rock there	iv.	120
—, a portraiture and description of it	v.	514
—, observations on the queen of England's going to it	—	537
—, Major-general Shippon, governor of	vi.	36
—, Mayor's procession near it	—	425
Bristow, Dr. his confutation, a statement of	iv.	36
Britain, Cæsar's account of the country of	li.	414
—, Cassius gives an account of it	—	41.
—, Dio's account of the country of	—	41.
—, Tacitus his account of the country of	—	414
—, Roman, Camden's account of it	—	415
—, the Roman lieutenants in it, statement of	—	416
—, is reconnoitered by Caius Volusenus	—	419
—, Cæsar's first invasion of it	—	420
—, Cæsar leaves the country of	—	425
—, returns to the country of	—	425
—, Plantius is sent into it	—	430
—, is neglected by Tiberius	—	43.
—, the Roman soldiers refuse to come to it	—	431
—, Ostorius Scapula arrives in it	—	433
—, Suetonius Paulinus, his government of it	—	438
—, degeneracy of the Roman army there	—	446
—, Agricola, comes into it	—	447
—, government of the country of	—	4.
—, Arrington governs as king in it	—	459
—, the first stamping of coin in it	—	4.
—, on the reception of Christianity in it	—	460
—, Lucius governs as king in it	—	4.
—, Severus, the Roman emperor, visits it	—	464
—, on the landing of Constantine in it	—	468
—, the Picts make incursions into	—	474
—, vessels furnished with ships in Cæsar's time	vii.	176
—, account of its first natives	xi.	349
—, on the Saxons settling first in it	—	451
Britannia, William de, on Dutch usurpation	vii.	521
Britannicus, a surname of Claudius	—	418
—, a surname of Ladies Urbicus	—	469
Brittany, observations on Henry VI's losing it	viii.	362
—, on the insurrections there	x.	289
—, his usurpation from the Duc d'Angers of France	—	421
—, the cause there upon wine	—	512
—, the duke of, is indicated by Edward IV.	xi.	15
—, a description of one of their towns	—	428
—, lady, Tiberius, a noble one	—	428
—, government in now modelled by Constantine	—	470
—, words, some ancient ones are of Greek derivation	vi.	122
—, seen, on the English sovereignty in them	vii.	529
—, depositions, a speech to the French king	—	41.
—, on the dissolution, a traitor to his country	—	427
—, a worthy one, has resistive and valiant, &c.	xi.	127
—, blind and halting	—	428
—, long submission to Cæsar	—	429
—, not pardoned by Cæsar	—	432
—, the destruction of the British ships	—	435
—, off placing pilot in the Thames	—	437
—, questions in language	—	439

	Vol.	Page.
the tribute and custom among them	ii.	46.
Caius Caligula's letters to them	—	430
on their revolt	—	440
are headed by Voadicea	—	441
their destruction of Camalodunum	—	443
a battle with the Romans	—	445
the Saxon assistance to them stated	vi.	97
harassed by the Picts and Scots	—	98
Danes of Teutonick race	—	46.
their opposition to Germanicus	—	99
the laws of, subverted by the Romans and Saxons	—	216
are expelled by their Saxon auxiliaries	ix.	345
lord, a representation of his pretended merits	vi.	496
—, one of the tools and creatures of Cromwell	ix.	291
cardinal, transmits a copy of faculties	viii.	436
y, on Blackhead's going to the palace there on Whitsunday	x.	17
—, on Young and Mary Hutt's coming to the palace there	—	35
— college, Young's letter to the widows of	—	36
—, Walsingham King on Young's behaviour at	—	88
y, the native place of the duke of Buckingham	v.	308
black, of the Lacedæmonians, what it was	viii.	77
the mischief of their going to law	lii.	558
ton, sir Thomas, and others, their attempt at rebellion	xi.	373
an old Pharisee, portrayed	vi.	344
archbishop of Dublin, his letters on supremacy, &c.	viii.	534-537
his primacy revoked by queen Mary	—	543
Robert, Scotch nobility's, resolution to adhere to him	i.	128
—, king, an account of his various fortune	vi.	261
the improvement of the nautical compass at	vii.	167
the Spaniards arrival there	x.	412
n Moravia, account of the monastery there	viii.	453
—, copper box found in the monastery of	—	455
—, Wenceslaus his residence in the monastery	—	466
—, count Peter Paar's visit to the monastery of	—	467
rick, the duke of, his opposition to the anabaptists	v.	254
—, a description of it by travellers	xi.	342
—, the method of making mum there	xii.	34
ls, a letter from a Jesuit in England thither	ix.	391
on his coming into Britain	ii.	413
on cruelty to them by Mr. Perkins	vii.	71
—, of the English republick, sir Arthur Hazlerig	—	118
retto, Michael Angelo, a famous painting of	xii.	96
nan, his suffering from St. Paul, in the nature of rebellion	v.	410
—, his false distinction about person and power	—	415
io, its partial destruction by an earthquake	x.	194
life of Richard III. observation on	viii.	515
urst, lord, an account of him	v.	149
gham, marquis of, on his poisoning the duke of Hamilton	iv.	410
—, the duke of, on his poisoning king James	v.	211
—, a short view of his life and death	—	307
—, the nature of his fortunes stated	—	46.
—, his creation, and embassy to Holland	—	313-315
—, advice of lord Goring of his danger	—	318
—, is met on the road by an old woman	—	46.
—, lord viscount Fielding changes cloaths with	—	46.
—, conjectures of the enmity towards him	—	319
—, Eggleston's libellous book against him	—	320
—, remonstrance of the commons against	—	46.
—, Felton's access to him at Portsmouth	—	46.
—, sir Clement Throckmorton's advice slighted	—	46.
—, certain pre-sentiments of his fate	—	321
—, Henry, duke of, beheaded	—	551
—, duchess of, an inveterate papist	viii.	205
—, duke of, his proceedings at the isle of Rhee	x.	323
—, is stabbed by Felton at Portsmouth	—	324
—, a small town of Bohemia, an account of	xi.	319
all, and other cases of treason	v.	406
ugs about London, observations about restraining	viii.	17
ggers, what meant by them stated	iv.	435
a disclosure of the great one	i.	483
of pope Pius Quintus, against queen Elisabeth	lii.	513
the answer of queen Elisabeth to it	—	514
of pope Gregory the Thirtieth burnt at Tours and Chalons	—	548
bating at Madrid, a large account of	ix.	60
how the Spaniards encounter one in fight	—	65
u, Mrs. Anne, her enmity the cause of Wolsey's fall	iv.	503
—, a particular favourite of Henry VIII.	—	505
—, Henry VIII's particular partiality for	—	526

Bullen, Mrs. Anne, the stratagem she used at Grafton	Pal. Pap.
_____ , a severe remark on her	iv. 237
Bullion, the means to be used for augmenting it	vi. 214
Bulloign, or Boloigne, betrayed to the French	x. 370
_____ , on Henry VII. being there	iv. 495
Bum-bailey, a description of one	xi. 391
Bunhill-fields, on Dr. Emma's resurrection there	viii. 181
Burdet's case of treason stated	xi. 63
_____ , esq. the cause of his execution represented	v. 405
Bure, king Henry of England strips the Spaniards at it	xi. 407
Burglary, account of one at the lord chancellor's	iii. 548
Burgundy, the duke of, his fright at the nine worthies	viii. 103
_____ , Margaret duchess of, sets up Perkin Warbeck	iii. 533
_____ , her support of Warbeck stated	xi. 373
_____ , her two monstrous births	— 399
_____ , her speech to English ambassadors	— 401
_____ , duchess dowager, reflections about her	— 46
_____ , duke of, in alliance with England	— 440
_____ , disgusted with Edward IV. for his shameful truce	xii. 9
_____ , his peace with Lewis XI.	— 14
Burial, that of pope Joan described	— 18
_____ , of Charles I. an account of it	iv. 74
_____ , of the dead, in what manner done at Dunkirk	vii. 271
Burleigh, lord treasurer, his advice on religion	xi. 178
_____ , account of France	ii. 276
_____ , Spain	— 281
_____ , his friendship for sir Thomas Bodley	— 282
_____ , on a Scotsman's character of king James	vi. 34
Burley, Dr. William, tutor to the Black prince	viii. 513
_____ , Mr. William, retreats from Perkin Warbeck's party	— 164
Burnet, Dr. Gilbert, his account of Stern and others, for murder	xi. 404
_____ , meets with Vrats at the execution	ix. 9
_____ , his sermon before the execution of Stern	— 18
_____ , his letter on cardinal Pole's secret powers	— 33
Burrell, John, an account of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem	— 148, 153
_____ , his good reception there as a Greek	iii. 365
Barrows, sir John, was slain at the isle of Rhee	— 327
Bart, Richard, on Young's forgery	— 556
Barton, Mr. account of proceedings in the Star-chamber	x. 50
_____ , his speech on the pillory	iv. 220
_____ , his execution for treason	— 233
_____ , Bastwick, and Prynne described	v. 59
_____ , their malice to the government	viii. 411
Bury St. Edmund's, in Suffolk, on Young's being seized there	xii. 67
_____ , the manner of his being there stated	x. 34
_____ , Mary Hunt's information there of Young	— 67
Buryings, an account of them in Scotland	— 68
Busch, Herman, his opposition to German anabaptists	vii. 440
Business, stage-coaches stated to be prejudicial to it	v. 460
Busses, account of fleets of them for fishing	viii. 42
_____ , state of those belonging to the Hollanders	iii. 235
Busy-body's curious dialogue with his friend Scrape-all	— 311
Butchers, on the improper conduct of them	iv. 419
Butter, is charged with duty in France	vi. 123, 124, 125
Byrdes, the parlement of various ones	x. 213
	xii. 139

C.

Cabinet, the Irish one, on establishing popish clergy in Ireland	v. 485
_____ , the king's opened, which was taken at Naseby	— 514
_____ , the emperor's at Vienna, on the medals in it	xi. 200
Cacaw, or cocoa-nut a description of	xii. 25
_____ , the kernels of it eaten by Mr. Royle	— 25
Cade of Herrings, the original of the name	ii. 331
_____ , Jack, an account of his rebellion	v. 412
Cadiz, burning of, in 1596, by Robert, earl of Essex	iii. 507
_____ , account of the expedition to it	vi. 10
Caen, in France, the rats and duties paid there	x. 214
Cesar, his account of Britain	ii. 414
_____ , receives ambassadors from the Britons	— 419
_____ , his arrival in Britain	— 420
_____ , his defeat and pardon of the Britons	— 422
_____ , his collecting corn for winter provision	— 423
_____ , Trinobantes offer him submission	— 427
_____ , the Ancalites submit to him	— 428
_____ , receives the submission of the Bibroci, &c.	— 46

	Vol.	Page.
and Pompey, their civil wars described	iv.	477
the Britons had few ships to oppose to him	vii.	164
C. Julius, his message to Cassibelina, king of Britain	xii.	159
or coffee, the effects of drinking it to excess	—	22
the excellence of its harbour	iii.	184
the inhabitants of the province stated	—	185
Volusensis, reconnoitres Britain	ii.	419
Caligula's letters on the Britons	—	430
how betrayed to the French	iv.	476
the treasurer of, on Wolsey's acquaintance with	—	491
the Dutch fleet defeated between it and Dover	vi.	269
to Dover the passage of it described	viii.	140
in what manner it was captured by the French	x.	319
lord Fitz-walter beheaded there	xi.	404
ties of a French conquest of Britain stated	ix.	456
— of England, a discovery of them	x.	254
irone, its partial destruction by an earthquake	—	192
nians, their assault upon the ninth Roman legion	ii.	451
—, the speech of Galgacus to encourage them	—	452
—, their spirited assault upon the Romans	—	464
—, make peace with the Romans	—	46
ler, the earl of, his house seized and made a garrison	—	236
la, his disposition to tyranny manifested	ix.	304
as and the martyrs	xii.	103
ley, sir Hugh, one of the nine worthies of London	xii.	189
Head Club, the secret history of it, with the anthems, &c.	—	216
's letter to Socinus, on his airy speculations	vi.	359
— doctrine opposed by archbishop Laud	xii.	67
ist, a strange assertion of Dr. Twiss	x.	395
odunum, the residence of Cuno-belin, king of the Trinobandes	ii.	429
— taken by the Romans, and fortified	ii.	436
—, oppressions of the people there by the Romish soldiers	—	440
—, inauspicious signs observed at	—	441
r, on the nature and utility of a haven there	x.	436
ay, archdeacon of, traitorous correspondence sent to	viii.	206
—, the treaty of in 1529, Henry VIII's preponderance in	—	222
idge, one of the towns exempted from the pardon of Richard II.	v.	60
— university, the petition of students there to parliament	—	239
—, on Arabick manuscripts presented to it	—	315
—, an ordinance for regulating it	—	322
—, earl of Northampton is elected chancellor	—	359
—, Cromwell is elected member of parliament for	vii.	276
—, Queen's college at, by whom founded	xi.	381
yn, approbation of his judgment as an historian	ii.	415
—, remarks on a passage in his annals of queen Elisabeth	viii.	239
on's Discovery of the devilish designs of the Jesuits	v.	103
a Call to it, or Honour's Invitation	vii.	606
Chaplain, a petition for redress of grievances	x.	162
sign of sir Thomas Morgan in Flanders	x.	409, 416
ine, cardinal, his refusal to pass judgment of divorce	iv.	533
inella, his horrid plot for introducing popery	i.	34
len in Gloucestershire, on Mr. William Harrison's disappearance	viii.	87
on, Sherwin executed with him, deemed a singular scholar	ii.	200
dogio, or the Roman council-house described	xii.	112
n, on Holland's being so named by Dutchmen	vii.	549
a, a proposal for subduing the country of	xi.	8
inego de, a sport so called in Spain	ii.	557
ot, the history of Sammatius Scario	xii.	77
th, the nature of his evidence against the duke of Norfolk	ix.	131
as, hallowed ones, delivered at Candlemasse to the students	ii.	175
the arrival of certain christian slaves there from Turkey	iii.	42
on Ostorius, the Roman general, marching against them	ii.	434
n, colonel, the manner in which he was treated by papists	x.	278
s, or Indian long-boats, a description of	vii.	166
laws of Normandy, no obstacle to a regal succession	iii.	129
s, the pope's ordain that all the western priests are to be shaven	iv.	51
s of archbishop Stratford for regulation of marriages	—	500
rbury, Arundel, archbishop of, persecutes the Lollards	i.	246
—, the controversy of its archbishop with the see of York	iii.	165
—, Laud, archbishop of, an account of his birth and life	iv.	450
—, his parallel with Wolsey	—	492
—, insolently called the pope's champion	v.	341
—, the archbishop of, obtains letters of the earl of Somerset	—	389
—, his speech or funeral sermon	—	478
—, his lamentation for the church of England	—	481
—, his first prayer on the scaffold	—	482
—, his last prayer on the scaffold	—	484
—, danger of Strafford's precedent to	—	552
—, on king Charles II's reception there	vii.	112

	Vol.	Page
Cecil, sir Robert, his death under a suspicion of poison	v.	356
—, his excellent character as a statesman and protestant	—	46.
—, sir Edward, created viscount Wimbledon	vi.	10
Cesamero, on the damage done there by an earthquake	x.	198
Celibacy of the Romish clergy, discussed by Æneas Sylvius	—	446
Cellar, a noted one in Hamburg described	xi.	354
Cellier, madam, is tempted to murder the earl of Shaftesbury	ix.	51
—, on establishing a royal hospital for midwives	—	191
Celtas, their situation anciently in Bohemia	xi.	313
Ceni magi, one of the petty states of Britain, which submitted to Cæsar	ii.	468
Censure of herrings in proverbial phrases, scouted	—	331
—, Nashe's appeal to the publick to defend him from	—	333
—, passed on Eastwick, Burton, and Frynne in the star-chamber	iv.	222
— of the Roten, Milton's book on a Commonwealth	viii.	115
Century of inventions by the marquis of Worcester	vi.	405
Cerdick Sands or Shore, an account of the name from Cerdicus	ii.	296
—, curious account of their early state	—	321
Ceremonies, increase of them in the church	xii.	76
Cerio, Zacharias, betrays Sammatius Scario	—	78
Certificate of Robert Young's first marriage	x.	51
— of the dean of Kilmore of his second marriage	—	65.
— of his being in Cavan gael for bigamy	—	65.
Cestrensis, Raulfus, a fair MS. of his in New College library	iv.	43
Chair of marble for pope's being examined at his election	—	18
Chaise's, fatherie, project, for the extirpation of hereticks	ix.	228
Chalcondylas, Laonicus, his testimony of the marble chair	iv.	17
—, how belied by papists	—	39
—, his testimony about pope Joan	—	43
—, his assertion that priests were shaven in her time	—	73
Chalices, Duaren's saying on the ancient ones	iv.	44
Chalons and Tours, on the pope's bulls burnt there	iii.	548
Chalybeates, on the efficacy of them	vii.	377
—, on their properties, a discussion	ix.	178
Chamberlain, Hugh Spencer is made, and soon banished	i.	162
—, Thomas Radcliffe, earl of Sussex, succeeds to be	v.	132
—, Thomas, arrives from cardinal Richlieu	viii.	200
Champagne, cardinal Wolsey's arrival there on his negotiation	iv.	517
—, the means by which the negotiation was effected at	—	518
Champerty, a description what it is	vi.	118
Champion of protestants, archbishop Whitgift	—	304
—, and worthy defender, bishop Davenant	—	305
Chancellor of England, Baldock is appointed	i.	106
—, Lord, Judge Hales communication with him	—	325
—, sued in the star-chamber on a præmunire	v.	388
—, is strongly opposed by lord Coke	—	389
—, burglary at the house of	viii.	103
—, Jefferies is appointed to be	ix.	309
—, an office within the statute against sale of offices	x.	298
—, lord, of Ireland, account of Geraldine	xi.	377
Chancery, on cardinal Wolsey sitting in as lord chancellor	iv.	538
Change of government, attempts at deemed treason	—	487
— Houses in Scotland, a description of them	vii.	444
Channel, news from it; being a description of the isle of Serke	xi.	522
Chapel of printers, whence the name originated	x.	505
Chapels, on images or pictures in them, by ordinance of parliament	v.	441
Chaplains, the three benefited ones of archbishop Laud	iv.	452
—, on Wolsey's succession to be one of the king's	—	491
—, the necessity of good ones in the army	viii.	357
—, their petition for redress of grievances	x.	162
—, on having pious ones on board our ships	xi.	14
Character of the town of Yarmouth in its early state	ii.	392
— of Richard III's history by sir Thomas Moore	—	412
— of the ancient Druids, and their practice in Gallia	—	439
— of Ulpus Marcellus, and his conduct in Britain	—	461
— of the late marquis of Argyle fully stated	—	512
— of man, as to his inconstancy, considered	—	512
— of Bellarmine and Baronius stated	iv.	56
— of Benno the cardinal and others discussed	—	57
— of the king of Sweden, killed at the battle of Lutzen	—	197
— of the earl of Leicester depicted	—	479
— of the earl of Strafford, in a letter to a friend	—	482
— of the long parliament by Milton	v.	37
— of the parliament copiously discussed	—	299
— of an Oxford incendiary	—	339
— and perfections of the English language considered	—	437
— of the perfidious vipers, prince Rupert and prince Maurice	—	65.
— of marquis Hartford, duke of Richmond, and others	—	452
— of a cockatrice, snakes, adders, and other vipers	—	449

	Vol.	Page.
Cæsar and Pompey, their civil wars described	iv.	477
—, the Britons had few ships to oppose to him	vii.	164
—, C. Julius, his message to Cassibelane, king of Britain	xii.	159
Cahwa, or coffee, the effects of drinking it to excess	—	22
Caiane, the excellence of its harbour	iii.	184
—, the inhabitants of the province stated	—	183
Caius Volusensis, reconnoitres Britain	ii.	419
—, Caligula's letters on the Britons	—	430
Calais, how betrayed to the French	iv.	476
—, the treasurer of, on Wolsey's acquaintance with	—	491
—, the Dutch fleet defeated between it and Dover	vi.	289
—, to Dover the passage of it described	viii.	146
—, in what manner it was captured by the French	x.	319
—, lord Fitz-walter beheaded there	xi.	404
Calamities of a French conquest of Britain stated	ix.	456
— of England, a discovery of them	x.	254
Calatigirone, its partial destruction by an earthquake	—	192
Caledonians, their assault upon the ninth Roman legion	ii.	451
—, the speech of Galgacus to encourage them	—	452
—, their spirited assault upon the Romans	—	464
—, make peace with the Romans	—	46.
Calender, the earl of, his house seized and made a garrison	—	236
Caligula, his disposition to tyranny manifested	ix.	304
Calixtus and the martyrs	xii.	103
Calverley, sir Hugh, one of the nine worthies of London	xii.	189
Calves-Head Club, the secret history of it, with the anthems, &c.	—	216
Calvin's letter to Socinus, on his airy speculations	vi.	359
— doctrine opposed by archbishop Laud	xii.	67
Calvinist, a strange assertion of Dr. Twiss	x.	395
Camalodunum, the residence of Cuno-belin, king of the Trinobantes	ii.	429
— taken by the Romans, and fortified	ii.	436
—, oppressions of the people there by the Romish soldiers	—	440
—, inauspicious signs observed at	—	441
Cambray, on the nature and utility of a haven there	x.	436
Cambray, archdeacon of, traitorous correspondence sent to	viii.	206
—, the treaty of in 1529, Henry VIII's preponderance in	—	228
Cambridge, one of the towns exempted from the pardon of Richard II.	v.	60
— university, the petition of students there to parliament	—	239
—, on Arabick manuscripts presented to it	—	315
—, an ordinance for regulating it	—	323
—, earl of Northampton is elected chancellor	—	359
—, Cromwell is elected member of parliament for	vii.	276
—, Queen's college at, by whom founded	xi.	381
Camden, approbation of his judgment as an historian	ii.	415
—, remarks on a passage in his annals of queen Elisabeth	viii.	239
Camilton's Discovery of the devilish designs of the Jesuits	v.	103
Camp, a Call to it, or Honour's Invitation	vii.	606
— Chaplain, a petition for redress of grievances	x.	162
Campaign of sir Thomas Morgan in Flanders	x.	409, 416
Campaine, cardinal, his refusal to pass judgment of divorce	iv.	533
Campanella, his horrid plot for introducing popery	i.	34
Campden in Gloucestershire, on Mr. William Harrison's disappearance	viii.	87
Campion, Sherwin executed with him, deemed a singular scholar	ii.	200
Campodoglio, or the Roman council-house described	xii.	112
Canaan, on Holland's being so named by Dutchmen	vii.	549
Canada, a proposal for subduing the country of	xi.	8
Canas, Inco-de, a sport so called in Spain	ii.	597
Candiot, the history of Sammatius Scario	xii.	77
Candish, the nature of his evidence against the duke of Norfolk	ix.	131
Candles, hallowed ones, delivered at Candlemasse to the students	ii.	175
Candy, the arrival of certain christian slaves there from Turkey	iii.	42
Cangl, on Ostorius, the Roman general, marching against them	ii.	434
Canno colonel, the manner in which he was treated by papists	x.	278
Canoes, or Indian long-boats, a description of	vii.	166
Canon laws of Normandy, no obstacle to a regal succession	iii.	120
Canons, the pope's, ordain that all the western priests are to be shaven	iv.	31
Canons of archbishop Stratford for regulation of marriages	—	500
Canterbury, Arundel, archbishop of, persecutes the Lollards	i.	246
—, the controversy of its archbishop with the see of York	iii.	165
—, Laud, archbishop of, an account of his birth and life	iv.	450
—, his parallel with Wolsey	—	482
—, insolently called the pope's champion	v.	341
—, the archbishop of, obtains letters of the earl of Somerset	—	389
—, his speech or funeral sermon	—	478
—, his lamentation for the church of England	—	481
—, his last prayer on the scaffold	—	482
—, his last prayer on the scaffold	—	484
—, danger of Strafford's precedent to	—	532
—, on king Charles II's reception there	vii.	112

	Vol.	Page
Crown of Spain, the duke of Anjou succeeds to it	—	478
— of England, the claim made to it by the duchess of Burgundy	—	479
— of Spain, is devised to the house of Bourbon	—	505
—, on Walker, landlord of a publick house so named	xi.	407
Croycey, in the bishop of Norwich's possession, account of	viii.	522
Cruelties of the duke d'Alva in the Netherlands, an account of	v.	179
— of the Dutch at Amboyna in the East Indies	vii.	539
— and barbarity of the Dutch to the English at Amboyna	—	508
— of the papists to protestants stated	viii.	414
— of the French to make converts to popery	ix.	404
Cruelty of the gunpowder plot, stated by king James to parliament	—	7
— of the Spanish court projected against England by the invasion	—	517
— of Paul II. pope against Platina stated	iv.	59
—, the excessive nature of the duke d'Alva's exemplified	v.	177
— to brutes, Mr. Perkins's essay upon it	vii.	71
— of the duke d'Alva in the Netherlands to protestants	—	522
Crying sin, a cry against it	vi.	278
Cuckow, observations on its being occasionally found in summer	v.	503
—, on the short flights made by this and other birds	—	505
—'s nest at Westminster dissected	vi.	136
—s, the cannibal ones described	—	137
Culpeper, lord, the earl of Glamorgan's letter to him from Waterford	v.	573
Cummin, Robert, destroyed at Durham	ix.	402
Cuneus, legate of the pope, a display of his artifice	viii.	195
—, is opposed by the archbishop of Canterbury	—	197
— Mr. Secretary Cook	—	198
Cuno-belin, the governor of the Trinobantes, resided at Camaledunum	ii.	409
Cupboards, court ones, how joiners serve them	vii.	73
Curate of Domfront, an anecdote concerning him	—	393
Curates conference between two scholars, on their hard condition	iv.	373
Cure of Margaret Jessop by a pretended miracle discussed	iv.	34
— for tyranny, patience insufficient for it	ix.	303
—, an humorous one proposed for madness	x.	401
Curfew bell, rung in the evening, to put out lights, and prevent conspiracies	iii.	122
Currents, reasons assigned why they are no principle of tides	viii.	4
Curriers, the nature of their duty stated	vi.	123
—, the duty of them farther described	—	124
Cursing and swearing, on necessity of punishing them	xi.	13
Curteen, sir William, on his seizure of two ships	vii.	533
Curtesan, an English one, an extraordinary way of converting	iv.	253
Curtius, an appeal to him to animate loyal Englishmen	ii.	102
—, Marcus, on his leaping into the gulf	xii.	119
Cushion, on the scheme of delivery devised at Dudley-castle	iv.	473
—, the mockery practised at the pretended interment	—	49
Custom of Denmark has a near affinity to the laws of England	vi.	218
—, various instances stated of being supported by the laws	viii.	329
Customs, language, and manners, difference in, disadvantage of	iii.	154
—, ancient ones of England copiously stated	iv.	359
—, with the orders and laws of swans	vii.	291
— of France, a description of their nature	x.	214
Cutting, Shuffling, and Dealing, or a Game at picquet	vii.	46
Cuttins of Dersetsshire, his promotion for merit stated	xi.	16
Cutts, lord, and many others, disgusted with the conduct of king James	x.	551
Cypher, the three fold one of the pope's legate	viii.	205
Cyprian, archbishop of Carthage was beheaded	v.	480
Cypriots, the inventors of the ciræra, or ships of burden	vii.	164
Cyrenians, invented the lembi, frigates, or light barks	—	65
Cyriacus, left out of the register of popes, with the reason	iv.	62
Cyril, St. obtains leave from the pope for Muravian service in their own language	—	46

D.

N. D. his general character stated, being no changeling	iv.	71
Dædalus, the inventor of masts and sails for ships	vii.	164
Dagger of Ehud, proposed as a remedy against a tyrant	ix.	398
Dagon, on the necessity of pulling down this political idol	—	394
Dainty, a letter of king Charles from it to the queen	v.	586
Damage in Norwich and in Norfolk by thunder and lightning	vi.	422
— at Palermo, by an earthquake in Sicily	x.	193
— at Cefamero, by the same calamity	—	196
— done at Whitehall by the fire there	—	159
Damages done by the anabaptists at Munster, reparation of demanded	v.	473
Damianus, Peter, his letter	iii.	501
Danby, the earl of, impeached of high-treason	viii.	328
Dancing, a severe censure upon the mischievous effects of it	ii.	525
— and balls, on their being supported to excess	viii.	52

	Vol.	Page.
Dases, the battle of Reading, when fought against them	iv.	37
-----, archbishop Laud on <i>Edgus</i> losing his head by them	v.	479
-----, on their ruling England till the restoration of the Saxons	vi.	215
Danger of the king and parliament intimated by a private letter	iii.	17
-----, interpretation of it by the king, of some secret design	---	18
-----, Thomas Winter's confession of the whole plot and extreme	---	22
-----, of the West Indies from sir Walter Raleigh	---	235
-----, of the Ottoman empire, in Osman's advancement	v.	127
-----, of Villiers, duke of Buckingham	---	318
-----, of king Charles I. in the city of Oxford	vi.	39
-----, of Faustus Socinus from his opponents	---	260
-----, of king Charles II. that the Dutch would betray him	vii.	538
-----, of popery, the quaker's remonstrance upon it	ix.	378
-----, of the peace with France discussed	xi.	182
-----, of the town of Ulm in Germany from the French	---	194
Dangerfield, his temptation to murder the earl of Shaftesbury	ix.	50
Daniel, the historian, a quotation from him on the conquest	vi.	99
Danish preparations for the invasion of England by Canutus	iii.	147
-----, in what manner they were counteracted	---	46
-----, negotiation for the service of Charles I. by colonel Cookran	v.	545
-----, intruders, people of the same original with the English	vi.	98
-----, treachery occasioned the practice to pledge in drinking	viii.	147
-----, conquest, on its being too violent to continue	xi.	345
Dante, the Italian poet, only takes notice of six of the popes	iv.	59
Dantziak, the small trade of the English thither stated	iii.	294
Darling of England, prince Edgar Atheling so named	vi.	99
Dates dried, a substitute for bread near Jerusalem	iii.	344
Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, a nursing father of the English church	vi.	305
-----, his argument to prove an heretick	---	308
-----, on the civil jurisdiction of ministers	viii.	310
D'Avenant, his observations on the balance of power	xii.	56
David, observations on his being appointed and elected king	ix.	229
-----, his defence against Saul investigated and considered	---	267
-----, some account of the nature and necessity of his guard	---	265
-----, his situation at Keilah, with his danger, considered	---	267
Davidis, Franciscus, the manner of his being associated with Socinus	vi.	302
Davies, his pretended ignorance for refusing the oath of abjuration	iii.	61
Dawbney, William, his being beheaded for Warbeck's rebellion	xi.	404
-----, lord Giles, chamberlain and lieutenant general	---	441
-----, marches against the Cornish rebels	---	444
-----, is taken prisoner, and afterwards released	---	445
-----, invests the sanctuary at Bewdley	---	438
Day Fatality, a curious statement of lucky and unlucky days	viii.	300
-----, monkish rhymes upon them	---	303
Days, which have been fatal, a particular account of	---	305
Deacon, John, his account of James Naylor, the quaker of Bristol	vi.	424
Dead, a voice from the state of, the oration of Boetius to the emperor	viii.	557
Dealing, the double one of St. Paul, the tricking constable	xii.	14
Dean, an admiral under the parliament	xi.	11
Death, the terrible and deserved one of Francis Raunillack for regicide	iii.	109
-----, of king William at Roan in Normandy	---	160
-----, the manner in which his body was afterwards treated	---	161
-----, bed, the precepts of Walter earl of Essex to his son when laid on his	---	505
-----, Gondomar's account of procuring sir Walter Raleigh's	---	533
-----, of pope Anastasius II. was sudden and unexpected	iv.	38
-----, of the king of Bohemia at Lutzen	---	198
-----, of the earl of Essex, an account of	---	474
-----, Henry VII. stated	---	493
-----, of cardinal Wolsey at Leicester-abbey, in his way from York	---	557
-----, of colonel sir Edward Harwood, with an account of his life	v.	190
-----, of sir Thomas Overbury a certain result of Somerset's marriage	---	380
-----, of lord Northampton, with an account of him	---	385
-----, of sir Thomas Overbury is investigated	---	390
-----, of Canterbury ensured by Strafford's fall	---	559
-----, of the marquis of Vivile at Auburn hills in Wiltshire	vi.	20
-----, of Anthony Aseham, resident at the court of Spain	---	230
-----, and execution of persons for theft, Chidley's discussion on	---	276
-----, of Oliver Cromwell, an account of	vii.	523
-----, on punishing adultery with it, and propriety of such a law	viii.	62
-----, of queen Elisabeth suspends the popish plot against England	---	150
-----, fever described as the lieutenant general of it	---	305
-----, of Henry V. at Vincennes	x.	306
-----, sir John Fenwick's contemplations on it in prison	---	529
-----, of trade, an elegy or mourning ejaculation on it	---	351
-----, and unnatural war of prince John of Avesnnes	xi.	98
Debarcation of the rebels at Foudray near Lancaster	---	305
Debt of the Dutch to queen Elisabeth stated	vii.	526
Debtor, the mischief of confining an insolvent one	x.	440

	Vol.	Page.
Debts, how to discharge the public ones of the kingdom	viii.	14
—, proposal of a land-tax for that purpose	—	16
Decay of coin and trade, observations upon it	iv.	433
Decass, on his coming to the relief of the island of St. Martin	ix.	523
Decemviri, on their unprosperous management of the Roman affairs	—	302
Deception, intended by count Schlick against Wenceslaus	viii.	462
Decimes of the clergy, some account of them stated	x.	215
Decks of ships, an improvement of the Egyptians	vii.	163
Declaration of war, and attack of Phillipsburg	i.	75
—, on the examination of traitours, and their falsities	—	514
— of Francis Throckmorton, on plot against queen Elizabeth	—	536
— of the Scottish king in 1585	—	537
— of great troubles pretended against the realm by jesuits	ii.	209
— of Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, on leaving Paris, &c.	—	399
— a farther one on various subjects	—	405
— of sir Walter Raleigh's demeanour and carriage	lii.	368
— of king James I. on the subject of lawful sports on sundays	iv.	201
—, the confirmation of it	—	203
—, the blasphemous one of Knipperdoling the anabaptist	v.	229
— of the apprentices and young men of London for peace	—	392
— of the prophet of Munster, with his missionary preachers	—	466
— of the archbishop of Canterbury before his death	—	481
— of king Charles I. renouncing the intention of war	—	555
— on the subject of Irish papists, &c.	—	556
— of the protector against the Stuart family and church of England	vi.	420
— of king Charles II. at Breda in the Netherlands	viii.	518
— of James II. explained and illustrated	x.	159
— of the marquis of Montrose	xi.	469
Decrees of Romish church against hereticks	i.	36
— and edicts of Lewis XIII. respecting Francis Raguillack	lii.	112
Dedication of the English hermit, Roger Crab, to Mr. Godbold of Uxbridge	vi.	393
— of a curious treatise on the gout	x.	407
Deeds, on their being registered in counties, Philpot's reasons	vii.	498
—, the Hon. Wm. Pierrepont's reasons against registering deeds	—	493
Defacing monuments of superstition and idolatry commanded	v.	441
Defeat of the French in the narrow seas by the English fleet	iii.	517
— of the enemies of Henry III. in Normandy, &c.	—	546
— of Walstein by the king of Sweden's forces	iv.	183
— of the French by king Edward III.	viii.	107
— of Philip of Macedon by the Romans	—	306
— of lord Torrington in Ireland, by the French fleet	x.	359
— of lord Torrington in Ireland, by the French fleet	x.	537
Defence of our country, an exhortation to Englishmen for it	ii.	85
— of king James, and preservation from Gowrie's conspiracy	—	344
— of England, declaration of Essex's ghost on it	iii.	511
— of Wernerus on Germans being eligible to the popedom	iv.	26
— of the city of Gloucester by colonel Massey, the governor	vi.	22
— of the conduct of the army in refusing to disband	—	66
—, the gallant one of the town of Haddington stated	x.	318
— of Newhaven by the earl of Warwick	—	321
— of London against the Cornish rebels under Warbeck	xi.	426
—, the gallant one, of Norham castle by the bishop of Durham	—	428
Definition of greatness	iv.	50
— of a commonwealth	viii.	472
Degeneracy of the Roman soldiers in Britain	ii.	446
Degradation of the earl of Gondomar, by Raleigh's ghost	iii.	539
— by the inquisition, in what manner performed	viii.	426
Degrees of resistance severally stated	i.	7
Deirens of the kings of France, what it is	x.	214
Delay of the commissioners of prizes to account	xi.	143
Delays of the law, reasons assigned for a bill to prevent them	—	49
Delegation, the nature of it illustrated and explained	xii.	231
Delf, appointed to be a staple town for English cloth	vii.	524
Delgades, Pedro. is killed by Domingo Gonsales	xi.	514
Delinquents, on sequestration of their estates	—	158
—, on the sale and appropriation of their lands	—	159
Deliverance of the English church and state, a prayer for	ii.	107
— of John Reynard and some others from the Turks	iii.	39
—, he finds means to destroy the wardens	—	41
— of Mustapha from prison, and danger of famishing	v.	182
Democracy, the nature of it stated	i.	45
Demolition of Halton castle, subsequent to its siege and surrender	xi.	469
Demosthenes, his advice to the people of Athens	xii.	245
Denbigh, countess of, her ominous presage to the duke of Buckingham's fall	v.	321
—, receives a letter from the duke of Buckingham	—	46
Denbighshire, the account of an old woman resident there	viii.	127
Denmark, colonel Cockran's instructions for negotiation there	v.	545
—, conditions of the treaty and negotiation with	—	547

	Vol.	Page
Deamark, on the supplies and resources it can produce	ix.	467
—, prince George of, is lord high admiral	xi.	78
Denvil, sir Gilbert, the reason of his taking up arms	i.	98
Denunciations of Muggleton, on being forced to recant them	viii.	86
Depopulation of the New Forest in Hants by king William stated	iii.	161
Deposing a popish king in Sweden, observations upon it	ix.	225
Deposition of James Weimis of Bogie on the Gowrie conspiracy	ii.	346
— of Guido Fawkes, respecting the gunpowder plot	iii.	21
— of Thomas Winter, on the subject of the powder plot	—	23
— of Richard II. from the government of England, reason of	iv.	467
Depredations on trade, how committed by pirates	—	469
Deptford, account of Charles II.'s arrival there from Flanders	vii.	113
—, an account of a curious she-wedding there	ix.	84
Deputies from the Netherlands to queen Elisabeth	vii.	558
Deborough, colonel, a description of his character and merits	vi.	490
Descent or invasion from France considered	xii.	38
Description of Borough castle, anciently the city of Cnober	ii.	321
— of a British town, as it existed in the time of the Romans	—	423
— of Caiene and other places on the coast of Guiana	iii.	184
— of the various people inhabiting the several provinces	—	185
— of the kingdom of Macaria	iv.	380
— of Japan by Francis Coron	vii.	549
Design of magistracy stated and enforced	i.	3
— the plot against queen Elisabeth	—	525
— of assassinating Henry of France stated	iii.	543
— of the French king against the British town of Rochel	—	550
— of the earl of Leicester to marry queen Elisabeth	iv.	474
— of Arbeda to counteract and defeat Huntingdon	—	477
— of parliament to remove the king's counsellors	v.	293
— of taking away the penal laws against catholics	—	521
— and intrigue, natural and habitual to the French	viii.	146
— of the French, and their attempts of universal monarchy	—	352
—, the original one of the high-commission court	xii.	67
Designing and drawing recommended in the education of the poor	vi.	144
Designs of Spain upon England, as communicated to Don Bern. Mendoza	ii.	60
— and conquests of the Spartans considered	viii.	339
— of France against England and Holland	ix.	164
— of jesuits stated in Rushworth's collections	xii.	61, 64
D'Estrées Mons, his doubtful assistance to the English	viii.	142
Destruction of the Roman ships causes the British to revolt	ii.	428
— of Camalodunum by the British revoltors	—	440
— of Verulamium and other towns by the Britons	—	448
—, the Netherlands menaced with it	v.	176
— of the English town of Quabaog described	viii.	74
Detection of the doynages of the Ladie Marie of Scotland, in a letter	i.	382
Devereux, sir Walter, created viscount Hereford and earl of Essex	vi.	7
Devise of Leicester, sir Christopher Hattou's remarks upon it	iv.	478
Devil, on a counterfeit one killed in Germany	viii.	96
—, not the creator of the gout	x.	392
Devils, account of white and black ones, &c	—	403
—, England sometimes called the isle of	xi.	482
Devotion, observations on ignorance being asserted as the mother of it	viii.	297
Diaconus, Johannes, wrote only of two popes	iv.	55
Dialogue of Alexander Cooke on pope Joan	—	9
— on the truth or falsity, that such a person ever existed	—	13
— between two foysts, on the dexterity of their actions	—	240
— between Busy-body and Scrape-all, on their conditions	—	419
—, Iamie and Willie, or the Northern Discoverie	—	422
— of archbishop Laud and his physicians	v.	41
— of two London orphans	ix.	451
— between the cities of London and Paris	x.	494
— on Matrimony, or, the Levellers	xii.	193
Dialogues of the ferryman, bargeman, &c.	viii.	488
—, farther ones on the same subject	—	504
Diamonds, their value unknown in Madagascar isle	xi.	537
Diana, the temple of, burnt by Erostratus	v.	192
—, allusion to the burning of the temple	xi.	371
Diary of the siege of Luxemburgh	ix.	88
—, Limerick	x.	127
Dick Tator, colonel Fride's learned account of him	viii.	388
Dickens, Mr. Guy, English resident at Berlin	xi.	339
Diego, black servant to Domingo Gonsales, account of	—	518
Dieppe, account of Charles II. landing there	vi.	255
Diet at Worms, called by Ferdinand	v.	473
—, the expediency of suitable food with Tunbridge waters	vii.	464
Digby, sir Everard, kn't. unites with others in the gunpowder-plot	iii.	28
—, his house at Dunchurch, a retreat of the conspirators	—	30
—, executed as a traitor in St. Paul's church yard	—	47
—, lord, his speech to parliament	iv.	356

	Vol.	Page
Digby, lord, his speech, on grievances	v.	39
——, George, a portraiture and description of him	—	363
——, sir Eversard, his promise of money to carry on the plot	viii.	133
——, Bates, Grant, Thomas Winter, and other conspirators taken	—	139
——, and the other conspirators executed	—	152
——, sir, his being a sworn papist	—	304
——, sir Kenelm, some account of him	—	309
——, lord, the impolicy of his advice	xii.	39
Diggs, sir Dudley, his remarks on sea-ports	x.	400
Dignity of a secretary of state seriously considered	v.	100
—— and antiquity of parliaments stated	viii.	217
Dilherna's way to happiness, account of it	ix.	8
Dingle Cuske, account of Spanish ships lost there	ii.	39
Diabam, lord John, treasurer of England, musters forces at Durham	xi.	494
Diners in universities at commencement	ii.	395
Dio's relation of the island of Britain	—	414
Dioclesiani thermæ, or Dioclesian's baths	xii.	114
Dioclesian, account of his severe persecution of Christians	ii.	400
Diogenes, his opinion of the best time to marry	iii.	301
Dionysius, in what manner he used his friends	ix.	308
Directory, one of the characters in the Scottish politick presbyter	vi.	51
——, on the detection of the said character in the act of adultery	—	58
Disadvantages of stage-coaches on the public described	viii.	31
Disborough, a quaker, an account of him	vi.	437
Disbursements of the committee of safety stated	vii.	147
Disclosure of the great Bull, an account of it	i.	405
Discontents, in all ages, and amongst all sorts of people	ii.	300
Discoverie, the Northern one, or the Vox Borealis	iv.	403
Discovery, the wonderful one of the gunpowder plot	iii.	8
——, the surprising incidents and corresponding facts of it	—	14
——, the astonishing one by the confession of Guido Fawkes	—	19
——, the king's perseverance and conviction alone led to it	—	20
——, of the bishop of Ely, and prevention of his escape	iv.	403
——, of the league between the English and French	—	501
——, of plots and jesuitical intrigues, an account of	v.	102
——, the laws, errors, and abuses in law stated in it	vi.	302
——, the ship of that name burnt at Jamaica	—	307
——, of gunpowder secreted under the parliament-house	viii.	158
——, of the plot against the king and kingdom	—	160
——, letter to the archbishop of Canterbury upon it	—	163
——, more letters to ditto upon it	—	165
Discourse on the nobility	ii.	502
——, on the nature and properties of perfumæ	—	508
——, a curious one on marriage and wiving	iii.	251
——, of a Frenchman on the nature of treason stated	—	385
——, on Henry, prince of Wales, describing his qualities, &c.	—	518
——, on the state, and condition of the three kingdoms	iv.	433
——, on the actions of former parliaments	v.	241
——, a satyrical one upon quacks and quackery	viii.	133
——, in a packet boat upon the subject of a French war	—	139
——, on the necessity of a war with France	—	146
Discourses on the modern affairs of Europe	—	330
—— the first on publick affairs between a ferryman, &c.	—	402
—— the second on the same subject	—	504
Discussion of the nature of apparel or cloathing	ii.	506
—— of the means of discovering genuine authors	iv.	38
—— on the nature and modes of committing treason	—	471
——, a very important one on the law of treason	v.	55
—— on the subject of the king's negative in parliament	vi.	112
—— on the nature of an office of publick address	—	158
—— of the nature and performance of a covenanters' vow	—	208
—— on the flux of spirit to support abstinence	vii.	332
—— of the history on the authoritative word of imprimatur	viii.	291, 294
—— of the nature of ambition	—	323
—— of the nature of courage	—	358
—— on the nature of the mad parliament	—	408
—— on the management of the London orphan fund	ix.	451
—— on the subject of the pragmatick sanction	x.	490
—— on the nature of appuages	—	491
—— on the embezzlement of revenues	xi.	140
Diseases, the nature of those for which Bath waters are good	iv.	112
——, what sort may expect relief from Tunbridge waters	vii.	427
Disguise of a French agent, in the character of a merchant	viii.	144
Disgust entertained by Felton against the duke of Buckingham	v.	316
Disorders, a curious account of existing ones in all trades	ii.	297
—— of church ministers, act of Elisabeth for reforming	v.	409
Dispensatory of London, the design of publishing it by authority	vii.	475
Disputation on the secular jurisdiction of ministers	viii.	510
Disputations of Faustus Socinus, at Zurich stated	vi.	302
Dispute, an account of Cromwell's with pope Alexander VI.	—	519

	Vol.	Page.
Disputes between Lancaster and York, the occasion of them	iv.	477
Dissension and emulation, in what manner productive of ruin of states	ii.	97
Dissenters, are greatly caressed by the English court	ix.	2
Dissenting ministers, an attempt to vindicate them from regicide	vi.	129
——, their solemn protestation against the charge	—	132
Dissertation on the nature and properties of beauty	ii.	520
Disimulation, an account of its operation and effects	—	530
Dissolution of the earth in Charnwood forest, with the cause of it	viii.	228
Distance of places in the vicinity of Jerusalem stated	iii.	339
Districts of Moravia, known by the name of toperchies	xi.	290
Disturbances, how created by the popes in England	ii.	87
—— between Charles I. and his queen, how fomented	xii.	57
Diversion, hunting a favourite one of the prince of Orange	x.	549
Diverting Post, a paper so called	xi.	29
Divine Institution of monarchy stated	ix.	334
Divines, character of the assembly of them investigated	v.	37
Division our destruction, an essay to prove	x.	533
——, the study of the French faction to excite in England	—	538
Divorce from queen Catharine, narrative of the proceedings on	iv.	523
——, the countess of Essex's schemes to procure one	v.	307
—— her complaint to effect one	vi.	9
Doctor of divinity, his strange courtship and marriage	xii.	205
Doctrine, &c. of Garnet, the jesuit	i.	39
Doctrines of anabaptists, denying the baptism of children	v.	255
—— and absurd practices of many of them stated	—	256
Dogs, England some times called the isle of	xi.	402
——, the isle of, a dissertation upon it	ii.	991
Domesday-day-book, the nature of it stated, and for what purposes made	iii.	153
Domfront, a curious anecdote of the curate there	vii.	393
Domingo, St. narrative of the English proceedings in the isle of	vi.	379
Dominican friars, their artful policy	viii.	99
Domitian, the emperor, his envy at Agricola's success in Britain	ii.	457
Domitius, some account of his sudden death	vi.	392
Doncaster, account of cardinal Wolsey's coming thither	iv.	551
Doom of protestants in the times of popery	i.	36
Doornick or Doornwick, alias Thorntown, some account of	xi.	116
D'Orleans. See Orleans		
Dorchester, the king's forces attacked there by colonel Middleton	vi.	21
Dorset, marquis of, his son at Magdalen college school	iv.	499
——, Cuttins a native of, promoted for his merit	xi.	16
Dorsetshire, on the very heavy oppressions experienced there	v.	29
Douay taken from Spain in 1607 by Lewis king of France	xi.	130
Dover, account of Charles II. landing there on his restoration	vii.	111
——, sir Walter Raleigh's discourse on it as a sea-port	x.	434
——, the security, convenience, and utility of it stated	—	435
——, castle, on Perkin Warbeck's coming against it	xi.	412
Dowdall, archbishop of Armagh, his censure of the English service	viii.	542
——, recalled by queen Mary	—	543
Dowling, sir George, his recall from Holland	ix.	6
Dragon, an account of one, or some other strange monster in Saxony	iii.	227
Dragons, on the character and description of flying ones	v.	437
Drake, sir Francis, the Spanish and English account of his conduct	ii.	128
——, account of his disabling several Spanish ships	—	158
——, failure against Panama	ix.	437
—— and Raleigh's ghosts, or effusions of loyalty	xi.	32
——, the ghost of, his speech, or News for England	—	32
——, on England's trade to the new world	—	34
——, sir Francis, brought the seed of tobacco to England	xii.	29
Drama of the Scottish politick presbyter, liturgy a character in it	vi.	81
——, anarchy a character in the Scottish politick presbyter	—	85
——, moneyless, another character in ditto	—	83
——, a consistency of presbyters in it	—	85
Drawing, recommended as an accomplishment to youth	vi.	144
Draycot, Mrs. Alice, the manner of her being poisoned	iv.	474
Draskirchen or Traskirchen in Germany described	xi.	251
Drawback on goods exported, remarks on superseding it	xii.	255
Dream, account of one of Ariotte, the skinner's daughter	iii.	119
——, the account of the sultan Achmet's about Mustapha	v.	184
——, a winter one described at large	x.	473
——, the description of the dreamer's awaking from it	—	483
—— of Osman, the grand seignor of Turkey, and others	—	484
Dreams, a curious account of the manner how they are generated	ii.	317
Dresden, a description of it by English travellers	x.	321
Dress, an estimate of the expences of it	iii.	556
Drewrie, Robert, the arraignment and trial of him	—	52
Brewry, sir Drew, &c. the persecution of	iv.	477
Drink, the nature of what is used in Scotland	vii.	444
Drinking chocolate, Mr. Gage's account of it	xii.	28
Droitwich, some letters from it related	v.	520

	Vol.	Page
Dromedary, a description of one	iii.	323
Dropsies, Dr. Needham's recommendation of elder-berries for	xii.	33
Drovers, observations on their duty	vi.	125
Druids, the character of them represented and displayed	ii.	439
Drum, observations on Zisca's skin being converted into one	vii.	410
Drummond, lieutenant general, his imprisonment	x.	235
Drunkards, a satyr upon them, a representation of Bacchus Bountie	ii.	264
——, satirical remarks upon the conduct of them	lii.	554
——, the sayings of various wise men about them	—	555
——, a curious address to them	ix.	34
Drunkennes, a most curious and ironical defence of it	ii.	262
——, the definitions of Galen and others concerning it	iii.	558
——, its decided condemnation	vi.	74
Duaren, the nature of his testimony upon ancient assertions	iv.	45
Dublin, the treason of its citizens described	v.	75
——, the earl of Glamorgan confined in the castle there	—	580
——, Browne, archbishop of, his letters, &c.	viii.	534, 537
——, title of his primacy revoked	—	543
——, queen Mary's letter to the city of	—	544
——, bay, attack upon the French ships in it	x.	556
Dudley castle, curious account of a child born there	iv.	475
—— and Empton, in what manner they enhanced Elisabeth's reign	v.	35
Duelling, entirely discarded as mean and vulgar by the French	viii.	356
Dugdale, his copious preface to the narrative of Gondamore's plots	—	231
——, his account of popish cruelties against protestants	—	414
Duke Humphrey, the nature of his ordinary considered	iii.	79
Dumbarton castle converted into a prison	x.	235
——, an account of its state after the invasion	xi.	73
——, another account of the same stated	—	76
Dumferling, lord, is refused christian burial, with the reason	x.	218
Dunoe's directory, or, an academy for quacks, &c.	viii.	135
Dunclurch, a place to which the gunpowder conspirators fled	iii.	30
Dundas, his treacherous sale of Edinburgh castle	vii.	231
Dungeon, account of Severus's release from one	ii.	405
Dunkirk, the heavy expence and incumbrance of it to England	viii.	399
——, to be possessed by the English, by treaty with France	x.	409
——, besieged by sir Thomas Morgan and marshal Turenne	—	411
——, is surrendered to the united forces of England and France	—	447
——, observations on the vast fortifications of France there	—	440
——, a trip to, or a summary account of	xi.	60
——, a description of it	—	170
——, account of nuns in the English cloister there	—	177
——, the manner of burying the dead there	—	178
——, on exposing the host or water there	—	179
Dunkirkers, hew blamed for the injury done to trade of Yarmouth	ii.	301
——, in what manner inimical to Nashe's Lenten stuff	—	333
Duplicity of Manopry, a Frenchman, relative to sir Walter Raleigh	iii.	381
——, the princess of Parma against the Netherlands	v.	176
——, in temporising with them	—	180
——, the infernal conduct of the viscount Rochester	—	378
——, the infamous, of prince Charles of Lichsteustein	viii.	461
——, of the French exemplified	xi.	192
Duppa, a ridicule of him	v.	342
Durandus, on the fact of the Roman priests being shaven	iv.	31
Durham, account of Robert Cummins being destroyed there	ix.	468
Dury's case of conscience stated and resolved	vi.	438
Dutch defeated near Calais by admiral Blake	—	269
——, the great advantages of their fishing stated	vii.	403
——, Usurpation, William de Britaine's history of	—	521
——, their entire and exclusive monopoly of the spice trade	—	523
——, their infamous evasion to pay the English troops	—	523
——, their acknowledgement by foreigners of being free states	—	528
——, account of their execrable conduct in the East Indies	—	530
——, scandalous treachery at Poloroone	—	532
——, their exclusion of other nations from the East India trade	—	534
——, their bold and daring violations of neutrality	—	536
——, their insidious fomenting the English disturbances in 1641	—	537
——, their artful design to betray Charles II. to his enemies	—	538
——, their unwarrantable liberties upon the British seas	—	540
——, their infernal policy to deceive the cautious Japanese	—	547
——, an account of a malicious edict issued by them	—	556
——, an encouragement to resist their scandalous encroachments	—	566
——, their tortures and punishments on the English at Amboyna	—	508
——, fleet attacked by sir Thomas Allen, on its return from Smyrna	viii.	308
——, the insults and atrocities committed by them stated	ix.	1
——, fleet is opposed by sir Robert Holmes	—	8
——, at Batavia, give assistance to the Tubanites	—	47
——, account of their manufacture of sugar	—	432
——, their custom of burning all superfluous spices	—	498

	Vol.	Page
Dutch boors, a description of them	ix.	537
—, their attack of the English ships off Leghorn	xii.	17
—, a similar impudent attack by their ships off Dover	—	18
—, on the little services rendered to England by them	—	22
—, the great assistance rendered them by the English	—	24
—, sailor, a minute detail of the miserable sufferings of	—	197
—, protestants, on their being encouraged in England	xiii.	59
Dutton and Wilks, in what manner treated by presbyterians	vi.	189
Duty of a parliament man described and displayed	i.	46
—, articles of food which are charged with it in France	x.	213
Dyring, in what manner the Bath waters have this effect	iv.	129

E.

Earls, the original change of ancient ones on their creation	v.	47
Earth, the dissolution of it in Leicestershire, with the cause	viii.	229
Earthquake in England, an account of one	iii.	107
—, on what accounts deemed ominous	v.	191
—, account of a dreadful one in Sicily	x.	187
—, the destruction of Noto, &c. by one	—	191
—, Lentini and Augusta destroyed by it	—	192
—, effects of it at Specafarno in Sicily	—	193
—, the partial destruction of Bomochin by it	—	194
—, Chiaromonte and Vizzini destroyed by one	—	195
—, Cariontini and other places are destroyed by it	—	196
—, Scicilio and Scodia, damage done by it there	—	197
Easement, the stool of, in what manner used at a pope's election	iv.	17
East India trade, the nature of it considered	iii.	295
—, Indies, how they contribute to the increase of trade	—	296
—, India ships, observations relative to the size of them	—	298
—, company, reflections upon them as monopolisers	—	313
—, Indies, on the villainies of the Dutch there	vii.	550
—, estimated loss incurred by the Dutch cruelties	—	551
—, the key of the China seas secured by the Dutch	—	552
—, Dutch arts to exclude all nations from the trade	—	554
—, Gondanore's opinion of the nature of the trade to it	viii.	261
Easter, on being usually kept by the court at Winchester	iii.	156
Eater, Marriot, of Gray's inn, an enormous one	vi.	392
Ebelus, a stone so called, with the use of it	xi.	532
Ecclesiastical court, the bishop of Rochester's letter to the lords of	i.	313
Ecclesiasticks, popish ones, on the expediency of castrating them	x.	445
Eccllyn, major general, his regiment stationed in Scotland	xi.	71
Edgar Atheling, on his having neither age nor authority	iii.	154
—, called the darling of England	vi.	90
—, for what causes said to be disliked by the people	ix.	345
—, how superseded by the usurper Harold	—	457
Edgecumb, mount, in Devonshire, account of its surrender	v.	563
Edgehill, on the king's forces, and the battle there	vi.	16
—, the lord Aubigny slain in the battle of	—	17
Edict of Nantes, letters patent upon it	iii.	114
Edicts and decrees on Lewis XIII	—	112
Edinburgh castle, on Rothwen being governor there	iv.	430
—, on its being treasonably sold by Dundas	vii.	281
—, an interesting description of it	—	488
—, one of Pride's famous brewhouses there	viii.	384
—, on persons declared as incapable of trust in it	x.	234
—, account of lord Cardross being imprisoned at	—	235
—, the earl of Leven's letter from it	xi.	60
Edmond, brother to Edward III. in what manner executed	i.	91
Edmundsbury, St. Henry III. king of England died there	x.	294
Education of archbishop Laud and cardinal Wolsey considered	iv.	463
—, youth considered at large by W. P.	vi.	141
—, the poor, observations respecting its utility	—	144
—, a college for, and how to be supplied	—	148
—, the pretended prince of Wales stated	x.	282
—, the faults of it elucidated and declared	xiii.	198
Edward, St. or Confessor, and Edwin are expelled from England	iii.	128
—, pledges for his safety demanded by his uncle	iii.	129
—, promises the English kingdom to his uncle	—	46.
—, on the bishop of London's confirming the privileges	—	—
—, of the city	iii.	152
—, the ghost of him	vi.	90
—, gave England to William of Normandy	—	100
—, a proposal for reviving his laws	—	163

	Vol.	Page
Elisabeth, queen, in what manner she took care of her subjects	v.	293
—, princess, married to the Palsgrave	—	368
—, queen of England, sends assistance to the Dutch	vii.	523
—, how she resisted the king of Spain	—	525
—, the Dutch supplicate her assistance	—	526
—, the Dutch forgetfulness and ingratitude	—	566
—, how her death procrastinates conspiracy	viii.	150
—, an act of parliament to preserve her	—	207
—, honour of parliaments in her reign	—	560
—, how she roused her subjects	ix.	431
—, an epitomised account of her reign	x.	320
—, an account of her death at Richmond	—	322
—, act of the 27th of, what made treason	—	453
—, an account of her court and ministry	xi.	9
—, renders assistance to the states of Holland	—	129
—, how she curtailed Ely bishoprick	xii.	69
Ellis's narrative of Perkins and others on cock-fighting	vii.	66
Ellis, sir Jarvis, lieutenant of the tower, speech of his ghost	iii.	369
Elways, or Yelvis, account of his execution on Tower-hill	vi.	9
Ely, bishop of, an account of his pride and tyranny	iv.	463
—, a discovery made of his attempting to escape	—	46
—, pays a visit to the countess of Denbigh	v.	321
—, chancellor of England	xii.	16
—, bishoprick of, how curtailed by queen Elisabeth	—	69
Embassies, account of, to various continental courts	v.	365
Embassy of the earl of Nottingham to Spain	ii.	535
—, of Cornelius Haga from the Dutch to Constantinople	iii.	213
—, of cardinal Wolsey to the emperor Charles V.	iv.	499
—, account of the duke of Buckingham's to Holland	v.	315
—, is declined by sir Thomas Overbury, which effects his ruin	—	372
Embezzlement of revenues, an account of it	xi.	140
—, of treasure, a statement of	—	145
Emblem, Vaux the true one of a jesuit	vi.	306
Emms, Dr. his proposed resurrection in Bunhill-fields	xi.	62
—, preparations to be made for witnessing it	—	63
—, the failure of the resurrection, an account of	—	64
—, reasons assigned by Lacy for the failure	—	69
Emperor, a letter of Leopold's to king James II. at St. Germain's	i.	23
—, an epistle to him from Henry VIII. king of England	—	226
—, Charles V. account of his enterprise against Algiers	—	231
—, Domitian, his envy at Agricola's good fortune	ii.	457
—, Adrian defeats the Caledonians, and stamp on his coin	—	469
—, pope Gregory's letter to him	iii.	503
—, Alexander III's insolence to him	iv.	44
—, on his investiture of bishop Waltram	—	57
—, on cardinal Wolsey's quick embassy to him	—	491
—, second embassy to him	—	492
—, of the Turks, Achmet is elected to be	v.	183
—, his dream about Mustapha	—	114
—, his reception of Mustapha	—	184
—, Mustapha is proclaimed	—	186
—, liberated and again proclaimed	—	193
—, the concessions of him to the Hungarian protestants	viii.	511
—, the titles of Charles VI. enumerated	xi.	276
—, of Germany, the authority of largely stated	—	277
—, Adrian, an account of his mausoleum	xii.	95
Emperors, Volaterran's observation on their powers	iv.	51
Empire, on pope Leo's removing the seat off, by Michael Cocceius	iii.	498
—, on the duke of Bavaria's disaffection to it	viii.	183
—, on the extended one and dominion of France	—	338
—, the electorate of Bavaria always dangerous to it	xi.	186
Empiricks, in what manner to be counteracted	vii.	479
Emporium for English rebels, an account of	—	537
Empson and Dudley, how they enhanced the reign of Elisabeth	v.	35
Encierro, or Spanish bull-baiting, an account of	ix.	64
Encouragement of the fishing trade, its importance to England	viii.	17
—, poor, the best means of, by employing them	—	59
Enemies, the Gronoways ought so to be declared	—	224
—, the impolicy and danger of treating them contemptuously	—	350
Enfield chace, Cotesby and Fawkes at White-Webbes near it	iii.	28
England, a nuncio from the pope received in by king James II.	i.	10
—, the plots of Jesuits to bring it quietly to the Romish religion	—	34
—, the present state of it considered and discussed	—	41
—, the excellence of its government described and illustrated	—	44
—, the manœuvres practised to make men hostile to government of	—	51
—, the mischiefs of which such manœuvres are productive	—	52
—, Buldock, a man of no birth, &c. made lord chancellor of	—	106
—, Mortimer returns with the queen of, from France to	—	116
—, Spanish armada sent to make an invasion upon it	ii.	42

	Vol.	Page.
England, the designs which the Spanish government had on it	ii.	60
letter received from it by Don Bernardin Mendoza		69
the methods projected and designed to reduce it to slavery		66.
the general disturbances created by the popes in it		87
in what manner the reformation began in it		88
and not France, entitled to the character of the most christian kingdom		90
a prayer for the deliverance of it		107
the commonalty, &c. of described by Essex's ghost		117
in what manner menaced by Rome, and the insidious plots		176
the history of it during the continuance of the Romans		411
on the first coming of Brute into it		413
a mourning garment, or, an elegy on queen Elizabeth		481
how silk may be produced in it	iii.	80
her complaint to Persia for sir Robert Sherley stated		93
Canutus expels Edwin and Edward from it		128
its invasion by Harfager, king of Norway		136
an account of William I.'s marches in it		146
preparation to invade by the Danish fleets		147
in what manner the Normans were advanced in it		148
an army sent to it by the king of Swedeland		151
account of the funeral of the conqueror, and king of		161
a very severe frost in it		167
the way and manner of its winning wealth		232
the prince of, project of his marrying a Spanish infanta		397
Eleanor Rymmin, the ale wife of, humourously described		476
on Philip of Spain's malice against the government of		509
a defence of it against Spain strongly enforced		511
the propriety of its supporting the Netherlands		512
the queen of, Ballard's plot and design against		516
a forewarning to it to watch against false pretenders		529
an account of the present state of it		552
on the first coach which was seen in it	iv.	218
on the ancient customs established therein		359
on the advantages of raising flax and hemp in it		459
on viscount Clermont's being a prisoner therein		495
account of French ambassadors to it		521
the officers, civil, &c. contained in it	v.	47
the earl of Mark is ordered from it		177
instructions given for its preservation and safety		206
on the anabaptists, a warning for its direction		253
the queen of, is turned into ridicule		343
the state of it considered by Greville, lord Brooke		349
her tears and lamentations for the effects of war		443
account of young fieldiers being found in it		503
the Irish plot to introduce soldiers into it		562
Edgar Atheling deemed the darling of	vi.	99
its establishment in honour by Jo. Hare		175
the crown of it purchased by the conqueror's sword		176
the conquest of it, a claim not defensible		177
was not conquered by William, but the usurper only		179
on the conquest of it by Fortescue		180
New, treatment of the quakers there		435
the number of lawyers in it	vii.	28
its deplorable condition as a commonwealth		99
printing introduced into it by William Caxton		105
joy, or eulogy on Charles II.'s return		111
Spain makes a league with		527
how the Dutch fomented sedition in it in 1641		537
the sovereignty of, in the British seas maintained		539
on the Hollanders ungrateful hostilities to		545
gentlemen from it who went to assist the Dutch		538
the grand concern of it explained	viii.	13
on the decrease of its population		23
New, the wars of that country, and their effects		71
letter of Mr. William Harrison on his return to it		92
on sir Thomas Overbury's return to it		95
in what manner affected by French intrigues		105
the old French way to contrive and effect the ruin of		108
the mistaken notion of the effects of war on it		109
the necessity of its aid on the continent stated		113
on the impracticability of being corual with France		115
entitled to the character of arbitress of Europe		116
on the means of improving its manufactures		121
estimate of providing working county alms houses		123
the king of Majorca and Navarre visit to it		174
&c. the number of jesuits estimated to be in		195
Goudamere's account of Barnevelt's projects against		242

	Vol.	Page.
England, Gondamore's account of other intriguing designs	viii.	243
the pope's authority in it discarded	—	304
observations on the study of its laws	—	317
on the government of France being afraid of	—	340
on the league of Holland with it	—	343
on the nature and qualifications of its soldiers	—	348
the strength of it consists in its yeomanry	—	349
the importance of Tangier to it	—	392
Dunkirk in what respects an incumbrance to it	—	399
an intercession, or litany for it	—	445
the king of, is disgusted with the Hollanders	ix.	5
is in want of money	—	6
the designs of the king of France against it	—	164
the protestant religion incorporated with government	—	211
by what means its constitution is dissolved	—	212
the prince of Orange's expedition to it	—	213
the church of, its answer to the pope's letter	—	247
account of the succession of its crown	—	248
Jefferies becomes the chancellor of	—	309
a jesuit's letter from it to Brussels	—	391
the great advantage of colonies to it	—	427
the calamities of it discovered	x.	254
on the wars between it and France	—	284
New, on the impolicy of fixing a nominal value on coin	—	380
Simon Islip's, the first printing press in it	—	505
on the prince of Orange's mounting the throne of	—	553
mischievous practices of a factious party in it	—	536
on the prince of Orange's landing in it	—	549
the importance of Mahon to it as a naval port	xi.	6
an account of the port of Mahon, as a station for	—	27
News for it, or the animating speech of Drake's ghost	—	33
account of money raised in it for 19 years	—	160
another account of money raised for 12 years	—	161
on its preserving the balance of power	—	188
Geraldine, on his being lord chancellor of	—	377
lord John Dinham is treasurer of	—	424
a description of its state and condition	—	479
on the various names it has had at various times	—	482
the duke of Burgundy is in alliance with	xii.	9
the king of, is honoured with a nickname	—	13
chancellor of, the bishop of Ely is appointed	—	16
the French pensioners in it paid by mons. Cleret	—	19
sir Francis Drake brought tobacco seed to it	—	29
on the encouragement afforded to the Walloons	—	59
the great resort of jesuits to it	—	60
account of its revolutions, &c. by d'Orleans	xli.	62
the parliament of, described by Mr. May	—	69
English, the life of the students of that nation at Rome	ii.	167
Roman college, the sanctified candles sent to at Candlemas	—	175
an account of their clergy, designed to be hanged, &c.	—	176
seminary or college of jesuits at Rome, the orders for it	—	179
students, the address of cardinal Morone to them	—	200
the banishment of them from Rome, and recal	—	203
an account of the various popish attempts to convert them	—	211
and Scotch herrings, an humorous distinction of them	—	382
history during the government of England by the Romans	—	411
by sir Thomas More, the character of it	—	412
parliament, king James I.'s speech to it	—	534
sailor, punishment of one at the Groyne for misconduct	—	543
pledges demanded of, for safety of Edward	lii.	129
crown is promised to William duke of Normandy by Edward	—	26
the title of William to it discussed	—	132
on their being dissatisfied with Harold's usurpation	—	134
on their being routed by duke William at Hastings	—	144
the oppressed refugees of, received by the king of Scotland	—	147
castles erected by king William the Conqueror to overawe them	—	150
fair promises are made to them by William Rufus	—	154
observations on the nature of their trade to Bourdeaux	—	293
some considerations on their trade to Hamburgh	—	294
remarks on their trade to Iceland and Newfoundland	—	295
estimate of the number of their mariners	—	308
account of the pilgrimage of some to Jerusalem	—	323
are supplied with provisions at the Isle of Rhee from Rochel	—	551
cortezan, an account in what manner she was converted	iv.	253
foragers, the manner of their being served at Berwick described	—	436
soldier, the will of one recited	—	437
merchants, in what manner the Hollanders harass them	—	440
clergy, observations on the expediency of clipping their wings	—	465
court, John Jokin's secret embassy to it	—	507

	Vol.	Page
English language, the perfections of it displayed	v.	428
— kings, on the fate of many of them	—	446
— affairs in Denmark, an account of them	—	545
—, forced to retire, are received by the king, &c. of Bohemia	vi.	10
— subjects, the great services of the rebels for	—	41
— described as a member of the Teutonick nation	—	92
—, observations on Daniel, the historian	—	99
— king, St. Edward the last rightful one before William I.	—	100
— laws under Edward, a proposal for reviving them	—	103
—, statement of the corruption of them	—	218
—, faulty ones, on what rule grounded	—	219
— ambassadors, answer to them	—	256
— army in the West Indies, a disastrous account of it	—	372
—, a description of it, at Castle-bay in Barbadoes	—	377
—, their proceedings at St. Domingo	—	379
— the island of Jamaica	—	385
— hermit, an account of Roger Crab, by himself	—	390
— Mero described, or the Cloud opened	viii.	408
— cloth, a staple for it established at Delf	—	504
— troops on the Dutch evasions of paying them	—	525
—, on their numerous losses in the East Indies	—	531
— settlement at Poloroone in the East Indies	—	532
— ships, account of their being seized by the Dutch	—	533
— rebels, Amsterdam in Holland, a grand emporium for	—	537
—, how foreign merchants are enabled to undersell them	viii.	55
— the French description of their character	—	107
— the vassalage of the French abhorred by them	—	117
— captain, his remarks on the conduct, &c. of the French	—	131
—, on Mons. D'Estree's doubtful aid to them	—	142
—, on their taking Maestricht	—	143
— Jesuits, on Henry Garnet the provincial of them	—	150
— account of the Soame river being forded by them	—	164
—, on Limosin's revolting from them	—	177
—, on their possessing Nienport	—	346
—, the propriety of having consuls in Spanish ports	—	402
— church service, on its being directed for Ireland	—	540
— court, partiality shewn to the dissenters by it	ix.	2
— aid is doubted by the king of France	—	7
—, on their being favoured at Bantam	—	46
— crown, account of the succession of it	—	248
— court, on the number of Abithophels about it	—	381
— forces, account of those sent to the Caribbee islands	—	516
—, in what manner they were harassed at Anguilla	—	518
—, on their landing at St. Bartholomew	—	519
— the surrender of St. Bartholomew's to their forces	—	520
— account of their plundering Marigalanta	—	521
— their arrival at the island of Goxee	—	538
— mastiff, Capt. Tyrrell considered as a brave one	—	538
— the capture of Lyons by them	x.	295
— the French navy destroyed by	—	297
— crown, its usurpation by Richard III.	—	310
—, account of their exploits in Flanders, &c.	—	409
— their triumphant shouts on facing their enemies	—	414
—, a saying of the prince de Ligny upon them	—	421
— papists, an account of English ones in various countries	—	430
— crown, the duchess of Burgundy lays claim to it	—	479
— the policy of Mazarine, &c. to foment divisions among them	—	539
— fleet, on its being a terror to Rome	xi.	7
— ships attacked by the Dutch off Leghorn	—	17
— meet with a similar attack off Dover	—	18
—, the occupiers of Tournay for five years	—	124
— gentlemen, a copious and minute account of their travels	—	218
—, on the number of in Amiens	xii.	15
—, temperance deemed one of their cardinal virtues	—	38
— religion, a Venetian's account of it	—	70
— rebels, the French king's declaration against them	—	238
Englishman, account of the martyrdom of one at Rome	ii.	207
—, the will of one related	iv.	437
—, the first bishop of Utrecht was one	vii.	504
—, the French description of one in their writings	viii.	107
—, the gross mistake of the French concerning	—	109
—, not to be estimated merely as a Williamite	xii.	245
Englishmen at Rome, in what manner they live there	ii.	107
— and Welchmen, their difference in college at Rome	—	190
—, a mode proposed by which they may win wealth	lii.	232
—, five of them arrive from Alexandria at Jerusalem	—	337
— made to fight the battles of the Conqueror	ix.	461
—, sir Walter Raleigh's observations upon them	x.	285
Enquiry on birds of passage, in a dissertation on Jerem. viii. 7.	v.	498
— about nuisances, observations on it	vi.	127

	<i>Vol.</i>	<i>Page</i>
Enquiry, a curious one into lucky and unlucky days	viii.	300
— into public affairs, and the cause of naval miscarriage	xii.	141
Enterprise against Algiers, a lamentable account of its failure	i.	231
Entertainment of Charles I. by the City of London described	v.	90
Entries of France, a description of them	x.	212
Envy, malice, and other vices, the nature of them discussed	ii.	530
Enzersdorf, a description of it	xi.	282
Epigrams, several very curious ones on women's tongues	iv.	275
Epistle of lady Jane Gray to a person apostatizing from religion	i.	364
— or exhortation of lady Jane to her sister Catharine	—	369
— to Charles I.	vii.	265
Epitaph of bishop Bonner, stated at large	i.	387
Epitaphs, account of some in antient times	iv.	75
— Hugh Peters's, on sir Edward Harwood	v.	201
— of Armand, cardinal of Richlieu	—	332
— of Edward, the black prince, at Canterbury	viii.	177
— the verses following it, a translation of	—	178
— a curious one for Lewis XIV. of France	xi.	196
Equipment of the invincible armada of Spain	iii.	616
— of a young gentleman on a courting expedition	xi.	213
Equity, a plan for preventing delays in courts of	—	49
Equivocations of papists in what manner to be explained	viii.	444
Erbery, Dorcas, the examination of her	vi.	483
Erasmulum literarium, account of a project of	—	152
Erastus burns Diana's temple to get a name	xi.	371
Errors and abuses in the Laws discovery stated	vi.	332
Erskine, sir Thomas, his resolute and valiant defence of king James II.	ii.	344
Esardus, M. a bigotted Catholic, some account of him	xi.	363
Egling, on the meeting there of the cities of the empire	v.	470
Espinoy, the princess of, her magnanimous spirit	xi.	140
Esprit, St. a ship of the French seized in the Tamar	iii.	547
Essart, a German, is acquainted with Sterne	ix.	14
Essay, a philosophical one on the cause of the tides	viii.	1
— on the theatres, or the requisites for an actor	xii.	146
Essex, the ghost of, the commonality of English described by	ii.	117
— a large description of	iii.	504
— account of the death of earl Walter in 1576	—	505
— Robert, earl of, burnt Cadiz in 1596	—	507
— the earl of, goes into Ireland as general of the forces	—	508
— the ghost of, the second part of it	—	513
— in what manner the earl of is tempted by Spain	—	518
— the earl of, account of his defeating the Spaniards at Roan	—	542
— chases rebellion out of Normandy	—	45
— lord, an account of his death related	iv.	474
— the earl of, an account of him stated	v.	146
— his instructions received	—	206
— his breach and quarrel with the countess	—	354
— the countess of, becomes acquainted with Mrs. Turner	—	356
— her farther proceedings with her	—	358
— becomes acquainted with Dr. Ferman	—	20
— her conversation with the earl	—	360
— sends a letter to Dr. Ferman	—	361
— complains, and sues for a divorce	—	365
— a motion made for marrying Rochester	—	367
— discussions on the subject of the divorce	—	36
— her marriage with viscount Rochester	—	379
— the earl of, his plot and rebellion in queen Elizabeth's reign	—	407
— his opinion of taking an army stated	—	411
— Robert, earl of, an account of his life and death	vi.	5
— Devereux, sir Walter, created earl of	—	7
— the countess of, her seeking a divorce	—	9
— colonel Charles is mortally wounded	—	17
— the earl of, besieges Reading, and winters at Windsor	—	20
— raises the siege of Gloucester	—	23
— molested in his march by prince Rupert	—	27
— is joined by the train bands of London	—	28
— attacks and possesses Weymouth	—	30
— officiously injures sir T. Bodley	—	55
— his powerful opposition to Perkin Warbeck	xi.	424
L'Estrange, Roger, on the advantages of good husbandry	viii.	62
— sir Roger, account of some intrigues at Lynn	ix.	57
— his annals of Charles I.	xii.	57
Evander in Virgil, a pattern of the Moors	viii.	409
Everett, George, his observations on mariners, &c.	x.	221
Evidence, how far to be admitted on the authority of Bellarmine	iv.	45
— on Bellarmine's questioning that of Anastasius	—	49
— whether Bellarmine's may be admitted against Marcellinus	—	62
— how Bellarmine's is contradicted by papists themselves	—	80
— how far variable on the time of pope Joan's life	—	85.

	Vol.	Page.
Evil of stated, clubs discussed and investigated	viii.	63
Eugene, prince, an account of him	xi.	278
Europe, the protestant interest in it considered	i.	41
—, discourse on the modern affairs of it	viii.	336
—, danger of France to it in queen Elisabeth's reign	—	339
—, on the danger to it when at peace with France	—	340
—, the present state of it explained	ix.	233
—, a slave, a dissertation upon it	xi.	183
Eustace, St. is attacked and captured	ix.	529
Eustathius, the name of, how abused	vi.	60
Eutropius, St. remarks and observations on the name	viii.	308
Ewaldus, M. a noted clergyman, some account of	xi.	354
Ewre, lord, a curious account of him	vi.	504
Examination of Pierre Carre, John Greenwood, &c.	ii.	27
— John Pearie	—	31
— Emanuel Fremosa, the first	—	50
— Francisco	—	53
— Fremosa, the second	—	57
— Martha Symonds	vi.	431
— Hannah Stranger on following Naylor	—	432
— Margaret Fell	vii.	296
— George Fox, the noted Quaker	—	46.
Examples for kings; a representation of several	v.	161
Excess of apparel, building, &c. how deemed injurious to nations	ii.	97
— and ambition of bishops described	vi.	16
Excesses of a monarch, by what means to be judged	ix.	232
Exchange, on a very singular occurrence there	vi.	325
—, on its being a rendezvous for merchants in London	viii.	63
Excise, in what manner injured by stage coaches	viii.	34
—, how and in what respects advisable	ix.	498
—, the des aides of France similar to one	x.	209
Excommunication of the church of Rome, or pope's curse	viii.	563
Excuse of the dissenting ministers against a charge of regicide	vi.	199
—, their names recapitulated	—	132
Execution of a Jacobin friar for murder of Henry IV. of France	ii.	147
— the traitors, an account of, in the gunpowder plot	iii.	145
— sir Everard Digby in St. Paul's church-yard	—	47
— Guido Fawkes in Palace-yard	—	48
— Humphrey Lody for treason and murder	—	63
— the lieutenant of the Tower, with his speech	—	316
— of several statesmen at Prague in Bohemia	—	469
— of the sentence on Dr. Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne	iv.	228
— of Bradshaw for treason	v.	59
— of the rebels against Richard II. account of	—	327
— at Munster, of Cretching, servant to John of Leyden	—	477
— of sir Everard Digby, &c. in St. Paul's church-yard	viii.	158
— of the jesuits provincial, Garnet, for treason	—	159
— of Humphrey Winter, Littleton, &c. for conspiracy	—	160
— of the earl of Argyle, an account of it	x.	327
— of Humphrey Stafford, an account of	xi.	374
— the cause of Burdet's stated	—	407
— of Walker, landlord of the Crown in Cheapside	—	424
— of lord Audley, and others, abettors of Perkin Warbeck	—	427
Executioner of the inquisitions, a description of him	viii.	420
Executive power, is vested in the king	ix.	209
Exercise, on the kind to be used with Tunbridge water	vii.	461
Exeter, the king obliged to halt there for provisions	vi.	32
—, the native city of sir T. Bodley	—	51, 52
—, stage coaches, remarks on the number of passengers	viii.	33
—, account of the prince of Orange entering it	ix.	216
—, the duke of, makes a demand of the crown of France	x.	303
—, the prince of Orange's march to it described	—	549
—, account of Charles I.'s march to it	xi.	437
Exhortation, an earnest one for the defence of our country	ii.	85
Exile, various cases of it stated	v.	20
Expedient, a good one for innocence and peace	xii.	228
Expedition to the isle of Rhee, an account of	v.	317
Expences for 19 years to 1659 stated	xi.	157
— 12 years to 2100 related	—	161
Experiments of Wenceslaus, the witnesses to them	viii.	464
Expansade, or pomarium of Mons described	xi.	94
Exploit of Horatio Cocles at Pons Supplicum	xii.	101
Exploits, glorious ones of the English in Flanders	x.	409
Exportation of raw materials, propriety of prohibiting	xii.	251
Extortion, a description of its nature	vi.	118
Extract from Mr. May's account of the battle of Cressy	viii.	171

F.

	Vol.	Page
excellence of his cautious conduct against Hannibal	viii.	344
, sent to the German Anabaptists to reform them	v.	256
, is challenged to a disputation with the Anabaptists	—	461
, Dr. a more particular account of him	xi.	353
account of a French one in England	x.	533, 536
of Barneveldt, references to it	—	547, 554
granted to John Locet, the pope's agent or emissary	viii.	436
of sir Francis Drake in his design upon Panama	ix.	437
Dr. Emnis's resurrection, Lacy's reasons for it	xi.	69
, the indifference of Lewis XIII. towards them	ix.	379
ne, sir Palmes, his prudent retreat by means of pikes	viii.	408
a packet of letters seized by him at Padstow in Cornwall	v.	562
ir Thomas, appointed commander in chief by parliament	vi.	34
queen, and lady Cromwell, the parliament between them	—	136
he dialogue between them, with the sudden exit	—	139
on the juggle between him and the citizens of London	—	186
ir Thomas, is made general of the forces	vii.	278
—, is inveigled to surrender his commission	—	281
lord, a letter to him on the use of commons	xi.	485
Thomas Cheney called the hermit of the queen of them	v.	59
a the popish maxim of not keeping it with heretics	i.	39
d. the residence of king James of Scotland	ii.	335
Wolsey and archbishop Laud, in what manner pre-signified	iv.	465
—, Mrs. Anne Boleyn the original instrument of it	—	503
od overcome by truth, and triumph of learning	vi.	295
ordly, the mirror of it displayed on various subjects	ii.	515
rs, the character of them, and their artful conduct	viii.	416
—, their occupations relative to the punishment of prisoners	—	425
s, on the vast numbers about London destroyed by plagues	—	18
—, great numbers impoverished and ruined by coaches	—	35
—, allied to the house of Howard	ix.	137
—, ancient ones of the north stated	xi.	465
—, their ancient castles and mansions described	—	467
of love, a sect so called, the description of it	iv.	446
— Howard, a minute and distinct account of it	ix.	135
, a dreadful account of one in the north of England	iii.	151
occasioned by excess of rain, and a consequent mortality	—	167
account of a heavy one in the city of Constantinople	v.	191
of the city of Munster, possessed by the Anabaptists	—	282
Anabaptists, on their proceedings at Munster	—	286
—, another account of them stated	—	460
a Bibliotheca, or the Fanatick Library	vii.	141
k, the character of one by a person of quality	viii.	79
—, the Assembly's Catechism, the divinity of one	—	81
—, represents a perfect Samaritan	—	82
ks, a parallel between ancient and modern ones	vii.	251
Italy, account of a particular custom there	xii.	81
y whom invented, and when introduced into England	iv.	218
w, sir Heury, read the indictment against the countess of Somerset	v.	393
si, Hakin, the eastern poet-laureat	xii.	98
Franciscus, on his being a party in murder	ix.	51
, on his delivering up a treacherous slave	iii.	534
, the country one in what manner he was served at London	iv.	244
s, in what manner ruined by increase of buildings	viii.	19
—, thousands of them obliged to leave their farms	—	25
i Palatium, a description of	xii.	111
o, cardinal, account of his palace at Caprarola	—	93
— Palatio, some account of it	—	110
s, on converting physicians into them	x.	408
ton, an account of the manner of its relief from the rebels	v.	518
gs, lord Harrington obtains a patent for brass bones	—	383
us Temporum, the author of, commended and approved	iv.	34
s, the foolish and costly habit of changing with them	iii.	556
of Martha Taylor described, an instance of great abstinence	vii.	365
—, communicated to Mr. Reynolds	—	385
that they do not consist in abstaining from flesh only	i.	87
y, on observing lucky and unlucky days	viii.	300
ir Cloudesley Shovel, the doubts entertained of it	xi.	7
Morton a nursing one to the church	vi.	305
s, their iniquities and crimes punished in the children	—	521
bridge, lord, married to a daughter of Cromwell	—	495
ite, Leicester not the only one of queen Elisabeth	v.	124
one of the greatest promoters of learning	viii.	292
s, or Fust, account of him as printer of Tully's offices	x.	507
and his fellow friends, on their title to honourable distinction	vii.	287

	Vol.	Page
Fawkes, Guido, discovered in a corner of Percy's cellar	iii.	19
—, is narrowly searched, after finding the gunpowder	—	20
—, his undaunted conduct after being secured	—	21
—, his deposition before the privy counsellors	—	22
—, the other conspirators confirm his declaration	—	22
—, called the devil of the vault	—	22
—, alias Johnson, account of his execution	—	29
—, —, has the charge of Percy's hired house	viii.	151
—, is sent into Flanders to sir William Stanley, &c.	—	153
—, is discovered in a corner of the cellar	—	156
—, is executed at Westminster in Palace-yard	—	160
Feast, an account of a great one presented to the pope by Lucifer	iv.	306
Features, observations on a similarity of them	x.	70
Feckenham, master, his communication with lady Jane Dudley	i.	307
Fee-farm of the town of Yarmouth, some account of it	ii.	301
—, king James is compelled to let many of his lands in it	v.	383
Fees of sheriffs, &c. some account of	xi.	30, 52
Feliatrics, the height of the mountains about it stated	—	238
—, an account of the place by English travellers	—	237
Felisbury, the manner in which Wenceslaus was conveyed to	viii.	461
Felix II. pope is omitted by Marcellinus in his chronicle, and why	iv.	62
Fell, Margaret, and George Fox, their examination and trial	vii.	396
Fellow-commoner, a speech of one	ix.	318
Felonies, the various kinds of them described and stated	vi.	114
—, a particular enumeration of them	—	116
Felony, the proceedings, trial, and punishment in cases of	v.	17
—, Frankling is executed for aiding and abetting	vi.	9
—, misprision of, the nature of it stated	—	117
Felton, John, conceives disgust at the duke of Buckingham	v.	319
—, account of his stabbing the duke	x.	304
Fenwick, sir John, his serious reflections upon life and death	—	328
Ferdinand, king of the Romans, holds a diet at Worms	v.	473
Ferdinando, a worthy protestant of Seville, the treatment of	viii.	483
Fermentation, in what manner carried on in the human body	—	380
Fern, Dr. his mistakes on the nature and extent of obedience	ix.	344
Fernandez, Juan, the Cinque Ports ship leaves Selkirk there	xi.	40
—, —, great plenty of goats in the island of	—	42
—, —, cotton and piemento trees there	—	43
—, —, abundance of seals in the island of	—	44
Ferrara, a description of it by English travellers	xii.	83
Ferry, M. a minister of Metz, his letter to the professors of Geneva	iv.	170
Ferryman of Dohet, his first dialogue with the London Waterman, &c.	viii.	468
—, second dialogue	—	504
Ferte, mons. de, French ambassador, account of his intrigues	xii.	58
Fever, a malignant one, the lieutenant-general of death	viii.	365
Fewers, the dangers of, on their removal by the gout	x.	401
Fiction, Homer esteemed the father of it, with its use	vii.	411
Field, John, one of the real printers for Barker and Bill	107	109
Fieldfare, a bird of passage, on the numerous flocks of them	v.	503
—, commonly arrives in England by a northern wind	—	504
—, a curious conjecture on the place of their retirement	—	505
Fielding, lord, viscount, his generosity to the duke of Buckingham	—	518
Fidler, the life of Roger, so called	ix.	54
Fiennars, commissioner, designed for one of the lords' house	vi.	469
—, sir John, brother of the commissioner, one of the lords	—	503
Fight of the English with the Spanish armada	ii.	71
—, of Causham bridge, a particular account of it	vi.	21
—, at sea, description of one in a coffee-house	viii.	10
—, on encountering a bull, the method of stated	ix.	63
—, the rexone or weapon used in the conflict	—	65
—, of the bull at Madrid, prince Charles of England present at	—	66
—, the dexterity and gallantry displayed in	—	67
—, by sea, account of one at Bantry-bay in Ireland	x.	556
Figures, the daughter of, married to Gonsales	xi.	514
Finch, lord, his corroboration of lord Cottington's censure of Prynne, &c.	iv.	228
—, John, the accusation and impeachment of him	—	347
—, sir John, his successful embassy to Constantinople	viii.	102
Finchley, or Finckley Park, the ranger'ship of it sequestered	v.	638
—, proceedings about the sale of it	—	559
Fines's party at Tangier, their miscarriage, and the cause of it	viii.	407
Finbury pettyfogger, account of Jefferies being one	ix.	309
Fire-trees, very numerous to the southward of Vienna	xi.	246
—, very common in Moravia, &c.	—	250
Fire, Dr. Needham's and Mr. Ray's observations on medical properties of	xii.	35
—, Dr. Merret on the shavings of, in wines	—	36
Fire, artificial, preparation of it to repel the Spanish armada	ii.	162
—, how a woman's tongue may be said to be one	iv.	272
—, a very heavy one among the Jews at Constantinople	v.	191
—, many very seasonable cautions for the prevention of it	—	546

	Vol.	Page
Fire, the description of the great one in London	vii.	325
—, an account of losses by it in various parts of the world	—	330
—, a particular detail of damage done by that of London	—	331
—, an account of the great fire of Moscow, with the cause	—	333
—, works, a grand display of them at Mustapha's circumcision	viii.	100
—, of London, &c. the plots of papists	ix.	379
—, wood, account of its being charged with duty in France	x.	213
—, at Whitehall, a description of it, and the damage done	—	359
—, account of a terrible one at Mons	xi.	96
Firing beacons, cautions against running to the sea in those cases	v.	247
Fish, directions respecting preserving or taking at York assizes	vi.	126
Fisher, observations on Laud's account of the conference with	xii.	64
Fisheries, an account of the benefit and advantage of supporting them	iii.	232
—, the nature of those carried on by the Dutch	—	239
—, the Dutch proclamation respecting those of herrings	—	249
—, Sir Thomas Roe's speech in parliament on them	iv.	459
Fishery of Yarmouth displayed, an eulogium in favour of herrings	ii.	228
—, an account of various places fit for establishing one	iii.	366
Fishes, in what manner the herring became the king of them	ii.	319
Fishing, on the advantage to be derived from the occupation of	iih.	290
—, on the facilities afforded to the English for pursuing it	—	305
—, trade, how engrossed by the Dutch, and revival by the English	vii.	403
—, how lost by the English, and mode of redeeming it	—	416
—, of the Dutch in the British seas, the means of their rise	—	422
—, number of vessels employed by the Dutch in this trade	—	423
—, a proposition for encouraging the trade of, in England	viii.	17
—, an enlargement and discussion of the proposition on	—	59
—, the great numbers of families it would give employment to	—	61
—, trade, observations on the means of improving it	xii.	252
—, ports, on the expediency of erecting work-houses at them	—	253
Fitz-gerard, the white knight of Ireland, attainted of high treason	v.	72
—, Williams, colonel, his propositions for raising 10,000 men	—	531
—, Walter receives a pardon, but is afterwards beheaded	xi.	409
—, an account of his being beheaded at Calais	—	404
Flaminius, how deemed guilty of the most odious vices	iii.	535
Flamock, Thomas, encourages the revolt of the Cornishmen	xi.	422
—, Thomas, account of being executed and quartered	—	427
Flanders, Baldwin, a provincial jesuit there	viii.	150
—, an account of the English exploits in it	x.	409
—, the prince of Parma is governor of it	xi.	128
—, an account of the campaign there	—	398
Flax and hemp, on the advantages of raising them in England	iv.	459
—, the manner of raising it	viii.	225
Fleet, an account of king Edward's	ti.	294
—, the English, on its being a terror to Rome	xii.	7
—, on the best way of manning it	—	10
—, the obstructions to the manning it considered	—	21
—, of the French, many of them destroyed	xii.	42
Fleetwood, lieutenant-general, some account of him	vi.	490
—, lord Charles, account of his gift	vii.	88
—, a creature of Cromwell's	ix.	291
Flies of the inquisition described	viii.	422
—, account of foreign ones, and how they entrap Lutherans	—	423
Flight of woodcocks, the manner of it stated	v.	505
Flocks, account of red-wings coming to England in flocks	—	504
Floods in South Wales, a warning to England	iii.	64
—, famine, and mortality, productive of one another	—	167
Florence, Socinus entertained 12 years at the court there	vi.	361
—, duke of, his arbitrary imposts stated	ix.	487
—, a description of it by English travellers	xii.	87
Florentius, on the lives of the popes	iv.	67
Florida, the gulf of, its limits described	vi.	389
—, wine, Pride's account of it	viii.	385
Florimondus Remondus, Posseviu's opinion of him	iv.	12
—, a contradiction of it stated	—	16
—, account of impossibilities	—	18
—, not outdone by Bellarmine	—	19
—, grimes every thing he touches	—	22
—, on the tale of pope Joan in Mantuan	—	45
—, various reasons for mistrusting him	—	41
—, his tale about Anastasius	—	50
—, another proof of his incorrectness	—	68
—, more proofs of his inaccuracy	—	86
—, charged as a palterer	—	88
—, is contradicted by Genebrard	—	102
—, another proof of his deception	—	103
Flushing is greatly improved, whilst possessed by the English	vii.	524
—, sir Thomas Morgan leaves England to go to it	—	537
—, a port in Holland, an account of it	ix.	546
Flux of spirit, a discussion upon it	vii.	322

	<i>Fol.</i>	<i>Page.</i>
Folkmothe of Edward the Confessor, an account of	vii.	90
Folly of the stroakers, the boldness of it	—	463
Fomenters of the sedition in 1641, activity of Dutch	—	537
Foragers at Berwick upon Tweed, in what manner served	iv.	436
Forces of the Tartars, on disbanding them at Adrianople	v.	191
— of sir Thomas Lunsford, an account of them	—	531
—, account of the king's at Wetherby in Yorkshire	—	536
—, attack of the king's at Islip by capt. Temple	vi.	99
— of the parliament take possession of Lancaster	—	32
— of Norway defeated by Harold	ix.	458
Forde, sir Edward, his plan for raising money	vii.	341
Foreign affairs, sir Robert Sherley on the management of	iii.	94
Foreigners, the mischief of encouraging them stated	viii.	52
—, the means by which they undersell the English	—	55
—, their oppressions from Bishop Wren	xii.	59
Forerunner of Revenge, a copious illustration of	iv.	403
Forest, New, its creation by William the Conqueror	iii.	151
—, duke Robert's son and William Rufus killed in it	—	164
— of Waltham, Amasadab Blower's lecture in it	iv.	177
Forfeited estates in Ireland, an account of them	x.	535
Forgeries, the earl of Sandwich's observations on them	viii.	465
Forgery of letters by the earl of Leicester	iv.	478
—, the nature of it described	vi.	118
Forica, an account of it stated	x.	511
Forman, Dr. letter to him from Essex, and account of his death	v.	361
Formosus, pope, in what manner he was served after his death	iv.	81
Fornication and adultery, &c. advice upon them	x.	240
Forrester, sir Andrew, the persecution of described	—	279
Fortescue, his observations on the conquest of England	vi.	176
—, his application of Aristotle's maxim to the body politic	—	180
—, on the laws which continue it	—	216
Fortune, New, sir Walter Raleigh deemed the tennis-ball of	v.	143
— of Villiers is envied by the earl of Somerset	—	389
Foudray, the rebels debark at it	xi.	385
Foulface, Philip, the author of Bucephalus Bountie	ii.	263
Fowl, the great scarcity of them in Scotland	vii.	437
—, a duty paid upon them in France	x.	213
Fox, bishop of Winchester, how he befriends Wolsey	iv.	491
—, George, his exclamation	vi.	438
—, the examination of	vii.	296
—, an account of his last will	ix.	228
—, bishop, his gallant defence of Norham castle	xi.	428
Foyst, how caught by a whore	iv.	246
Foysts, a curious dialogue between two	—	240
Fragmenta Regalia of sir Robert Naunton	v.	121
France, the political manœuvres of, for establishing popery	i.	43
—, in what manner its liberty was lost	—	47
—, on its attempts to obtain an universal monarchy	—	74
—, its surprize of Strasburg in time of peace	—	75
—, on Hugh Spencer's holding a correspondence with	—	106
—, the outrages, in the murder of the nobility, &c.	—	431
—, Pope Sixtus Quintus's character of king Henry III. of	ii.	130
—, the murder of king Henry IV. of	—	26.
—, Burleigh's account of it	—	281
—, the king of, in what manner to treat him	—	26.
—, the state of it described by sir Thomas Overbury	iii.	102
—, account of its military weakness	—	105
—, Henry IV. of, his murder by Francis Raulliac	—	109
—, the exclusion of bastards from its government	—	120
—, the difficulties it encountered in vanquishing the Normans	—	172
—, the succours taken to it in 1591 by Robert earl of Essex	—	507
—, account of its oppression by Spain	—	541
—, Henry of, on Raulliac's murder of him	—	542
—, on the design to assassinate him	—	543
—, duke Joyeuse submits to him	—	544
—, the laws of, and reason of being reformed	—	558
—, account of Henry VIII.'s invasion of it	iv.	494
—, on the siege and surrender of Turwine in it	—	495
—, a description of Wolsey's pompous embassy to	—	510
—, the duke of Lorrain's army to come from it	v.	517
—, on procuring for the duke a passage through it	—	518
—, on the English rebels sending an embassy to it	—	520
—, news from it, relative to Mazarine's library	vi.	265
—, its design to involve England in war	vii.	345
—, king of, on his rapid conquests	—	507
—, on De Groot's embassy thither	—	512
—, on its ruin by war sooner than England	viii.	109
—, the arms of formidable to Christendom	—	110
—, its danger to the empire stated	—	113

	Vol.	Page
France, an account of its resources for war	viii.	114
the nature of its intrigues in foreign courts	—	115
on England's not being cordial to it	—	116
the interest of Poland to counteract it	—	139
a discourse on war with it	—	147
on its trade to Aleppo for pigeons	—	148
the great hopes of arise from the English divisions	—	164
account of Edward, the Black Prince, going to it	—	167
Philip, king of, on his being wounded at Cressy	—	168
—, makes his escape to Bray	—	169
John, king of, and his son made prisoners	—	176
Charles, king of, his design to commence hostilities	—	337
its design to establish universal monarchy	—	338
on the extended empire of it	—	339
the danger of it to Europe stated	—	340
reasons for its monarchy sinking with its own weight	—	ix.
the king of, conceals treacherous treaties	—	3
—, account of his growing power	—	4
—, entertains a doubt of English assistance	—	7
the designs of the kingdom of it against England	—	164
Henry III. king of, an account of his murder	—	384
— IV. ditto	—	46.
account of the taxes of	—	485
the parliaments of, no more than courts of judicature	—	486
the history of its taxes stated	x.	200
taille one of its taxes, an account of it	—	202
gabelle, an account of it as a tax	—	206
des aides, account of, as an excise	—	260
entries of, an account of what they are	—	212
on butter being there charged with duty	—	213
on dricren as the king's aid there	—	214
on tradesmen of all descriptions being licensed in it	—	215
revenue of, an account of it described	—	219
and England, on the wars between the kingdoms of	—	284
on the earl of Leicester's being a prisoner there	—	291
the crown of, is demanded for England by the duke of Exeter	—	305
on the murder of Henry III. of	—	321
on the means of carrying on a war against it	—	371
account of the English proceedings in it	—	469
the succession of its first kings stated	—	491
on its being always disposed to invade England	—	540
observations on their possession of Strasburg	—	560
the naval power of it aggrandized	xi.	12
Lewis XIV. king of, his attack of Mons	—	108
—, finishes the fortifications of Mons	—	112
—, takes Lisle	—	113
observations on Clodion, the king of it	—	117
Lewis XIV. king of, takes Fournay	—	130
on Lisle being re-taken from the king of	—	139
on the danger of peace with it	—	183
the elector of Bavaria supported by it	—	184
can alone be checked by the imperial power	—	188
a description of it in general	—	478
Comines's account of a treaty with	xii.	9
count de St. Pol, the constable of	—	46.
Edward IV. makes a truce with the king of	—	11
observations on its descent upon England	—	38
on the conduct of lord Scudamore there	—	59
and Navarre, the king's declaration against English rebels	—	238
Franciscan friars, a stratagem used by them	viii.	98
Francisco, Emanuel, an account of his examination	ii.	53
Franklin, speech of his ghost	iii.	364
—, how employed about sir Thomas Overbury's death	v.	375
Frankling, account of his execution for aiding felony	vi.	9
Fraser, observations on passive obedience	ix.	273
Frating, a description of it	xi.	284
Fraud, Machiavel's account of its advantage	ix.	290
Frauds, on those used by practisers of law	viii.	22
Freculphus, Theophanus, lived before the time of pope Joan	iv.	52
Frederick II. his employing the Saracen forces against the pope	ii.	279
—, emperor, how treated by pope Alexander III.	iv.	44
— I. prince palatine of the Rhine	—	162
— III. ditto	—	164
— IV. ditto	—	165
— V. ditto	—	166
Fremosa, Emanuel, his first examination	ii.	50
— second examination	—	57
French, their invasion of Holland in 1672	i.	43
—, why Charles, duke of Lorraine, was excluded from its crown	—	58

	Vol.	Page
French, address for a war with them in 1689	i.	74
—, why the Palatinate was invaded by them	—	75
—, the reason of Genoa's being bombarded by them	—	76
—, king Charles the Second stated to be a pensioner to them	—	76
—, ministry, on Ireland's being in the power of	—	77
—, defeat of them by William duke of Normandy	iii.	122
—, king and duke William equally desirous of peace	—	123
—, ship, St. Esprit, captured in the Texel	—	147
—, king, his base brother is slain at Rochel	—	151
—, on Bulloign and Calais being betrayed to them	iv.	476
—, king, the duke of Bourbon's quarrels with him	—	506
—, is taken prisoner	—	508
—, and English, their league and treaty discovered	—	509
—, king, account of his redemption from captivity	—	510
—, on Wolsey's interview with him	—	516
—, ambassadors in England, some account of them	—	521
—, and Spanish monarchs, a conference between them	v.	118
—, historian, an account of <i>Æmilius Veronensis</i>	vi.	180
—, declaration of war, an answer to it	vii.	320
—, account of their magazines at Nuy	—	527
—, ships are stopped at Wesel by the governor lord Jucchen	—	528
—, intrigues, in what manner they affect England	viii.	105
—, their natural disposition to embroil states	—	106
—, their description of an Englishman	—	107
—, a description of their stratagems	—	109
—, treachery, its alliance with Holland stated	—	110
—, their arms in what manner formidable to Christendom	—	111
—, their attempts at universal dominion	—	111
—, the slavery of their people described	—	116
—, vassalage, how abhorred by the English	—	117
—, an English captain's remarks on them	—	141
—, agent, how disguised as a merchant	—	144
—, the natural design of them to create disturbances	—	146
—, king, on his being conquered by the black prince	—	163
—, the escape of three of his sons	—	170
—, is taken prisoner by Pescara	—	227
—, account of their being defeated by Gonsalvo	—	306
—, their disposition to war stated	—	332
—, in what manner they are afraid of England	—	340
—, on their possessing Ostend, remarks upon	—	341
—, on their king and counsel's directing the affairs of Spain	—	342
—, their grand design of universal monarchy stated	—	352
—, their modern practice of discarding duelling	—	356
—, the consequences of their possessing Nieupoort	—	371
—, ambassador, Colbert de Croissy	ix.	3
—, persuades the English to a treaty with them	—	5
—, on the conduct of the Hollanders	—	46
—, on the rumour of their being at Porlock	—	218
—, cruelties, an account of them to convert hereticks	—	464
—, bear-ward, an account of one	—	548
—, invasion, a letter upon the design of it	x.	112
—, the pretences of it investigated	—	150
—, vintners, some account of them	—	210
—, take advantage of Henry III.'s absence	—	293
—, navy, on its being destroyed by the English	—	297
—, invade the isle of Wight and other parts of England	—	303
—, assail divers parts of the English coasts	—	304
—, on Bolloign being given up to them	—	318
—, in what manner Calais was taken by them	—	319
—, their capture of the city of Rochelle from the English	—	323
—, their assistance to the Scots against the English	—	324
—, ambassador, Mons. Barillon, some account of him	—	444
—, West India islands, on the English capturing them	—	515
—, on Utrecht's being in their possession	—	547
—, on their repulse by the prince of Orange	—	548
—, ships in Dublin-bay, the English attack upon them	—	559
—, on reducing them in the West-Indies	xii.	23
—, and Dutch power in the West Indies, an account of	—	24
—, in what manner Barcelona was preserved from	—	27
—, king, the British ambassadres's speech to	—	181
—, their account of the battle of Hochstet	—	187
—, their manner of corrupting foreign states	—	190
—, remarks on their possession of Friburgh	—	191
—, account of Friburgh's being besieged by them	—	192
—, on Villengen's being besieged by them	—	46
—, on the danger of Ulm from their encroachments	—	194
—, Vienna from their advances	—	46
—, sir Thomas Montgomery, ambassador to their king	xiii.	29
—, pensioners in England, paid by mons. Cleret	—	46
—, fleet, account of the destruction of many of them	—	42

	<i>Vol.</i>	<i>Page</i>
admiral Turville, some account of his conduct	xii.	43
ships, account of some burnt at Le Hogue	—	45
match, Dr. Kenne's sermon upon it	—	57
court, account of lord Carleton's being insulted there	—	56.
intrigues, the earl of Clarendon's observations upon them	—	58
— of mons. de Ferte, their ambassador	—	56.
— protestants, account of their encouragement in England	—	59
man, on Mappury's duplicity to sir Walter Raleigh	iii.	381
—, le Chesnay, his meeting sir Walter Raleigh at Brentford	—	386
—, an account of his conversation on war	viii.	140
— the policy of those of the Dominican order	—	99
gh, remarks on its being possessed by the French	xi.	191
—, account of its being besieged by them	—	193
ship, Thomas Churchyard's Spark of	ii.	109
— of the Nipnet Indians, on the little dependance of	viii.	73
ss, their invention by the Cyrenians	vii.	164
m account of the castle there	xi.	247
ensis, Otho, makes mention of pope Joan	iv.	54
Homer's account of them	ii.	305
account of a severe one in England	iii.	167
— on the jesuits there stealing one Martinus from his parents	v.	110
us, makes mention of Pope Joan	iv.	43
n, account of a bridge of boats there	vi.	18
— bishop of Lincoln, on his marrying king Charles II.	viii.	516
— or paying bills, &c. remarks upon one	x.	378
— the regulations of one for payment of bills, &c.	—	388
l of William I. king of England, description of	lik	161
— the marquis of Montrose	vii.	236
—, the form of procession	—	237
processions, account of the nature of at Hamburg	xi.	333
account of its destruction by an earthquake	x.	193
—, and other places on the coast taken	—	417
Mr. John, of Blandford, is murdered by Strangeways	vii.	9
—, a character of him	—	13
y of astrological judgments demonstrated	—	389

G:

g, a tax of Franse, a description of it	x.	306
ry's almanack, in what respects inferior	—	396
— whence it obtained the name	ii.	365
—, a colony of the Phenicians	vii.	164
castle, deemed the key of Naples	ali.	116
so, L. Cesare's attempt to escape from prison	—	94
the late lord, a jesuit priest	viii.	505
Mr. his account of drinking chocolate	xli.	28
ord, Thomas, his history of Perkin Warbeck	xi.	367
—, his definition of drunkenness	iii.	553
—, his opinion of the gout	x.	405
cus, his oration commended	ii.	414
—, ditto to his soldiers in Britain	—	452
stry in bull-fighting, a description of it	ix.	67
its, account of lame ones, for Amazons	x.	398
ns, on intercepting the Spanish ones	xi.	8
k nations, Neustrians deemed the dross of them	vi.	100
p, the Turkish, drawn up near Alexandria in Egypt	iii.	38
pli in the isle of Candy, John Reynard, &c. arrive at	—	42
at picquet, an account of a political one	vii.	46
of chess, ditto	viii.	361
s, political ones, account of for various years	xi.	47
sters, Royal, their stake of kingdoms	—	46
—, State, or the Old cards new packed	xii.	253
ag, the cheats of discovered by Leathermore	vii.	361
a, or large geese, a curious account of	xi.	511
—, on the wonderful use of them	—	517
r of the inquisition, his task to strip his prisoners	viii.	417
rs and gaoles, on the necessity of regulating them	x.	258
—, their duty to their prisoners stated, and fees due	—	269
ion, the earl of Calender's house converted into one	lii.	236
—, lord Cardross's house made one	—	46.
—, the laird of Cosnok's house converted into one	—	46.
na of Sterling, account of the state of it	xi.	72
—, on those of Blackness and Dumbarton	—	73
XII.		

	Vol.	Page
Garrison of Dumbarton castle, state of it on surrender	xv.	76
— of Sterling castle, on what condition surrendered	—	77
Garnet, the jesuit, an account of his doctrine, &c.	i.	39
—, Henry, provincial of the English jesuits	viii.	150
—, is found guilty of treason, and executed	—	161
Garnett, the various names which he assumed	iii.	52
—, the conspirator, is supported by count Gondomar	—	556
Garden and palace of lord George Ursini	xii.	107
—, Tivoli near Rome	—	115
Garrison, the earl of Calender's house converted into one	x.	236
—, lord Cardross's house, made one	—	28.
—, the laird of Cosnok's house converted into one	—	65.
Garrisons, in what manner to be defended	i.	63
Garraway, alderman, his speech against Pym	v.	226
Gascoign, sir Thomas, a reputed papist	viii.	440
—, Thomas, esq. his letter from I. Corker	—	449
Gascoigne, sir William, a statement of his ill news	iv.	530
Gateside, an account of it	xi.	446
—, on its union with Newcastle, and separation	—	457
Gavel-kind, an account of it, and how secured	ii.	300
Gaveston, an account of his history and life	i.	92
—, execution at Gravesend	—	95
—, on the insolence of the parliament against him	viii.	475
Gauls, the Sequanish, are assisted by Ariovistus	vi.	98
—, the relics of Brennus's army	—	105
Gaunt, John of, an account of his pedigree	iv.	477
Gawen, nephew of Arthur, account of his sepulchre	iii.	186
Gayland, how overcome by Muley Arrid	viii.	468
Gaza, in Palestine, a visit to it by English pilgrims	iii.	366
Gembie, some observations on the monks there	ix.	42
Genabard, an authority of little credit in popish controversy:	—	40
—, an instance of his absurd testimony stated	—	44
—, opposed to Florimondus, with the nature of their testimony	—	102
Geneva, a letter of M. Verry's relative to Anthoine	—	170
—, account of Servetus being burned there for religion	vi.	359
Genoa, injustice of the French in bombarding it without cause	i.	75
—, a brief description of the city of that name	xii.	194
Gentleman, account of a young one's equipment for courtship	—	213
Gentlemen members of the late parliament, holding places	x.	367
—, the Travels of three English ones from Venice	i.	218
Gentleness and affability, an essay upon their properties	ii.	533
—, St. Chrysostom's account of its nature and extent	vii.	72
Gentlewomen and Tradesmen's wives of London, their petition	v.	268
—, in what manner their petition was delivered	—	271
—, Mr. Pym's answer to the said petition	—	26.
Geometry, on the propriety of teaching its elements generally	vi.	144
Geography, maps, and globes, utility of instruction in them	—	146
Geraldine, Thomas, lord chancellor of Ireland, deceived by Warbeck	xi.	377
German, a view of king James's court there for five years	x.	377
German, St. the emperor's letter in answer to his epistle from thence	i.	23
German nation, its original from Askenaz, grandson of Japhet	vi.	93
—, monk, the first inventor of gunpowder	xi.	542
Germanicus, on his setting up a trophy of Cæsar in Britain	vi.	99
Germany, on Bodley's family escaping thither from queen Mary	—	52
—, a curious relation of killing a counterfeit devil	viii.	96
—, monkish manœuvre foiled to convert a protestant	—	97
—, the progress of the French arms there, alarm of	xi.	184
—, only to be rescued by the generosity of England	—	193
—, the various titles of the emperor of enumerated	—	276
Ghost of Essex, a copious account of it	iii.	204
— of sir Thomas Overbury, the declaration of	—	346
— of Weston, an accomplice in sir Thomas Overbury's murder	—	352
— of Dr. Turner another accomplice in the same murder	—	353
— of sir Jarvis Ellwis, lieutenant of the tower	—	360
— of Franklin, another accomplice in Overbury's murder	—	364
— of the earl of Essex, the second part of it	—	513
— of sir Walter Raleigh, with his declarations	—	529
—, to count de Gondomar	—	538
— of St. Edward, or Anti-normanism, by John Hare	vi.	99
— of Augustus, his reproach of Claudius	viii.	375
— of sir Francis Drake, with important news	xi.	33
—, his message to queen Anne	—	34
— of king William, or a view of the states on the continent	—	102
Ghosts of Drake and Raleigh, an effusion of loyalty	—	32
Gibbelines, account of them in reference to Leicester's commonwealth	iv.	477
Gibbets, the Scotch lairds of note, or leaders of clans, have them	vii.	442
Giffords, on Leicester's tyranny towards some of the family of	iv.	477
Gifts, nine sorts of them necessary for the godly	vii.	70
Gilbert, Dr. his observations on the invention of the compass	—	102

	<i>Vol.</i>	<i>Page</i>
the produce of it in the West India colonies stated	ix.	412
the utility of it as a spice, and regulation of its price	—	421
mons. left in Ireland by king William to reduce it	x.	558
archbishop of York, refuses precedence to Auselin	iv.	463
advice at Hastings to the usurper Harold	iii.	139
gan, earl of, commissioner to the Irish catholics	v.	485
his instructions to Mr. Edward Bosdon	—	530
his negotiations with the Irish	—	562
his letter to lord Culpeper	—	578
the countess of Glamorgan	—	580
Mr. Eustace's account of his negotiations	—	582
r and other places, the provosts of incapacitated	x.	234
akers of Murano, some account of them	xii.	80
v, the laird of, murdered in cold blood in his bed	x.	555
ir, Owen, a nickname for archbishop Williams	v.	342
sir Bertram de, how he employed the British captains	viii.	174
drives the king of Castile out of Spain	—	175
is taken captive by the Black Prince	—	176
constable of France for his valour	—	176
ter, a place where the court frequently kept Christmas	iii.	156
is summoned by king Charles I. and defended by Massey	vi.	22
the siege of is raised by the earl of Essex's army	—	23
chief justice, an instrument for bringing Strafford to the block	—	404
Dr. his great knowledge of the stars, inferior to the gout	x.	395
a what manner Selkirk caught them at Feraudes isle	xi.	42
the Sea, why Neptune was so called	vii.	163
Man, how far the authority of government from either	ix.	321
arning, or an account of the heavy floods in Wales	ix.	64
l, Mr. of Oxbridge, Roger Crab's dedication to him	vi.	393
l, Dr. Jonathan, on the practice of physick	vii.	468
sir Edmundsbury, suspected of being murdered by papists	viii.	449
Bolton's pretended account of his death	—	450
design of papists in murdering him	xi.	379
nd faithful, on the advantages to be taken by them	vii.	74
an account of their various gifts	—	77
Hugh Peters, how he persuaded the soldiers to Ireland	—	78
their qualifications, a practical application of	—	80
intention of heathen ones on the weather	iv.	339
i what manner the statues of Athens chose them	viii.	371
lonel, or lord Goff, his qualifications for being a lord	vi.	499
William, on the means of advancing national trade	xii.	250
hn, or Flavio Goa, the inventor of the compass	vii.	107
ne, sir Walter Raleigh's assertion about one	iii.	370
in, on its being clandestinely conveyed out of England	iv.	465
the chymical powder for converting metals into it	viii.	465
periments of converting the powder stated	—	458
in, how its increased value is injurious to the nation	x.	372
on the propriety of calling it in	—	373
d silver coin, how an increased value impoverishes a nation	—	380
proposal discussed for reducing it to its coined value	—	385
reemed the soul of the world, slighted at Madagascar	xi.	537
th, his purchase of Wenceslaus's transmuted gold	viii.	456
s, why adjudged a traitor by Richard II.'s parliament	v.	84
s or Gonavitz, south from Gratz, a description of it	xi.	536
or or Gondomar, his alarm at sir Walter Raleigh's voyage	iii.	379
—, count de, the partiality of king James towards him	—	436
the incendiary-general of Christendom	—	530
some of his tricks and plots stated	—	531
a description of his perturbed mind	—	533
his soliloquy on sir Walter Raleigh	—	534
a supporter of the traitor Garnet	—	546
how he effected sir Walter Raleigh's death	vii.	390
a narrative of his wicked plots	viii.	231
the account given by him of his mission	—	236
is interrupted by the archbishop of Toledo	—	237
the duke Pastrane	—	239
his policy on the English East India trade	—	241
his boast of effecting Raleigh's death	—	242
his opposition to bishop Bancroft, &c.	—	243
as a statesman and politician, how immortal	ix.	391
s of Venice, an account of their numbers	xii.	80
s, Domingo, the little Spaniard, his voyage to the Moon	xi.	511
an account of his family at Seville	—	513
his introduction to duke d'Alva's court	—	514
how he makes a composition for murder	—	515
some particulars of his voyage to the Moon	—	523
account of the palaces in the Moon	—	531
returns to a mountain near Pequín in China	—	532
the manner of his treatment by a mandarin	—	533
o, captain, on Friday being a fortunate day to him	viii.	300
—, John, is cast into prison for preaching the faith of Christ	—	498

	Vol.	Page.
Godd Hope, the rape of, an account of it in 1618	hi.	421
—, was in the pos-session of the English in 1620	vii.	532
Goodacre, Hugh, is consecrated archbishop of Armagh	viii.	542
—, is expelled from the archbishoprick		543
Goodwin, earl, the statement of his conduct to Alfred	lii.	123
—, his lands swallowed up, forming the Goodwin sands	viii.	304
Gordon, Dr. a Scotch bishop, his usage at the court of St. Germain	x.	476
—, lady Catharine, daughter to the earl of Huntley, an account of	xi.	416
—, is married to Perkin Warbeck	—	418
—, escapes to St. Michael's Mount	—	437
Goree the island of, in Holland, on king William's landing there	ix.	532
Goring, lord, advises the duke of Buckingham of his danger	v.	318
—, the queen's jeweller, charged with sinister proceedings	—	346
—, lord, the king's letter on his defeating the western rebels	—	526
—, colonel, governor of Portsmouth, his fidelity	xii.	54
Gorizia, about seventy four miles from Venice, account of	xi.	222
Goshawks, a comparison of the flight of storks to them	v.	506
Gottenburg, John, inventor of printing at Mentz, in Germany	viii.	105
Government of England, Richard Cromwell's resignation of it	i.	23
—, the excellence of it, and necessity of supporting	—	44
—, a limited monarchy demonstrated to be the best	—	45
—, of king Charles I. a vindication of it	—	53
—, of England, how wrested from Edward II.	—	122
—, how Constantine new-modelled that of Britain	ii.	470
—, of the seventeen provinces, or Low-countries, stated	lii.	98
—, of Normandy, bastards not excluded from it	—	120
—, of France, bastards excluded from it	—	46
—, of the Athenians, danger of attempting to change it	iv.	467
—, of Berwick, instructions for it to the earl of Bedford	v.	166
—, on the original of the rule of it in princes	vi.	214
—, the promised reform of it by the protector, if performed	—	506
—, of England, how to prevent differences about	vii.	50
—, the protestant religion a part of it	ix.	211
—, how and by what means established	—	228
—, and subjection considered, with relation to monarchy	—	321
—, on the people's good being the design and object of	—	323
—, civil, reference to the Romans being masters of it	—	483
—, of Scotland under the duke of Lauderdale	x.	232
—, on the malice of Eastwick, Burton, and Fyenne to it	xii.	67
Governments, how far princes enabled to direct the religion of them	i.	30
—, on murmurings against them and kings	—	59
Governor of Bavaria, account of Otho, the elder	iv.	155
—, Edinburgh castle, account of Rothwen	—	430
—, lieutenant of the tower his conference with Weston	v.	376
—, of Flushing, account of sir Philip Sidney, &c.	vii.	523
—, of Tournay's absence is supplied by his lady	xi.	122
—, Andrapela, at Madagascar, his contempt of cloaths	—	535
—, of Portsmouth, on colonel Goring's fidelity as such	xii.	54
Governors in parliament, &c. an account of them	vi.	460
Gout, a rational discourse on the honour of it	x.	389
—, the great advantages to mortal men produced by it	—	401
—, in what manner preferable to many other things	—	407
—, and rheumatism, remarks of Mollenbroccius on coffee for them	xii.	22
Gowrie, account of the conspiracy of the earl of against king James	ii.	334
—, the earl's behaviour to him	—	341
—, James Weimis' deposition on the earl's conspiracy	—	345
—, William Rynd's first examination on the conspiracy	—	347
—, second deposition on ditto	—	349
Gradations of Lodowick Muggleton's religious tenets	viii.	84
Gradiſca, the position of it sometimes mistaken by writers	xi.	222
Grafton, the court of Henry VIII. is removed to	iv.	535
—, account of the cardinals being dismissed from it	—	537
Graham, sir John, one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber	v.	309
—, Mr. Tergus, the only protestant in king James's family	x.	220
Grammar schools, thoughts on the propriety of lessening them	—	564
Granary of the Romans, Britain made to be	ii.	4
—, on a publick one in each county, to supply with cheap corn	viii.	125
Granaries, on establishing them in the various counties	x.	263
Grand, Lewis le, on his being the son of mons. le Grand by the queen	ix.	281, &c.
Grandeur, the track pursued by Vespasian to obtain it	—	438
Grant, John, one of the conspirators in the gunpowder plot	iii.	23
—, account in what manner he was burnt with gunpowder	—	29
—, his scheme how rendered abortive	—	31
—, the execution of him in St. Paul's church-yard	—	47
—, and the apprentices of London, an account of their treason	v.	36
—, John, admitted amongst the gunpowder conspirators	viii.	152
—, and others, break open the stables of Benock	—	127
—, is taken prisoner as one of the conspirators	—	128
—, his arraignment, and execution in St. Paul's church yard	—	129

INDEX.

lii

	Vol.	Page
Granville, Dr. brother to the earl of Bath, his treatment	x.	276
Grasier, observations to demonstrate his rank in society	ix.	409
Gratz, account of a furniture vault under the church there	v.	199
—, the capital of Stiria, southward of Vienna	xi.	238
Gravesend, on the execution of Gaveston there	i.	96
*Gravity, how it may be considered in birds of passage	v.	594
Gray, lady Jane, her unwillingness to be proclaimed queen	i.	314
—, on judge Hale's refusal to sign her title	—	325
—, lord, Leonard, account of his treason in Ireland	v.	63
Gray's Inn, Mr. Marriott, the glutton or great eater there	vi.	392
Greatness, an elucidation of its nature	iv.	59
Grecian learning, an account of it	—	84
Grecians received the art of navigation from the Egyptians	viii.	163
Greece, on Xerxes justifying his inroad into it	viii.	376
Greek language ensures a good reception in Palestine	iii.	327
—, on its being introduced amongst British words	vi.	217
Greeks, on their religion being neither pure protestant nor papist	—	227
—, their ancient comedy never prohibited to be read	viii.	291
Greene, Robert, on Thieves falling out, &c.	iv.	239
Greenland company, in what manner injurious	—	313
— ships, how they should be encouraged	iii.	304
— fishermen's boats there shaped like shuttles	vii.	166
Greenwelo is sent by Garnet to the conspirators, whilst he fled	viii.	159
Greenwich, the declaration on sports dated from it	iv.	203
—, an account of the court's being there	—	500
Greenwood, John, his examination on the subject of religion	ii.	27
Gregoriana, the chapel so called, a description of	xii.	98
Gregory, pope, his letter to the emperor	iii.	502
—, his bold assumption of the right of the empire	—	16.
— VII. on the western clergy being shaved	iv.	31
— a cardinal's saying upon his election	—	45
— VI. on the time when he lived	—	51
—, John Mack, on the geography and history of Mons	xi.	188
— of Tournay	—	114
—, pope, the cup presented to him by Cosmus	xii.	97
Grenville, sir Richard, his failure in rescuing some forces	vi.	31
Gresham, a colleague of Mrs. Turner in Overbury's disaster	v.	361
Gretser, his observations upon pope Joan	iv.	30
Greville, sir Foulke, an account of	v.	146
—, lord Brooke, on the state of England	—	349
Grew, Dr. his description of the cocoa nut	xii.	26
—, his receipt for making artificial chocolate	—	29
Grey, lord, raises Chatillon's garden to the ground, and why	x.	317
Grief, the earl of Lauderdale, his treatment and death by	—	279
Grievances, lord Digby's speech upon them	v.	29
—, the petition of the widows for redress of	x.	170
—, a new bill drawn up by a committee of	—	179
— of Charles I.'s reign stated	xii.	66
Grisle, the political one, on his introducing whelps and lap-dogs	ix.	548
Grivell, Lodowick, on the dealings of Leicester	iv.	476
Gronowayes, the demand of parliament to declare them enemies	viii.	224
Groot De, his and Momba's successful embassy in France	vii.	512
—, his observations on future peace with France	—	516
Grosthead, or Rupertus, the papists calumny against	iv.	57
—, his charge against the popes for oppression	—	58
Groya, account of the Spanish sports exhibited there	ii.	546
Groya, an account of the English embassy and occurrences at	iii.	516
Guaiacum, as a production of the West India colonies	ix.	423
Guard of Swetzers, maintained by the pope	xii.	95
Guelthians, account of them in Leicester's commonwealth	iv.	477
Guiana, account of a voyage to it by Robert Harcourt	iii.	169
—, sail for Wiapoco river on that continent	—	177
—, the Indians of the country come to the English ships	—	179
—, an account of the climate and seasons of it	—	187
— nations and rivers there	—	207
—, sir Walter Raleigh's pretended gold-mine in it	—	370
—, on Gondomar's jealousy of its conquest by the English	—	436
Guido Fawkes. See Fawkes.		
Guidott, his critical elucidation of the Bath waters	iv.	125
Guienne, account of insurrections there in 1074	x.	209
—, one of the provinces exempted from excise on vintners	—	211
Guildhall, on the money, rings, and plate brought to it	vi.	13
Guiney, account of the gold and tooth-trade on its coast	ix.	434
Guise, duke of, his submission to Henry of France	iii.	544
Guif, on Marcus Curtius leaping into for his country	xii.	112
Gulls, the Isle of, and other names given to England	xi.	432
Gunpowder plot, the speech of king James upon it	iii.	5
—, the cruelty of it stated	—	7
—, the wonderful nature of its discovery	—	8

	<i>Vol.</i>	<i>Page</i>
Gunpowder plot, a discourse of the manner of the discovery	iii.	14
the lord Chamberlain's conduct on it	—	19
how sir Thomas Knevet was employed about	—	20
the description of proceedings by Guido Fawkes	—	22
farther particulars of its progress stated	—	23
the commissioners employed to investigate it	—	29
discourse on arraignment of the conspirators	—	45
treason, intended to be charged on the puritans	vi.	130
the history of it stated from the best authority	viii.	149
the oath to be taken by the conspirators	—	151
K-yes and others admitted parties in it	—	152
lord Montague's letter to him about it	—	154
the discovery of by sir Thomas Knevet	—	155
the puritans accused of being parties in it	—	160
Guttenburg, John, or Faustus, Hadrianus Junius, his account of	x.	267
Guttenburg, one of the principal promoters of learning	viii.	392
Guyse, M. de, in what manner concerned in Henry de Valois murder, &c.	ii.	143, &c.
Gymnasium mechanicum, or a college of tradesmen, proposed	vi.	146

H.

Habakkuk's brown loaf, a curious application of it	vii.	73
Habersfield, Andrew, his letter on the designs of the papists	viii.	185
Habits, in what manner by time they lessen very great grievances	iii.	154
of the people of Scotland, a curious account of them	vii.	441
Hack, a Canterbury one, a fanatic's grace compared to one	viii.	81
Hacket, William, his treasonable practice and execution	vii.	260
Hackney-coaches, remarks on reducing the number of them	viii.	45
Haddington, an account of its gallant defence	x.	318
Haerlem, enquiry whether this was the first place of printing	—	507
Haga, Cornelius, a relation of his embassy to Constantinople	iii.	213
Hague, sir Thomas Bodley sent ambassador thither	vi.	53
account of the transactions there	ix.	531
description of the triumphal arches there erected	—	533
a particular description of the city and its buildings	—	534
account of the various arches erected for king William	—	544
Hail, a dreadful storm of, with thunder and lightning, in Norfolk	vi.	422
Haimo, on his living before the time of pope Joan	iv.	48
Hannault, the earl of, some account of him	xi.	92
St. Waltrud, the countess of, her church, &c.	—	46,
Margaret countess of, narrative of her war	—	98
account of another war there	—	99
Haine river, a description of it	—	89
Haiton castle, its siege, capture, and demolition	—	489
Hales, judge, communication with the lord chancellor	i.	325
Hall in the Old Bailey, the trial there for stealing the mace, &c.	viii.	102
Haman, undue authority of as a court-favourite	—	374
Hamburg, a description of it by English travellers	xi.	350
factory, account of Mr. Thomas, the chaplain to it	—	353
account of a noted cellar in it	—	354
Hamburgh, on the scanty limits of the English trade to it	iii.	294
Hamilton, the marquis of, on his being poisoned	iv.	410
how he disliked Buckingham	—	412
Buckingham accused of poisoning	v.	212
his frequent missions to the Scots	viii.	300
Hammond, the earl of Pembroke's godson, how served by him	vi.	134
Dr. his fatal experiment to cure the gout	x.	405
Hampden, Mr. or lord Hampden, designed for a lord of parliament	vi.	504
Hanby, sir Haukin, executed for imprisoning without law	iv.	467
Handicraft tradesmen, the mischief of high wages	viii.	55
Hannibal, on his murder by Frusias, king of Bithynia	iii.	538
different means of counteracting his measures	viii.	344
Hanover, a description of it by English travellers	xi.	343
Hanwart, baron of, sir Francis Cottington, his acquaintance in Spain	x.	311
Happiness, account of Diheren's way to	ix.	9
Harburg, an account of it by English travellers	xi.	340
Harcourt, Robert, esq. account of a voyage to Guiana	iii.	169
Harding, an account of his being discomfited by Jewel	vi.	303
Hare, Jo. on England's establishment in honour	—	175
Harwell park, slight put upon cardinal Wolsey there	iv.	537
Harfager, Harold, king of Norway, his invasion of England	iii.	136
Harkley, a favourite of Edward II. made earl of Carlisle	i.	106
Harlem meer, storks assemble there before their departure	v.	506
Harley, Robert, esq. is made a peer of Great Britain	i.	1

	Vol. Page
Harley, lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles, verses addressed to	xi. 195
Harlot, original of the name from Ariotte	lii. 119
Harmonicon Celeste of Vincent Wing, a commendation of	vii. 82
Harold's disadvantage in wanting the use of bows	iii. 139
— standard, after the battle of Hastings, sent to the pope	— 126
—, his usurpation of the sovereignty and artifice	— 130
—, — disliked by the clergy and nobility	— 134
— of England, how drawn northward by Harfager	— 135
Harfager of Norway defends a pass at Stamford bridge	— 136
— of England rejects both his mother's and brother's advice	— 139
— is slain by an arrow at Hastings, which ends the battle	vi. 101
—, the usurper, and not the kingdom of England, conquered	— 179
—, account of him as a perjured usurper	ix. 345
—, on Edgar Atheling's being superseded by him	— 457
—, his defeat of the Norman forces at Stamford briggs	— 458
—, brothers, assistance refused to them by the Londoners	— 459
Harrington, the author of Oceana, or modern Columbus	vii. 83
—, his curious allowance for purchase of wooden ware	— 124
Harris made master of Trinity college, having an old head	vi. 135
Harrison, major general, is sent by Cromwell to oust the rump	vii. 281
—, William, gent. on his supposed murder	viii. 86
—, Mrs. her suspicion of her husband's servant	— 87
—, the servant and family condemned for it	— 92
—, their solemn denial of it before execution	— 106
—, Mr. jun. improbability of knowing his father's fate	— 96
Hartford, marquis of, one of the nest of perfidious vipers	v. 438
Hartlib, Mr. Samuel, advice to him for advancing learning	vi. 141
—, address to by Mr. John Dury	— 438
Hartman, Mr. recommends tobacco clysters in agues	xii. 31
Harwood, sir Edward, his advice on the French armament	v. 195
—, his address to parliament	— 196
—, colonel, his life and death	— 198
—, his advice to king Charles	— 201
—, the epitaph of Hugh Peters on him	— 16.
—, his observations on the French designs	v. 291
Hassaki, or queen regent's coach at Constantinople	viii. 101
Hassenmuller, Elias, his testimony on the image of pope Joan	iv. 17
Hastings, preparation of Harold for the battle there	iii. 139
—, the battle of, Kentishmen placed in front at it	— 140
—, Harold struck with an arrow there	— 143
—, nature of the English flight after	— 144
—, William is conqueror there	ix. 458
—, lord, account of his conduct to mons. Cleret	xii. 20
—, Mr. captain of the Sandwich, killed	— 44
Hats, on the folly and extravagance of fashions in them	iii. 556
Hutton, sir Christopher, the earl of Leicester's treachery to	iv. 478
—, how he first came to court	v. 142
—, lord, his strong support of the duke of Lauderdale	x. 237
Havens of Sandwich and Camber, an account of	— 436
Haversham, lord, an account of him stated	xi. 66
Hawkwood, sir John, one of the nine worthies of London	xii. 187
Hay, accounts of that family, and funeral of one of them	vii. 240
—, the quantity of expended in London, estimate of	viii. 38
Hazlerigg, lord, an account of his qualifications for it	vi. 505
—, sir Arthur, deemed the Brutus of the English republic	vii. 118
Health, the pernicious effects of coaches on it	viii. 41
—, the mischiefs attendant on them, how pernicious	— 42
Heart, its office to produce fermentation in the animal system	vii. 389
Hearth, when on fire, the method of extinguishing it	v. 347
Heaven, critical explanation of phrases relating to it	— 507
Heber, Thomas, his case of treason against the parliament	— 65
Hedger, an account of an ingenious one	xii. 205
Heir, the right of one, does not commence before actual title	i. 68
Helen, on her beauty, and the blood spilled on her account	x. 395
Helena, St. a view of that island	xi. 511
—, an account of Terra Lemnia being found there	— 512
—, the return of Gonzales thither from India	— 515
Hell, News from it and Rome, from the devil to the pope	iv. 387
— dispute for precedence in, between Cromwell and the pope	vi. 529
Holmo, St. castle at Naples, an account of it	xii. 126
Helvoetsloys, a port of Holland, some account of it	ix. 546
Hemp and flax, fitness of drained fen lands for them	iv. 459
—, on an engine for beating it for alms-houses	viii. 122
—, on various lands which are fit for producing	— 125
Hendersoun, Andrew, his examination on the Gowrie conspiracy	ii. 342
Hengist, prince, represses the insolence of the Scots	vi. 98
Hemietta, queen, the bishop of Mende almoner to her	xii. 87
Henry I. on the fair promises given to south the English	iii. 155
— an account of his spirited resentment	x. 298

	Vol.	Page
Henry II. the conqueror of Ireland	x.	289
in what manner used by Thomas a Becket	—	290
king of England, an account of his life	v.	232
mischief of causing his son to be crowned	—	234
account of his troublesome reign and death	—	235
III. of France, pope Sixtus V. on his assassination	ii.	130
account of his murder	ix.	384
account of his death at St. Edmundsbury	x.	394
de Valois, a particular account of the manner of his death	ii.	142
IV. account of Raulillack's death for the murder of	iii.	109
of France. some account of his murder	ix.	384
an account of his reign	x.	383
V. a narrative of his reign	—	386
VI. and other kings, how ruined by their lethargy	iv.	487
the account or summary of his reign	x.	306
VII. his character given as a wise prince	iv.	493
a narrative or summary of his reign	x.	319
VIII. love-letters from him to Anne Boleyn	i.	163
petition to him from the beggars	—	317
an epistle of his to the emperor and council	—	226
Invades France in person	iv.	494
curious account of a masquerade before him	—	502
his partiality to Mrs. Anne Bullen	—	505
his magnificent treat to French ambassadors	—	504
his conference in the shades with Charles I.	vi.	523
in what manner his friendship solicited	viii.	523
an account of his life and reign	x.	314
the surrender of Tournay to his arms	—	315
prince, the late prince of Wales, a discourse on him	iii.	519
information about Rochester	v.	364
his successful activity in Picardy	iii.	543
conspiracy against how disbelieved	—	544
III. of France, an account of his being murdered	x.	321
Herald of cardinal Wolsey's fall, Bonner's blood proved to be	iv.	465
Herbert, lord, chief justice, the base treatment of him	x.	377
starved at the court of St. Germain	—	231
Hereford, Tarlton of, on the manner of his death, &c.	i.	91
Hereis, sir Hew, his exploits in defence of king James	ii.	344
Heresy, cases of stated, and trial and proceedings in them	v.	30
an account of its nature and properties discussed	vi.	307
a prayer for the suppression of it, and curing divisions	—	321
the family of Faustus Socinus suspected of	—	360
the growth of it considered	xi.	163
Heretical books, Martin V.'s bull forbid the reading them	viii.	293
Heretick, on sir John Oldcastle's being tried and burnt as one	vii.	252
father le Chaise's project to extirpate every one	ix.	222
the cruelties of the French to convert every one	—	464
Hereticks, laws and decrees of the Romish church against	i.	36
on the maxim of Catholicks of not keeping faith with	—	39
an account of the martyrdom of several persons so called	vii.	256
Heremico Comburendo de, why the writ of should be abolished	viii.	256
Heretoke, or baron of a county, account of his choice given	vii.	90
Herlicius, a noted astrologer, account of his fatal predictions	iv.	196
Hermannus Contractus, whether his silence of pope Joan conclusive	—	60
Hermit of the queen of fairies, treason of Thomas Cheney, &c.	v.	59
the English one, or curious account of Roger Crab's life	vi.	309
Hero and Leander, an allusion to the story of	ii.	316
the English one, or the cloud opened by a loyal pen	vii.	408
Heroldus, not to be discredited by the assertion of Baronius	iv.	44
Heron, the manner of defending himself against the hawk	v.	506
Herostratus, his conduct in burning the temple of Diana, &c.	—	192
Herring, red, the praise of it as the advance of Yarmouth	ii.	228
its superior management on the Norfolk coast	—	306
the manner of its becoming the king of fishes	—	310
shoals, the nature and course of them described	iii.	306
fisheries, the facilities which the English coast presents	—	307
the expences and profits of estimated	—	306
the mysteries and advantages of stated	—	308
of England, how discountenanced by the Dutch	—	309
Herrings, sorts of them which are deemed inferior or refuse	ii.	323
cades of them, whence they received the name	—	331
on their being put in pies, and sent to the lord of Castor	—	332
observations on their coming in shoals	v.	500
Hertford, remarks on the trial for Sarah Stout's murder there	ii.	250
Hesse, Philip the young prince of, his speech to his soldiers	v.	254
Hewson, colonel, sir John, or lord, his qualifications stated	vi.	497
Heylyn, accounted one of Canterbury's prime beagles	v.	342
Kialos, Peter, accomplishes a peace with the Scots	xi.	430
is rewarded for his services in removing Warbeck	—	432
Hickforth, a remarkable prophecy of his	ix.	131

	Vol.	Page
High commission court, the original design of it	xii.	67
Highways, judge Thorpe's charge to the overseers of them	vi.	122
_____ , an account of those in Scotland	vii.	444
Hilary, St. his tears shed upon all professions, &c.	v.	156
Hildebrand, on Benno's book of his life and actions	iv.	57
Hill, or Bergen, in the Netherlands, an account of	xi.	93
Hills, Henry, one of the printers, a character of him	vii.	107
_____ , the indignities done by him to the royal family	—	108
_____ , and his associates, on converting the bible copy	—	109
Hincmarus, archbishop of Rheims, a learned and honest man	iv.	56
_____ , entitled a saint by cardinal Baronius	—	57
Hinde, archbishop Laud's discourse with at his execution	v.	483
Historiographers, Jacobus Bergomensis, &c. allowed good ones	iv.	34
_____ , Petrus Damianus, and others of good note	—	36
History of king Edward II. and his unworthy favourites	i.	92
_____ , Castor or Old Yarmouth in ancient times	ii.	295
_____ , England under the Roman empire minutely stated	—	411
_____ , qualifications for writing it amongst Greeks and Romans	—	412
_____ , natural and moral of Joseph Acosta on the Indies	iii.	187
_____ , none written by Strabus	iv.	48
_____ , Peschasius Ratbertus	—	55
_____ , Rapin's, mistakes in about commanders at Dunkirk	x.	409
_____ , of sir Thomas Morgan's campaign in Flanders	—	411
_____ , of the English sea-ports, by sir Walter Raleigh	—	434
_____ , and geography of Mons, by Gregory John Mack	xi.	88
_____ , Tournay, by ditto	—	114
_____ , of Perkin Warbeck	—	367
_____ , the natural one, of coffee	xii.	20
_____ , of thee or tea	—	22
_____ , of chocolate	—	25
_____ , of tobacco	—	29
_____ , of the parliament of England, by May	—	69
_____ , of Sammatius Scario, a candiot	—	77
_____ , the secret one, of the Calves-Head club	—	216
Histrio-mastix, by Prynne, against stage-plays	—	57
_____ , his persecution for it	—	68
Hocknorton, the manor of, on Leicester's treatment of Richard Lee	iv.	476
Hochstet, French arguments relative to the battle there	xi.	187
Hoddenfeld, the victory of, and the king of Scotland slain	iv.	405
Hogan Mogans, a name given to the Dutch	vii.	537
Le Hogue, account of French ships burnt there	xii.	45
Holderforth, on the properties and qualifications of one	ii.	332
Holland, on the king of France possessing Dutch Flanders	i.	43
_____ , embassy of the earl of Holland and Buckingham to	v.	315
_____ , the two bellows-menders from it	—	343
_____ , the earls of Oxford, Essex, and others there	vi.	10
_____ , justice is very quick and speedy in it	—	72
_____ , the character of it stated	vii.	321
_____ , on its serious danger from De Witt and others	—	505
_____ , the states of, renounce their allegiance to Spain	—	523
_____ , conditions of being assisted by England	—	56
_____ , in what manner the principal author of disturbances	—	564
_____ , how they were brought to reason by English valour	—	566
_____ , on the French policy and designs against it	viii.	110
_____ , and England, most concerned for the protestant religion	—	343
_____ , how it has been saved by England from destruction	—	348
_____ , on the recal of sir George Downing from it	ix.	6
_____ , the conspiracy to betray it to the French	—	445
_____ , its example in taxes not to be followed	—	513
_____ , a particular account of a late voyage thither	—	531
_____ , admiral Rooke sails thither with king William	—	532
_____ , on the synagogues of the Jews there	—	545
_____ , no countenance given to Arminians there	—	56
_____ , account of the ports of Helvoetsluys and Flushing	—	546
_____ , on the value of bills of credit there	x.	379
_____ , a description of the states of	xi.	474
Hollanders, on the vast riches they procure from English reas	iii.	232
_____ , number of busses they employ	—	311
_____ , on their forcing English merchants to remove	iv.	460
_____ , their aphorism on the flourishing state of the English	vii.	545
_____ , their submissive embassy to queen Elisabeth	—	558
_____ , their audience of queen Elisabeth, &c.	—	561
_____ , their ingratitude and selfishness stated	—	562
_____ , their artful policy displayed	ix.	4
_____ , cause of the English dissatisfaction with them	—	5
_____ , their apprehension of hostilities with England	—	6
Holmes, sir Robert, is sent out against the Dutch fleet	ix.	8
Nely Cross, church at Rome, an account of	xii.	103

	Vol.	Page
Home, sir Patrick, of Polworth, suspended in Scotland	x.	234
Homer, picture of him, a disgusting one by Galatzon	ii.	292
——, Buchanan's epigram on the place of his birth	—	293
——, his curious herolick poem on rats and frogs	—	305
——, the father of fictions, on hares insulting dead lions	iv.	411
Honesty, a discussion of it, as affected by pope Joan's election	vii.	91
——, on Cromwell's disregard of it against his interest	vii.	366
——, and justice, on being virtues for merchants, &c.	viii.	369
——, of friar Francis Preyhausen stated	—	453
——, in what manner it was put to the test	—	457
Honour to good men, a tribute rendered to God	vii.	410
——, the military schools of, how to guard against	viii.	335
——, a letter to a person of, on Charles II's disavowal of marriage	—	512
Honywood, sir Thomas, his qualifications to be a lord	vi.	503
Hopkins and Steinhild, why they found mercy from assembly	—	61
Hopton, called the western squib by the Oxford incendiary	v.	345
Horneck, Dr. Anthony, his account of Stern, &c.	ix.	9
——, his visit to captain Vrats	—	13
——, gives a particular account of Stern	—	19
Horse-races account of at Mustapha's circumcision	viii.	101
——, litter, what happened on major-general Skippon's coming in	—	381
Horses, on the little encouragement given to breeding them	—	33
——, on the convenience of for travelling and business	—	42
Horsham, on a monstrous serpent seen near it	iii.	227
Hospital, on establishing a royal one for midwives	ix.	191
——, rules to be observed relative to children found	—	194
——, of Sant Spirito, an account of it	xii.	99
——, Nunciata at Naples, some account of	—	118
Hospitality, on the violations of it, defended by Jesuits	iii.	545
Host or wafer, how exposed to give the sacrament to the sick	xi.	179
Hotham, sir John, and others, their general commands stated	v.	266
——, his strong position in Hull	xii.	53
Hoveden's silence that Alfred was instructed by the pope	iv.	66
House of office, one of the names for the parliament-house	vii.	54
Houses of parliament, the lord protector's speech to them	i.	25
——, cardinal Wolsey, their state and magnificence	iv.	501
——, gentlemen in Scotland, are strong castles	vii.	441
——, the vast increase of about London	viii.	18
——, spunging ones, on the practices pursued in them	xi.	50
Howard, colonel, his qualifications to be a lord	vi.	496
——, family, a very copious account of it	—	496
——, house of, account of families originating from it	ix.	135
Howel, his great commendation of coffee stated	ix.	137
——, Mr. his vindication of himself about parliaments	viii.	77
——, reference to his pre-eminence, &c. of parliament	—	130
——, his ingenious exculpation from being a malignant	—	131
——, James, a manifestation of his loyalty	—	131
——, takes John, king of France, prisoner	ix.	88
Hoxton, on dame Annis a Clare being drowned in a spring near	x.	339
Hradisch, a district of Moravia, its situation described	iii.	265
Hubbard, sir John, his qualifications to be a lord	xi.	290
Hue and Cry after the pretended prince of Wales	vi.	503
Hughes, Mr. his account of the cocoa-nut	xi.	60
Hugonots, the establishment of them by Lewis XIV.	xii.	96
——, on the impolicy of the French in persecuting them	ix.	274
——, are treated as enemies to Charles I.	—	485
Hull, the siege of, the king's address to parliament thence	xii.	59
——, sir John Hotham's strong position there	v.	456
Humours, cold ones in the brain, great causes of sleep	xii.	53
Humphrey, duke, his ordinary, in divers particulars	vii.	383
Hungarian protestant subjects, the emperor's concessions to	iii.	79
Hungary, the queen's ratification of privileges to protestants	viii.	511
Hunger, keeper of the tower commanded to make Mustapha die of	—	16.
Huningham, on the French building the fort of	v.	193
Huns, the conquerors of Bohemia, account of them	i.	75
Hunsdown, lord, the queen's relation and lord chamberlain	xi.	314
Hunting, a favourite diversion of the prince of Orange	v.	143
Huntingdon, the curious jury at the assizes there	x.	549
——, the house of, the earl of Warwick the chief titler of	iii.	396
Huntington, one of the list of valiants among the vipers	iv.	477
Huntley, the marquis of, his letter to the covenanters of Scotland	v.	438
Hurricane, effects of one in Bohemia described	iv.	207
Husbandman, a comparison of his rank in society	xi.	293
Husbandry, good, the art of, or the improvement of time	ix.	409
Husbandry, the ladies petition for presented to parliament	viii.	62
Mur, John, account of his followers in Moravia	x.	169
Mushai's policy to counteract Achitophel stated	xi.	289
——, assizes, entreated spitefully by Eneas Sylvius, and others	viii.	479
——, stationer, colonel John, a narrative of his imprisonment, &c.	iv.	24
——, stationer, colonel John, a narrative of his imprisonment, &c.	vii.	284

INDEX.

lix

	Vol.	Page
Mutton, Huldéricus, his testimony of pope Joan's succession	iv.	22
Mutton, Martin, a clerk of the inquisition, his false accusations	v.	177
Hypochondria, the use of Tunbridge waters in it	ix.	183
Hypocrisy, the importance of it as a gift to the godly	vii.	80
—, a principal cause of king Charles's murder	xii.	71

I. J.

Jaci, the damage done there by an earthquake	x.	198
Jackdaws, a parable of three of them	—	248
Jacob is enjoined to an adjuration by Laban	—	247
Jacobin, an emperor poisoned by one in a hallowed hoast	ii.	146
—, the manner of Henry de Valois being murdered by one	—	147
Jacobite, the hopes of, frustrated	ix.	456
—, the rise and progress of one	x.	466
Jamaica, the arrival and proceedings of an English fleet there	vi.	385
—, artifices of Spaniards there outwit the English	—	387
—, supplies for the English arrive at too late	—	388
—, on the early state of cocoa there	ix.	422
James I. on his danger of being destroyed in Gowrie's conspiracy	ii.	335
—, is locked in a studie by one Alexander	—	341
—, is rescued from Alexander, &c. by sir John Ramsay	—	344
—, his first speech to the English parliament	—	534
—, his discourse in parliament on the gunpowder plot	iii.	5
—, his final observations after the prorogation of	—	13
—, his instructions for the planting of mulberrie trees	—	80
—, his natural aversion to men of valeur	—	369
—, the motives stated for his hatred to sir Walter Raleigh	—	46.
—, address to, on Stukeley's narrative about Raleigh	—	388
—, striking observations on his absurd credulity	—	436
—, alarm to, on the danger of popish emissaries	—	444
—, on his impolitic conduct with regard to Spain	—	505
—, observations on his being poisoned by Buckingham	iv.	417
—, the conduct of Buckingham's mother before his death	—	418
—, the ghost of, with the marquis of Hamilton, &c.	v.	211
—, history of the first five years of his reign	—	349
—, his partiality for Mr. Carr and rise at court	—	353
—, his speech in the star-chamber on formality of law	vi.	224
—, his conduct to sir Walter Raleigh on coming to England	vii.	388
—, the United States send ambassadors to him	—	527
—, his conclusion on the letter on the gunpowder plot	viii.	155
—, his very great dislike of the puritans	—	240
—, his difficulties stated by Gondamore	—	46.
—, a history of him by Wilson referred to	—	519
—, permits the English to colonize Virginia	ix.	431
—, an account of his reign, character, and death	x.	322
—, his mistaken views of an ambitious alliance	xii.	56
—, his toleration of Sunday sports	—	68
James II. allusion to his conduct and government	i.	9
—, his establishing seminaries of priests and jesuits	—	10
—, the manner of breaking his coronation oath	—	46.
—, letter of the emperor Leopold to him	—	23
—, lord Churchill's letter to him	ix.	221
—, an explanation of his declaration	x.	159
—, account of the nature of his court at St. German's	—	274
—, a brief account of his reign	—	327
—, the reason why his lords were detained at Windsor	—	350
—, the disgust against him by general Talmash and others	—	350
—, his permission and connivance at his retirement	—	352
—, the emperor Leopold refuses to assist him	xi.	193
—, the great impolicy of supporting him	xii.	39
Jane, lady, her epistle to a learned apostate from religion	i.	364
—, account of her communication with Dr. Fockenham	—	369
—, her case of succession to the crown stated	ix.	347
Janisaries, the two sorts of them, and their enmity stated	v.	192
—, how they resolve to revenge themselves on the sultan	—	46.
Janisaries, the priests, with the monks and friars so named	i.	88
Japad, the Dutch deliver up all their books there	vii.	547
—, on the Dutch indifference there about religion	—	548
—, the dearness of thee or tea there	xii.	23
—, on the use of tea there by Tulpus	—	24
Japoquians, their singular manner of using tea	—	25
Java, account of various kingdoms in that island	ix.	47
Ibarra, Stefano, his promised reward to murder Elisabeth	iii.	518

	Page.
Icarus and Dædalus, their memory how ennobled	vii. 164
Iceland, number of trading vessels employed to it	iii. 295
Icenii, their revolt against the Romans and valorous defence	ii. 434
Idiot, deemed by the Turks to be inspired	ix. 495
Idleness, as a nation, how it produces poverty	viii. 64
Idolatry, ordinances of parliament for destroying monuments	v. 440
——, another ordinance of lords and commons for ditto	— 441
Jealousy between the king and parliament, apostrophe on it	— 446
Jedburgh, the provost of, suspended by the duke of Lauderdale	x. 234
Jefferies, lord chancellor, his confession	ix. 367
——, his dismissal from being recorder of London	— 368
——, originally no more than a Finsbury pettifogger	— 369
——, lord chancellor, account of his examination	— 368
Jehoiada's case of killing Athaliah stated	— 300
Jeremiah, explanation of a passage on storks, &c.	v. 498
Jermya, lord, the Oxford incendiary's character of	— 346
——, the decypherer of letters to Charles I.	— 539
Jerom, St. a pretended bible of his shewn at Rome as a relic	iv. 12
Jerusalem, the travels of two English pilgrims to it	iii. 323
——, the two pilgrims pass through the deserts towards	— 326
——, travellers should call themselves French, &c.	— 329
——, in what manner pilgrims are received there	— 326
——, the various places about it shewa to travellers	— 327
——, on its natural and artificial strength	— 329
——, the country of Judea, at a small distance, barren	— 341
——, the article of bread very partial near it	— 36
Jessop, Margaret, pretended cure of, on Dr. Bristow's account of	iv. 34
Jesuit, account of the doctrines of Garnet, the provincial	i. 39
——, the mission of doctor Saunders to Ireland stated	ii. 172
——, Haennuller was once a fiery one	iv. 17
——, sir Toby Matthew, his mission into England	— 200
——, captain Read, how rewarded for his services	— 201
——, father Philip, an emissary of seduction	— 202
——, the oath of secrecy administered by	— 441
——, the proceedings of Thomas Thwing with Bolron	— 444
——, seminary, Maudlin college converted into one	ix. 310
——, a letter from one in England to Brussels	— 391
——, the remarks of one upon Arminians	— 392
——, Alexander de Rhodes, his manner of using tea	xii. 24
Jesuitical plots and devices, Camilton's discovery of	v. 103
Jesuits, Campanella and others, account of their plots	i. 34
——, and seminary priests, their designs against England	ii. 200
——, their glosses for the basest hypocrisy and murder	iii. 535
——, tub, on its bursting as it was carried into their college	iv. 46
——, of Fulda in Germany, their stealing away Martinus	v. 110
——, how combated by our learned prelates	vi. 305
——, Garnet and Tesmond, active in the gunpowder plot	viii. 150
——, the different provincials of, in England, Flanders, &c.	— 16
——, on Robert Catesby's familiar acquaintance with	— 151
——, the number of them in London compared	— 195
——, the purposes and designs of their actions	— 236
——, the dangerous schism between them and the priests	— 243
——, the great sum of money collected by them	— 452
——, an account of their principles stated	ix. 276
——, an account of their habit, &c.	xi. 180
——, on the great resort of them to England	xii. 60
——, on their collegé in Clerkenwell in London	— 61
——, on their designs from Rushworth's Collections	— 16
——, their sentiments of Arminians stated	— 62
Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, on the nails in Christ's cross	ii. 198
Jewish sabbath, observations upon by Brabourn	xii. 68
Jews at Rome, on having a place within themselves there	ii. 195
——, on their being hunted at the Carne Vale	— 205
——, five hundred of them sent to the army at Newbury	vi. 193
——, on the great council of them at Ageda in Hungary	— 205
——, many in the council supposed favourable to the gospel	— 233
——, discussion on their admission among christians	— 438
——, narrative of proceedings at Whitehall about them	— 445
——, on the conversion of them, or the contrary, discussed	— 449
——, arguments in favour of admitting them stated	— 450
——, the protector Cromwell well disposed to favour them	— 451
——, proposals for them stated by Manassees Ben Israel	— 452
——, the policy of taxing them considered	ix. 498
——, account of their synagogues in Holland	— 545
Ignatius Loyola. See Loyola.	
Ignorance, the triumph of learning over it	vi. 295
——, one of the principal gifts of the godly	vii. 78
——, observation upon it as the mother of devotion	viii. 297
Image of pope Joan in the church of Siens in Italy	iv. 13
——, not done in an age of perfection	— 16

	Vol.	Page
Image of Pope Joan, proofs of stated by Mr. Bell	iv.	19
Images, artifice of cardinals in citing authorities	—	56
Imbracery, the nature of the offence so called	vi.	118
Imitation, how the conduct of Scipio is worthy of ours	iii.	9
Immorality, on Britain's being ruined by it in the Roman's time	ii.	476
—, one of the causes of king Charles's murder	xii.	68
Impeachment and accusation of John lord Finch	iv.	347
— archbishop Laud	—	468
Imperial power, in what manner it can counteract France	xi.	188
— court, an account of the illustrious persons there	—	275
Imperialists, on their being routed by the French	viii.	113
Importation of Irish cattle, on the act for prohibiting	—	17
—, the impolicy of the act demonstrated	—	26
— of Westphalia hams, the prohibition evaded	—	29
Impositions in religious matters, in what manner injurious	ix.	497
Impostor, the grand one, examined, or life of James Naylor	vi.	424
Imprecations, how sometimes occasionally punished	viii.	118
Imprimatur, the impolicy of its being deemed necessary	—	293
—, observations on the operation of it	—	294
Imprisonment of colonel John Hutchinson, account of	vii.	284
Impudence, a convenient one, a qualification for a dunce	viii.	137
Incendiary, an Oxford one, a court salamander	v.	339
Inclosures, the expense of them unknown in Scotland	vii.	437
Independents, their victory over the presbyterians stated	vi.	80
Index expurgatorius, for what purposes intended	viii.	293
—, useful to check vanity and whimsies	—	293
Indexes, various observations relative to them	vi.	154
India, the conduct of the Dutch there, in managing commerce	vii.	534
Indian priests, observations on their burning tobacco	xii.	31
Indians, account of proceedings amongst those in New England	vi.	453
—, accounts of the light boats used by them	vii.	106
—, in what manner they made chocolate	xii.	26
Indico, the produce of it considered	ix.	412
—, in what manner raised and cultivated	—	421
Indies, on Joseph Acosta's natural and moral history of	iii.	187
—, West, account of proceedings of the English army there	vi.	372
—, on the portable boats which are used there	vii.	106
—, East, on the usurpation of the Dutch in the islands of	—	530
—, the cruelties and murders committed there	—	531
—, Dutch cruelties to Indians friendly to the English	—	532
—, an account of a voyage from thence	ix.	80
—, West, the rise and progress of the colonies there	—	403
—, account of logwood produced there	—	412
—, estimate of the white inhabitants in	—	414
—, on the management of cotton there	—	420
—, exploits of sir George Askeu in them	—	433
—, account of general Codrington	—	416
—, on the necessity of reducing the French power in	xi.	22
—, an account of the Dutch trade with them	—	24
Indifference about marriage in a Suffolk minister	xii.	209
Infantas of Spain, on behaviour of Spanish court to prince Charles	iii.	397
Infidelity, the rapid growth of it considered	xi.	163
Ingoldsby, colonel, his qualifications to be a lord	vi.	406
Ingratitude, the four degrees of it as manifested in men's actions	ii.	532
— of the great bastard to the Hugonots	ix.	274
Inhabitants, the island of Alegranza destitute of	iii.	177
Injustice, Cromwell's complaint of it to pope Alexander	vi.	529
Inskilling, men of, a relation of their eminent service in Ireland	v.	405
Innocence and peace, a good expedient for	xii.	223
Inquisition, account of Christians and Moors tormented by	i.	87
—, articles of transferred from Spain to the Netherlands	v.	172
—, the bloody Spanish one, its unheard-of cruelties	viii.	414
—, the manœuvres practised by its emissaries	—	416
—, in what manner they direct punishment	—	420
—, the cruelties exercised by them in punishing	—	421
—, proceedings against a good woman at Seville	—	422
—, the preparation for their festival	—	423
—, their policy to persons visiting the festival	—	426
—, their punishment of John Pontio	—	428
—, Ferdinando, and others apprehended and condemned	—	429
—, at first necessary, from the state of the times	—	433
Inquisitions, their solemn mockery on punishing hereticks	—	426
Inquisitors, lords, messages from to persons accused	—	418
—, how they defeat the defences of hereticks	—	433
Inscriptions, none read of on monumental signs anciently	iv.	16
Insects, an account of them, and their dormant winter state	v.	500
Installation of knights of the Bath, some account of	vii.	160
Institution of a plan for the advancement of learning proposed	vi.	141
—, the various branches of the plan considered	—	146

	<i>Vol. page.</i>
Instructions, how desired by the queen from king Charles	v. 540
— to colonel Cockran for negotiations in Denmark	— 545
Instrument for writing double copies of any thing at once	vi. 141
Insurrection of Wat Tyler, Sudbury archbishop killed in	v. 479
Insurrections in Britany on account of the heavy taxes	x. 209
Integrity, a qualification for a parliament-man	xiii. 245
Intelligence on the conspiracy of the papists	viii. 206
Intercession, the litany of it for England at large	— 446
Interest, the protestant, and present case of England stated	i. 41
—, the sole director of Cromwell's conduct	vii. 356
Interrogatories, observations on copies of	xi. 53
Interview of Edward IV. and Lewis XI.	xlii. 15
Intrigue, on sir Roger L'Estrange's, at Lynn	ix. 57
Intrigues of popish devotees to delude the public	ii. 194
— of jesuitical priests to English students at Rome	— 203
— of countess of Essex to procure a divorce	v. 367
— of the French discussed and illustrated	viii. 105
— of count Gondamore, the Spanish ambassador	— 242
— of jesuits, &c. to foment schisms and divisions	— 243
—, the political ones of cardinal Richelieu	ix. 281
— — Mary de Medicis	xlii. 58
—, French ones, lord Clarendon's observations on	— 46
— of mons. de Ferte, the French ambassador	— 46
Invasion, account of the French one of Holland and its towns	i. 43
— of England, orders on the duke of Medina's	ii. 42
—, exhortation of the subjects to resist it	— 85
—, a discourse on attempt of Spanish armada	— 146
— by Canutus, with a powerful navy	iii. 147
—, the Spanish one, in 1588, cruelty of the plan	— 534
—, the orders to be observed upon	v. 246
— a letter on a French designed one	x. 112
—, the project of one, in what manner practicable	— 480
—, the government of France always disposed to it	— 540
—, an account of a Scotch one	xi. 66
—, the Roman one, Cassibeline's answer to Cæsar upon	xlii. 160
Invention of wrestling, claimed by the Athenians	ii. 332
—, on necessity being the mother of it	xi. 44
Inventions, a century of the names and scantlings of	vi. 405
Inventory of goods left in the lodgings of father Peters	viii. 134
Investigation of the original of the word admiral	— 173
Invincible armada of Spain occasioned by the Dutch	— 525
Invitation to king Charles II. from the people of England	— 99
Joab, on his escape to the altar for a sanctuary	vi. 244
Joan, pope, a dialogue upon her between a protestant and papist	iv. 9
—, her existence never disputed until Onaphrius' time	— 13
—, reason assigned for a deviation in processions	— 14
—, a marble image of her formerly in the street	— 15
—, the silence of Onaphrius about this marble image	— 16
—, why this marble image of her was cast into the Tiber	— 17
—, the artifices of papists to extirpate her memory	— 19
—, Charanza's testimony on the existence of her	— 21
—, the testimony of Mantuan on the marble image	— 22
—, the evidence of Schedel, Platina, and others about her	— 23
—, the testimony of Jacobus Bergomensis about her	— 24
—, Volaterran, the historiographer's testimony of her	— 25
—, the testimony of Trithemius about her	— 26
—, Wernerus Rolinink his evidence concerning her	— 26
—, the old editions of Wernerus, uniformity about her	— 27
—, exception against Platina's testimony of her removed	— 28
—, Chalcocondylas, the Athenian's evidence of her	— 29
—, vindication of Clauserus about her story	— 30
—, Florimondus proved guilty of lying about her	— 31
—, reasons for omitting her name in catalogues	— 32
—, Martinus Polonus, his evidence on her existence	— 33
—, the testimony of Marianus Scotus concerning her	— 36
—, why Marianus Scotus was not quoted for proof of her	— 36
—, a parallel case stated for such an omission of	— 36
—, the story of cut out of a manuscript at Oxford	— 43
—, loose assertions about no negative proof	— 44
—, her surname English, how accounted for	— 47
—, the silence of Strabus no proof against her	i. 48
—, Ibaino, on his living and dying before her time	— 48
—, the history of Freculphus was prior to her life	— 56
—, Lupus Servatus died before her time	— 53
—, Luitprandus and others, their silence accounted for	— 54
—, Regino was silent about other popes as well as her	— 55
—, Beuno's omission of her no disproof of her existence	— 57
—, reasons why omissions of popish writers are no proofs	— 60
—, her election possible, because priests were shaven	— 73

	Vol.	Page.
Joan, pope, reasons why her sex was not discovered	iv.	73
—, on her falling in travel during a procession	—	74
—, on her being buried without usual solemnities	—	75
—, on the improbability of her having any tomb, &c.	—	75
—, on the name of as related in scriptures and legends	—	77
—, Platina's plain account of her	—	79
—, how Polonus and Siebert are reconciled about	—	80
—, different opinions of the duration of stated	—	86
—, on the year of her election to the popedom	—	87
—, Nicholas, not a cardinal when she was elected	—	91
— of Arc, the maid of Orleans, burnt	x.	307
John, Pope, letter to from the nobility and commons of Scotland	i.	138
— XXII. one of the six popes accused by Dantes	iv.	59
— XII. a curious account of him, even from papists	—	101
— king, England interdicted for six years in his reign	—	463
—, St. one of the creatures of Oliver Cromwell	ix.	391
—, king of England, his disgraceful peace with France	x.	392
—, Laurence, said to be the inventor of printing	—	507
—, king of France, his pursuit of Edward the black prince	viii.	169
—, St. his law argument on the attainder of the earl of Strafford	v.	53
Johnson, alias Guy Fawkes, his execution in Palace-yard	iii.	49
—, Ren, on St. Nicholas's in Newcastle	xi.	454
—, Richard, on the nine worthies of London	xii.	164
Johnston, St. account of persons there incapable of trust	x.	235
Joiners, their manner of dealing with court cap-boards	vii.	73
Jokin, John, sent privately to England to accomplish a peace	iv.	507
Jones, colonel John, his qualifications to be a lord	vi.	493
—, a commissioner in Ireland	—	501
Joseph, Michael, his persuasion to the Cornishmen's revolt	xi.	423
—, his condemnation and execution	—	427
Journals of parliament, imperfect before Henry VII.	viii.	225
Journey of two English pilgrims from Egypt to it	iii.	323
— of cardinal Wolsey from Peterborough to the north	iv.	546
— or itineration of the stork, reason of being so called	v.	508
Journeys, the long ones of swallows and other birds	—	506
Joyce, lieutenant colonel, on lord general Cromwell's anger with	—	557
—, Cromwell's asseveration about him	—	56
— study to quarrel with	—	558
— interesting Richard against	—	560
— ingratitude to, &c.	—	561
Joyeuse, the duke of, Raleigh's ghost on his retirement from life	iii.	544
Ipswich, the native place of cardinal Wolsey	iv.	463, 490
Ireland, policy of the French king in carrying on war there	i.	77
—, the vocacyon of John Bale, bishop of Ossorie in it	—	328
—, accounts from it of disasters of the Spanish navy	ii.	47
—, the earl of Essex sent to it by queen Elisabeth	iii.	508
—, is unworthily recalled from	—	56
—, lord Gray the deputy of, is attainted of high treason	v.	68
—, the duke of, his shameful flight near Whitney	—	326
—, on establishing the papal clergy there, &c.	—	485
—, on the earl of Glamorgan's negotiations there	—	560
—, Robert earl of Essex made governor of by Elisabeth	vi.	7
—, on the little care taken by parliament to relieve it	—	192
—, an act for prohibiting importation of cattle from it	viii.	26
—, historical collections about the church of it	—	534
—, aphorisms relative to the kingdom of	ix.	311
—, Paris, &c. account of popish massacres in	—	384
—, the lord chancellor of, his letters to bishop of Rochester	x.	64
—, archbishop of Dublin in it, his letter to ditto	—	65
—, is conquered by Henry II.	—	289
—, demand made of the forfeited estates there	—	535
—, on the propriety of making it defenceless	—	537
—, on general Ginkle's being left there to reduce it	—	558
—, the earl of Pembroke is appointed lord lieutenant of	xi.	78
—, Geraldine, lord chancellor of	—	377
—, the earl of Lincoln flies thither	—	383
—, lord Lovel makes his escape to it	—	56
—, the speech of Perkin Warbeck there	—	394
—, earl of Strafford, the lord lieutenant of	xii.	63
Irish, their tempers and dispositions congenial with the Spaniards	i.	35
—, cabinet, or the king's secret papers about the papal clergy	v.	485
—, Roman Catholics, the terms granted them by treaty	—	486
—, confirmation of the treaty with	—	489
—, clergy, articles granted to them	—	463
—, rebels, account of their route by the Iuskillin men	—	496
—, subjects, on king Charles's necessity to indulge them	—	528
—, plot for introducing Irish soldiers into England	—	562
—, resolutions for deliverance of the earl of Glamorgan	—	582
—, corroghs or corraiges, a description of them	vii.	163
Isabella, archduchess, her rash speech on the siege of Ostend	—	526

	Vol.	Page.
Isidore, St. monastery is deserted by the monks	viii.	434
Isle of dogs, account of turning from a comedy to a tragedy	ii.	291
Isip, on the king's forces being attacked there by captain Temple	vi.	29
—, Simon, establishes the first printing press in England	x.	505
Isolani, general of the Crabbats, killed in the battle of Lutzen	iv.	190
Isaphan, Tavernier's account of a coffee-house there	xii.	21
Italian proverbs about the Romish clergy	x.	456
Italy, a five-oared galley of Carthage driven on its coast	vii.	164
—, its effeminacy and inefficiency described	ix.	490
—, the usual extent of the posts there	xi.	222
—, account of the nunciata there	xii.	89
—, Loris, a sea-port in it	—	124
—, Porto Venero, ditto	—	16.
Juan Fernandez Isle, on Selkirk's being left on it	xi.	40
—, on the Malagata or black pepper on it	—	42
—, very large cotton trees upon it	—	43
—, a description of it	—	44
Jubilee, account of a year of among the Jews at Rome	vi.	228
Jucchen, lord, governor of Wesel, on supplies of ammunition	vii.	508
Judges' judgment, or a speech in parliament against them	v.	32
—, at Newgate, Chidley's letter to them there	vi.	278
—, a proposal of for the West Indies and America	ix.	442
Judgment in the matter of queen Catherine's divorce delayed	iv.	533
—, where a final one should be placed in politics	ix.	358
Judgments on the English nation for Strafford's blood	v.	533
—, of pestilence and fire, the punishments of sin	vii.	329
—, in law, proceedings relative to them	xi.	52
Juego. See Inego de Canas.	—	—
Juices, the tendency of cold ones to promote sleep	vii.	396
Juliano, a convert, privately conveys bibles into Spain	viii.	430
Julius Cesar receives a report of the Britons from Volusenus	ii.	420
—, Agricola comes into Britain to assume its government	—	447
Juniper-berries, observations on the use of them	xii.	32
—, deemed good for the stone	—	46.
Jure divino, the claim of it discussed and disallowed	ix.	373
Jurisdiction, secular, the impropriety of ministers possessing	viii.	310
—, — of the admiralty, on settling its extent	ix.	465
Jury, a list of a most curious one at Huntingdon assizes	iii.	395
—, the trial by it, common both to English and Danes	vi.	218
—, sir Walter Raleigh's address to them on his trial	—	224
Justice, the execution of in England for public peace	i.	469
—, and title, not the guides of an ill court-favourite	viii.	369
—, a country one, how he reformed a street-walker	xii.	215
Justices itinerant, their jurisdiction in Wales stated	v.	27
—, of the peace, their commission and office considered	—	49
Justification of war against the Dutch discussed	vii.	544
Juxon, bishop of London, lord treasurer of England	xii.	69

K.

Keeper, Littleton, lord, deemed one of the perfidious vipers	v.	438
Keilah, the case of David there considered	ix.	337
Kempis's, Thomas a, his Imitation of Christ	—	19
Kennet, Dr. his sermon on the 30th of January	xii.	50
—, his sermon on the alliance of France and England	—	57
Kent, Elisabeth Barton, the holy maid of, attainted of treason	v.	84
—, on Wood the great eater of the county of	vi.	392
—, account of its exemption from the Norman laws	vii.	17
Kentishmen, their shrewd manœuvre with king William	iii.	132
—, how they preserved their liberties	—	207
—, account of their having tails, a relation of	iv.	44
—, their stratagem at Swanescombe wood	ix.	480
Kentishmen refuse their assistance to Perkin Warbeck	xi.	425
Kepler, on his supposing the lungs of the sea to be the cause of tides	viii.	3
Kernels of cacao or cocoa nut, eaten by Mr. Boyle	xii.	26
—, an account of by Piso	—	27
Keyes, Robert, one of those admitted into the gunpowder plot	iii.	23
—, one of the conspirators in the gunpowder-plot	viii.	152
—, his execution for treason in the palace-yard	—	160
Kidd, reference to his story on designs against government	x.	536
Kildare, Gerald, earl of, is arrested	xi.	410
—, is brought before the king, and dismissed	—	411
Killegre, William, how designed to destroy the duke of Ormond	iv.	475

	Vol.	Page
Killicranky, lord Dundee killed at the battle there	x.	535
Killing no murder, William Allen's treatise upon	ix.	284
Athaliah, remarks on Jehoadah's case therein	—	300
Killingworth castle, on Leicester's enmity to the Lanes about it	iv.	470
Kilvert, Mr. his examination in defence of sir Edward Mosely	vi.	49
King, Charles I.'s murder defended by Milton	i.	7
his rule by law how differing from arbitrary government	—	13
James II. at St. Germain's, the emperor's letter to him	—	23
Charles I.'s government defended	—	53
II.'s ministers, &c. pensioners to France	—	70
Edward II. the history of his life by viscount Faulkland	—	92
how hurried away by the acts of the Spencers	—	105
III. elected by parliament during his father's life	—	120
how ruled by the queen and Mortimer	—	122
Henry VIII. his love-letters to Anne Boleyn	—	143
queen Anne Boleyn's letter to him	—	201
of Scots, account of the treason pretended against him	—	537
Arthur's enterprizes against the Saxons and others	ii.	102
Edgar's numerous fleet, an account of	—	291
James of Scotland, on Ruthven's treachery to him	—	335
the earl of Gowrie's treason against	—	341
sir John Ramsay's defence of	—	344
of Portugal, the history of Don Sebastian	—	355
in Britain, how Arviragus governed as such	—	459
Lucius, letter of the bishop of Rome to him	—	460
James's discovery of a mysterious letter	—	18
Edward and king William's relationship stated	iii.	128
Harold prepares a fleet to resist the duke of Normandy	—	136
William I. account of his forming the New Forest, &c.	—	151
grants a charter of Edward's laws to London	—	152
James I. a sonnet by him stated	—	505
Sebastian of Portugal, some account of his degradation	—	539
of Spain, on his pensioning the traitors to queen Elisabeth	—	545
of France, on his manœuvres and designs against Rochel	—	550
of England, the Rochellers grateful remembrance of	—	551
of Sweden, his courage and animation at the battle of Lutzen	iv.	187
of Bohemia, his valour and death, an account of	—	195
Charles's declaration to his subjects on sundry sports	—	201
I. a petition presented to him at York	—	391
Dr. Eglisam's petition to on his father's death	—	403
James, observations on his being poisoned by Buckingham	—	417
John of England obliged to redeem England from an interdict	—	463
Henry VIII. on cardinal Wolsey's manœuvres with	—	491
sends the cardinal on an ambassage	—	493
of France, on besieging the duke of Bourbon in Pavi	—	506
is taken prisoner, through a stratagem of the duke	—	508
an account of cardinal Wolsey's interview with	—	510
Henry VIII. on his entertaining the French ambassadors	—	524
account of his visit to Harewell park	—	537
his declaration concerning cardinal Wolsey	—	542
of England has an absolute negative voice in parliament	v.	21
Charles I. his triumphant entry into the city of London	—	86
the recorder of London's speech to him at Kingsland	—	94
James, his ghost, with those of marquiss of Hamilton, &c.	—	211
of Munster and his associates, account of their being taken	—	203
a discussion on the nature and extent of his personal authority	—	291
arguments against Charles I. in vindication of parliament	—	593
James, account of his life for five years by lord Brook	—	349
the great extent of his favours to Mr. Carr	—	353
how he was made sensible of his profusion to Mr. Carr	—	355
confers knighthood on Mr. Overbury	—	360
how he became incensed against sir Thomas Overbury	—	373
is obliged to set many of his lands to fee-farm	—	383
of Munster, John Berock, the butcher of Leyden, account of	—	455
his boldness after he was seized	—	477
James, sir Anthony Welden's account of his court, &c.	—	506
Charles's cabinet opened, or his packets of secret letters	—	514
promise to the queen to remove catholic penal laws	—	521
observations on a treaty with parliament	—	525
recommends sir Thomas Fetherston to duke of Ormond	—	528
promises to suspend the excise of catholic penal laws	—	530
the earl of Glamorgan's representations to him	—	531
a letter to him from the queen at York	—	536
Paris	—	539
instructions, on the subject of difference with the queen	—	540
remarks on his hostility to the parliament	—	549
observations that he will make no concessions	—	550
remarks on his declaration to Yorkshire freeholders	—	555
observations on the subject of Irish papists	—	556

	Vol.	Page
King Charles is secured by lieut. colonel Joyce at Holmbury	v.	537
and queen of Bohemia, their kind reception of the English	vi.	19
Charles I. at Shrewsbury refuses the parliament's petition		15
his forces at Edgehill, and the battle there		16
his standard taken there by the earl of Essex		17
is attacked at Dorchester in Oxfordshire		21
forces attacked at Islip by captain Temple		29
for want of provisions compelled to halt at Exeter		32
army is broken through by sir William Balfour		33
the loyalty and obedience of rebels stated		36
William, the lawful successor of St. Edward, the last lawful one		100
a legal inheritor by St. Edward's legacy		103
on the nature of his having a negative voice in parliament		112
Robert Bruce, an account of his numerous difficulties		261
Charles II.'s return from the continent, or England's joy	vii.	111
arrival from abroad at Canterbury and Rochester		112
I.'s trumpeter receives a deceitful promise		415
of Spain's armada resisted by queen Elizabeth		525
of Bohemia his valour and fall at the battle of Cressy	viii.	107
France and other great nobles taken at Cressy		170
brought prisoners		174
Castile and Leon, on his being driven from his kingdom		175
France, his artful schemes to recover his possessions		176
Charles I. an account of the plot and treason against		191
a farther account of the design stated		193
of France taken prisoner at Favy by Pescara		237
James, on the peritians being odious to him		240
of Spain's letter on the bad success of their English agents		246
of Persia, on being once chosen by the neighing of a horse		381
James I. on Wilson's history of his life		519
of France, his concealment of private treaties	ix.	3
account of transactions published by his order		4
of England much dissatisfied with the Hollanders		5
agrees with France to attack the Dutch		6
is invested with the executive government		209
of Sweden, the causes and manner of deposing a papish		223
of the Israelites, on Saul's being appointed and elected		229
Edward's grant of the crown, the best title of king William		345
the warrant of his sign manual does not screen malefactors		359
the will of, is declared in his public laws		36
warrant of one no authority for murder, &c.		360
of Poland, in what manner he is restrained		487
William III. his voyage from England to Holland		532
of France, on the desires there	x.	214
John makes a dishonourable peace with France		292
Henry of Navarre, league against him disconcerted		321
James, why permitted to retire quietly from England		552
sent his best generals to Londonderry siege		556
of France, his progressive operations in Flanders	xi.	115
is resolved to keep possession of Tournay		130
his violent war with the king of Spain		179
of England, the address of the convocation to him		195
James is refused assistance by the emperor Leopold		192
of Prussia, an account of his life and character		324
of Portugal, Sebastian deemed a counterfeit		371
of England keeps his christmas at Norwich		384
assembles forces against Perkin Warbeck		385
Edward IV. of England makes a truce with France	xii.	11
of England is saluted with the nickname of Blaybougne		13
Edward IV. upbraided by the duke of Burgundy		14
of France, sir Thomas Montgomery's embassy to		19
James, on the impolicy of supporting his pretensions		39
Charles I. on his dissipated marriage		56
I. Estrange's annals of his life, &c.		57
immorality a cause of his murder		68
James I. his toleration of Sunday sports, &c.		68
Charles I.'s murder, prophaneity a cause of it		69
hypocrisy a principal cause of		71
defended as an author by Dr. Wadsworth		218
on Ludlow's rancour against his memory		219
Kingdom of the Moors, a relation of strange accidents in	iii.	621
Maratta, and its excellent government described	iv.	389
the laws of, how far powerful to restrain a king	v.	336
account of services done by the rebels for it	vi.	49
two wars for it, and the cure, by Hugo Peters		65
France's prescription to recover it from madness	vii.	89
of Kantatz how wounded by epidemic violence	ix.	47
Kingdoms and principalities, when devoured by war	iii.	131
in what manner to be recovered from a state of anarchy	vii.	89

	Vol.	Page
King's graces authority, and admonition to the lords maintenance	i.	419
Kingling, who voted for Oliver Cromwell's being king	vi.	473
Kings, mischiefs of depriving them of their subjects affections	i.	50
—, the necessity of being cautious whom they trust	—	101
—, demonstration how they are supported by justice	—	489
—, on murdering them, or the catholick cause stated	ii.	130
—, of Cantium, in what manner they assist Cassibelin	—	423
—, of Scotland, a brief chronicle of them	iii.	466
—, examples for, or rules for government of princes	v.	161
—, instance of English ones perishing by their subjects	—	448
—, how they first gained their power	vi.	113
—, their persons considered as sacred	—	259
—, the succession of the early ones of France	x.	491
—, the interview of Edward IV. and Lewis XI.	xii.	15
Kingsland, king Charles I. met there by the citizens of London	v.	91
—, the procession of king Charles from it to London	—	94
Kingston, sir William, is sent to bring cardinal Wolsey to London	iv.	552
—, one of colonel Pride's brewhouses there	viii.	384
Kirby, John, is indicted of treason, and cause of acquittal	v.	84
Kircher, his account of the virtues of thee or tea	xii.	24
Kirkby, colonel, an account of his trial for cowardice	x. 525,	530
Kirks of Scotland, a description of them	vii.	439
Kirkton, in what manner misused by captain Carstayres	x.	235
Kirtley, the liberties of its road confirmed	ii.	298
—, account of the fee-farm of the road, &c. stated	—	301
Kite, observations how it steers itself by the tail	vii.	164
Knevet, sir Thomas, his search of vaults under parliament-house	viii.	156
Knight-rider street, on the chancellor's purse and mace found in	—	103
Knighthood, the customs for it observed among the Saxons	iii.	168
Knights of Bath, how created in the time of peace	vii.	155
Knipperdolling, Bernard, and Rotman, assemble anabaptists	v.	256
—, account of his wild prophecies	—	257
—, and his associate, are taken prisoners	—	263
—, how he became an executioner	—	464
—, how he and John of Leyden were taken	—	475
—, and his associates, their conduct on execution	—	477
Knowledge of the stars, on Dr. Good's acquaintance with	x.	396
Knowles, sir Francis, an account of his family	v.	139
Konigsek, an account of it by English travellers	xi.	291
Krantius, a commendation of as a famous historiographer	iv.	21
—, some remarks on his writings	—	39
Kymbolton, on queen Catherine's retiring thither	vi.	514

L.

Laban's adjuration to Jacob referred to	x.	247
Labour in vain, a dissertation on what things are so	—	458
Labourers, in what manner they lay a tax upon themselves	ix.	489
Labyrinth, on that of Rosamond's, at Woodstock	x.	289
Lacedemonians, danger of attempting to alter their government	iv.	487
—, an account of their black broth	viii.	77
Lacy, captain, is slain in the fight at Brentford	vi.	18
—, account of the duke of Norfolk's arraignment	ix.	125
—, invitation to Bunhill fields, on Dr. Emme's resurrection	xi.	62
—, reasons why the mighty miracle was not performed	—	69
Ladies, their petition for husbands	x.	166
—, petitions, the bachelor's remonstrance against	—	175
—, a reply to them	—	179
Lady, the speech of Voadices, a noble British one	ii.	441
Lairds, account of the Scotch ones	vii.	448
Lambe, sir John, stated to be an agent to archbishop Laud	iv.	452
Lambecius, the emperor's librarian, an account of him	xi.	260
Lambert, general, his dismissal by Cromwell stated	vii.	282
—, Mrs. some account of her as a good soul	xi.	546
Lambertus, the manner in which he is belied by papists	iv.	86
Lamech, a discussion on his having two wives	x.	247
Lamentable and piteous account of his expedition to Africa	i.	231
Lamentation or complaint of a sinner by queen Catherine	—	286
—, of a London printer, or, The Press oppressed	vii.	104
Lancaster and York, account of the cause of disputes between them	iv.	477
Lanceston in Cornwall submits to the parliament forces	vi.	32
Lancton, archbishop of Canterbury his treatment of king John	iv.	463
Land-tax, on its fitness to be applied for discharging debts	viii.	16
—, the manner by which its value may be improved	—	28.
—, a proposition for making it equal	ix.	507

F 2

	Vol. Page.
London, on king William's losing the battle there	x. 554, &c.
Landgrave of Hesse, his proceedings with Munster anabaptists	v. 469
Lands, on the king's being sold by order of parliament	— 539
—, account of the diminution and fall of rents of	viii. 18
—, on a registry for sales of in each county	— 20
—, on the manner by which rents of may be raised	— 37
—, &c. in what manner injurious to young tradesmen	— 54
—, of delinquents sold by order of parliament	xi. 150
Lane, Mrs. accompanies Charles II. from Mosely	vi. 254
Laues, account of Leicester's treatment of their family	iv. 477
Langley is appointed the head of Pembroke college	vi. 135
Langot, on its being attempted to be taken by sir John Winter	v. 531
Langston, lieutenant-gen. his regiment ordered to Scotland	xi. 74
Language, the English, a discussion on its properties and affections	v. 428
—, the Tentonick, very copious and diffusive	vi. 98
—, Normanism an impure mixture of ours	— 99
—, nature of that used by Sejanusses	viii. 369
—, that of Billingsgate, &c. excelled	x. 427
Langueador, on being exempted from the Des Aides	— 211
Lapis Heraclius, whence the name is derived	vii. 167
—, Lydius — ditto	— 46.
Laplainers, account of a drink of theirs	xii. 23
Largo, in Fifeshire, the native place of Alexander Selkirk	xi. 41
Laris, a sea-port of Italy, some account of it	xii. 124
Lateran, St. John, the pope has other houses besides this palace	iv. 76
—, John, one of the churches of Rome	xii. 103
Latins, did not prohibit books in ancient times	viii. 293
Laubach, a large description of it by English travellers	xi. 226
—, account of Schonleben, a learned man there	— 228
Laud, a true relation of the birth and life of the archbishop	iv. 450
—, archbishop of Canterbury, born at Reading in Berks	— 451
—, secretary Windibank an agent of his	— 452
—, his unfriendly conduct to the Scots	— 453
—, is disliked by the people of Scotland	— 46.
—, a postscript to his life	— 454
—, his parallel to Wolsey, archbishop of York	— 462
—, and Wolsey, an account of their education	— 463
—, Bastwick's blood the herald of his fall	— 465
—, his accusation and impeachment	— 466
—, a dialogue between him and his physician	v. 41
—, his lamentation for the church of England	— 481
—, first prayer on the scaffold	— 482
—, last and concluding prayer on ditto	— 484
—, an assertor of the rights of the church	viii. 411
—, in what manner his death was procured	— 46.
—, sir William Boswell's letter to him	ix. 200
—, of Canterbury, some account of him	xii. 63
—, remarks on him by Dr. Wellwood	— 64
—, on his book against Fisher the jesuit	— 76.
—, an opposer of Calvin's doctrine	— 67
Lauderdale, duke of, an account of his administration	x. 232
—, is supported by lord Hatton	— 237
—, his death from excessive grief	— 279
Lavois, marquis de, his letter to the people of Utrecht	viii. 145
Law, a king ruling by it, how he differs from a tyrant	i. 13
—, of Normandy, in what respects agreeable to the civil and canon laws	iii. 120
—, of king Edward, how far conformed to by the Norman William	— 152
—, of king William, how far executed by different courts	— 153
—, the inconveniences arising from divers suits in it	— 557
—, suit in Chancery, in what manner terminated, a foolish one	— 558
—, practitioners, various means by which they fleece their clients	— 560
—, an argument, on bill of attainder of the earl of Strafford	v. 53
—, regulators, Chidley's letter to them	vi. 286
—, a proposal to the committee for regulating it	— 289
—, and magistracy, the design and intention of	vii. 26
—, the practisers of, the only opponents of a registry	viii. 20
—, account of their numerous frauds	— 22
—, instances enumerated wherein custom is so deemed	— 329
—, quibble, how it was the destruction of Strafford and Laud	— 382
—, the Valerian one stated	ix. 297
—, its power and authority beyond those of the king	— 359
—, and equity, reasons stated for preventing delays in	xi. 49
—, proceedings, necessity of a regulation of them	— 51
Lawful, the difference of a public and private person, what is so	v. 297
Lawfulness of wars in a just cause, Cicero's opinion of	ii. 92
—, the parliament's proceedings, attempt to vindicate	v. 297
—, defensive wars, in what manner defended	— 298
Lawrence, Henry, intended for one of Cromwell's lords	vi. 469

	Vol.	Page
Laws of a limited monarchy, a plea for them	i.	17
— and decrees of the Romish church against hereticks	—	35
— of king William, their primitive severity considered	iii.	154
—, an account by what means they were reformed in France	—	558
— of a kingdom, their power over the will of a misled king	v.	336
—, penal, on design of the catholicks to procure their removal	—	521
—, what done by the rebels for them	vi.	39
—, on the corruption of the English ones	—	212
—, written, on what accounts rendered necessary	—	214
—, corrupt ones, the rule of them	—	215
—, alteration of them how effected by the conquest	—	216
— of Edward the Confessor referred to	—	218
—, Discovery, or the errors and abuses in law	—	322
—, penal, why the forfeitures are declared for the king's use	vii.	25
— of England, observations on the study of them	viii.	317
—, the executive power cannot dispense with them	ix.	210
—, maritime, on the advantages of them	—	470
Lawyers, the little use of them in Holland	vi.	72
—, observations on their corrupt interest	—	222
—, on their assembling about the Jews	—	451
—, account of in Cromwell's garbled parliament	—	461
—, Cole's Rod for them	vii.	25
—, the number of them in England	—	28
—, a word to them, on their profession and practice	—	35
— and merchants, honesty and justice necessary for	viii.	369
Laymen, whether it be lawful for them to preach	vi.	318
Lazarus, his account of John English, and time of his popedom	iv.	23
Lead, in what manner transmuted into gold	viii.	438
League, the discovery of one between England and France	iv.	509
—, and covenant, the solemn one	vi.	181
—, on that made with the Netherlanders	vii.	561
—, on that of Holland with England	viii.	543
—, remarks on the breach of the triple one	—	317
— of the two friars, Francis and Wenceslaus	—	458
League, the triple one, an account of its breach	ix.	2
—, —, for what purposes it was formed	—	4
Leagues, an account of former ones	viii.	345
Leake, a gunner, the father of sir John, account of his conduct	xi.	18
Learning, account of the Grecian, in opposition to papists	iv.	84
—, the triumph of it over ignorance	vi.	295
—, the schools of vindicated from censure	—	298
—, a vindication of it against ignorance	viii.	290
—, account of ancient patrons of it	—	291
—, on its present degenerated condition	x.	561
Leather, the duty of searchers of it stated	vi.	122
—, on prohibiting the exportation of it, unmanufactured	viii.	17
—, on repealing the act permitting its exportation	—	46
—, the mischiefs of exporting it unmanufactured	—	47
Leathermore, a dissertation of his on gaming	vii.	361
Lecture of Aminadab Blower, in a hollow tree	iv.	177
Ledcama, on Morayians having service in their own language	—	45
Lee, master, on Leicester's treatment of him	iv.	476
Legate of the pope, Cuneus, account of his artifice	viii.	196
—, on having a three-fold cypher	—	205
Leghorn, a letter from thence about the Jews	vi.	451
—, a place of modern account	viii.	400
—, five English ships off there attacked by 22 Dutch	xi.	17
Leicester, the earl of, defends the Dutch against Spain	iii.	506
—, his persecution of the Giffords	iv.	477
—, his commonwealth epitomised and displayed	—	470
—, is accused of poisoning sir Nicholas Throgmorton	—	474
—, an account of his intended murder of Ormond	—	475
—, on his conduct to Ludwick Grivell	—	476
—, on his persecution of the Lanes	—	477
—, an account of his forgeries to deceive the queen	—	478
—, a general account of his character	—	479
—, abbey, an account of Wolsey's death there	—	554
—, not the only favourite of queen Elisabeth	x.	124
—, on his being made master of the horse	—	130
—, the earl of, a secret enemy to Essex's family	vi.	7
—, is sent governor into Holland	vii.	523
—, is deceived by the Netherlanders	—	562
—, is a prisoner in France	x.	291
Leipsick city forsaken, and its castle demolished	iv.	193
—, is recovered by Walstein after the battle of Lutzen	—	194
—, a description of the city by English travellers	xi.	326
—, university, account of Dr. Mascou	—	328
Leith, on the blockade of the port there	x.	229

	Vol.	Page
Lemnia terra, account of it at St. Helena island	xi.	512
Lemons, abundance of them in the island of St. Helena	—	511
Lenox, lady, in what manner treated by Leicester	iv.	474
Lenten Stuff, Nasse's account of Yarmouth fishery	ii.	288
Lenthall, William, esq. Fairfax's letter to from Cornwall	v.	562
—, Rushworth's letter to from Bodman	—	563
—, some account of him	vi.	495
Lentini, on its destruction by an earthquake	x.	192
Leo, the pope of Rome, declares Charles emperor of the Romans	iii.	498
—, VIII. on his being put in the list of popes	iv.	62
Leon, John, a taylor of Seville, an account of him	viii.	431
—, is taken in Zealand, and condemned	—	431
Leopold's letter to king James II. at St. Germain's	i.	23
—, emperor, his refusal to assist king James	xi.	192
Lerma, the duke of, a supporter of the Jesuits' designs	viii.	150
—, president of the assembly of states	—	233
—, his speech to the assembly	—	234
Lesly, general, his speech to the king's trumpeter	vii.	415
Irasmus, Leonardus, his opinion of the cause of tides	viii.	2
L'Estrange's intrigue at Lynn, an account of	ix.	57
—, his annals of king Charles I.	xii.	87
Let me speak too, &c.	vii.	95
Lethargy or indolence of Henry VI. an account of	iv.	487
Letter of his late highness to the parliament of England	i.	28
—, from the nobility, barons, &c. of Scotland to pope John	—	128
—, the last of queen Anne Boleyn to king Henry VIII.	—	201
—, of the bishop of Rochester to ecclesiastical commissioners	—	313
—, a copie of one relative to the ladie Marie of Scotland	—	382
—, concerning D. Storie to a law student	—	398
—, of Francis Throckmorton to queen Elisabeth	—	532
—, from England to Don Bernardin Mendosa in France	ii.	60
—, of Don Raimond Marqueti to Don Sebastian at Venice	—	377
—, of Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, to king Lucius	—	460
—, to the lord Monteaigle, on the subject of the gunpowder plot	iii.	17
—, king James's opinion of it stated	—	18
—, causes the vaults to be searched	—	19
—, of Thomas Winter, containing his confession of the plot	—	23
—, to the lord Monteaigle is known to the conspirators	—	28
—, of the great Turk to the General States of the Netherlands	—	219
—, of the lord Cahimachan of Turkey to ditto	—	221
—, of the lord Mufti Effendi of Turkey to ditto	—	225
—, of king Edward VI. on behalf of sir Hugh Willoughby	—	292
—, of Damianus to the bishop of Firminus before the conquest	—	501
—, of M. Ferry about Anthoine to Geneva	iv.	170
—, to a friend in the country about the earl of Strafford	—	482
—, of the countess of Denbigh on Buckingham's fall	v.	321
—, of queen Henrietta from Newark to the king	—	540
—, an intercepted one to sir Edward Nicholas	vi.	19
—, of Chidley, to Andrews, lord mayor of London	—	275
—, to the law regulators	—	286
—, to Mr. Serjant against establishing popery	vii.	501
—, to a member of parliament	viii.	65
—, on Mr. William Harrison's return to England	—	92
—, reasons for the truth of it assigned	—	95
—, of the pope to prince Charles accounted for	—	132
—, of prince Charles at Madrid to the pope, account of	—	133
—, to lord Monteaigle, an obscure one on the plot	—	154
—, king James's opinion of it	—	155
—, the archbishop of Canterbury on a plot	—	191
—, president and council of the king of Spain	—	248
—, earl of Shaftesbury	—	410
—, Strafford to king Charles	—	480
—, a person of honour on duke of Monmouth's mother	—	512
—, of queen Mary to the dean and chapter of Dublin	—	544
—, of lieut. Stern to Dr. Burnet, with his meditations	ix.	28
—, of capt. Vratz to lieut. Stern	—	41
—, signed by count Coningsmark, on Mr. Thyne's murder	—	42
—, of Dr. Burnet on the secret powers of cardinal Pole	—	148
—, cardinal Pole to the pope of Rome	—	154
—, sir William Boswell to archbishop Laud	—	200
—, bishop Bramhall to archbishop Usher	—	201
—, lord Churchill to king James II.	—	221
—, from the pope of Rome to the prince of Orange	—	244
—, of the church of England in answer to the pope of Rome	—	247
—, earl of Mulgrave to Dr. Tillotson	—	315
—, a jesuit in England to his correspondent at Brussels	—	391
—, on the subject of a French invasion	x.	119
—, decay and ruin of trade	—	361

	Vol.	Page
Letter of the lord advocate of Scotland to the earl of Mar	xi.	83
to a new member of the house of commons	—	140
of the bishop of Cloyne on the subject of atheism, &c.	—	355
of Jerrard Winstanly on the subject of commons	—	425
from a country clergyman to his brother	xiii.	292
Letters, a collection of from Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn, &c.	i.	183
from Anne Boleyn to cardinal Wolsey	—	199
of Dr. Fr. Joseph Texere upon Don Sebastian	ii.	348
another to a reverend bishop	—	374
a third to the same bishop	—	378
Caius Caligula's vain ones from Britain to Rome	—	430
patents granted concerning the edict of Nantes	iii.	114
of M. Mestrezat from Paris to M. Chabrey at Geneva	iv.	173
to the prince of Wales, with his answer to the pope	v.	235
and papers, secret ones of king Charles I. taken at Naseby	—	514
of Charles I. to the queen from Oxford and Droitwich	—	523
from queen Henrietta at Paris, to king Charles I.	—	539
of the king's cabinet, annotations upon them	—	548
of Digby on the earl of Glamorgan's negotiations	—	565, &c.
of the earl of Clareadon on the Romish Catholic religion	vii.	483
to a soldier, on the subject of volunteers, &c.	viii.	353
a second ditto	—	355
of archbishop Browne to lord Thomas Cromwell	—	531-537
of recal of Dowdall and archbishop Browne	—	543
of the earl of Sunderland to the transport board	xi.	77, 81
of queen Anne to the council of Scotland	—	84, 86
Levelliers, an account of their principles	vii.	36
a curious dialogue on matrimony	xii.	193
Leven, the earl of, letters to the earl of Mar	xii.	69, &c.
from the earl of Mar	—	79, &c.
Lewes, Dr. his account of Rome and its religion	ii.	176
of the religion of England	—	76
Lewis XIII. proscription of Rauilliac's family	iii.	112
his letters patents on Rauilliac's murder of his father	—	113
on his mother's care to provide for the government	—	26
duke of Bavaria, elector palatine, an account of him	iv.	156
prince palatine, surnamed the severe	—	158
Barbatus, &c.	—	161
V. prince elector palatine, a summary account of him	—	162
VI. duke of Bavaria, and elector palatine, his character	—	163
VII. prince elector, and duke of Bavaria, an account of him	—	165
XI. on Comines's history of him	viii.	515
XIV. on his base ingratitude and violence to the Hugonots	ix.	274
whether the edict of Nantz was binding on him	—	275
le grand, or XIV. on his being a bastard	—	276
XIII. on his being extremely indifferent to the fair sex	—	279
XIV. of France, account of his attack on Mons	xi.	108
his second seizure of Mons	—	112
an epitaph on him	—	196
XI. his death at Compeigne	xii.	10
account of his interview with Edward IV.	—	15
makes peace with the duke of Burgundy	—	18
Leyden, John of, his first coming to live in the city of Munster	v.	256
infests the lower classes, and holds secret meetings	—	26
his pretended knowledge of the death of Matthew	—	257
with Knipperdolling, &c. taken captives	—	263
pretends a right from heaven for his actions	—	26
another account of his arrival at Munster	—	460
Liar, the writer signing N. D. an uniform one	iv.	71
Liberties of Kirtly road near Yarmouth, an account of	ii.	298
Liberty, an investigation of the nature of it	i.	5
of France, account of the manner in which it was lost	—	47
of English subjects, how to be maintained	v.	10
a discussion about as used by king and parliament	—	293
of St. Catharine's, &c. mischief of suits in	viii.	50
of Prophesying, Dr. Taylor's observations on	—	298
Librarian, account of Lambecius, the emperor's	xi.	260
Library, on the list of popes in that belonging to the pope	iv.	61
of a soldier, a particular statement of it	vii.	87
of a fanatick, the particulars enumerated	—	141
Lice, in what manner they infest the Scots	—	435
Licensing of books, when the practice commenced	viii.	293
a dangerous monopoly	—	296
Lichtenstein, prince Charles of, a favourite of chymistry	—	460
the prince of, his stratagem against Wencheslaus	—	461
Lieutenant of the tower of London, account of his execution	iv.	453
Lieutenants of Britain under the Roman emperors, account of	ii.	416
Life, a caplous one of king Edward II.	i.	92

	<i>Vol. page.</i>
Instructions, how desired by the queen from king Charles	v. 540
— to colonel Cockran for negotiations in Denmark	— 545
Instrument for writing double copies of any thing at once	vi. 141
Insurrection of Wat Tyler, Sudbury archbishop killed in	v. 479
Insurrections in Britany on account of the heavy taxes	x. 209
Integrity, a qualification for a parliament-man	xii. 245
Intelligence on the conspiracy of the papists	viii. 206
Intercession, the litany of it for England at large	— 446
Interest, the protestant, and present case of England stated	i. 41
—, the sole director of Cromwell's conduct	vii. 356
Interrogatories, observations on copies of	xi. 53
Interview of Edward IV. and Lewis XI.	xii. 15
Intrigue, on sir Roger L'Estrange's, at Lynn	ix. 57
Intrigues of popish devotees to delude the public	ii. 194
— of jesuitical priests to English students at Rome	— 203
— of countess of Essex to procure a divorce	v. 367
— of the French discussed and illustrated	viii. 105
— of count Gondamore, the Spanish ambassador	— 242
— of jesuits, &c. to foment schisms and divisions	— 243
—, the political ones of cardinal Richelieu	ix. 281
— — Mary de Medicis	xii. 58
—, French ones, lord Clarendon's observations on	— 46.
— of mons. de Ferte, the French ambassador	— 46.
Invasion, account of the French one of Holland and its towns	i. 41
— of England, orders on the duke of Medina's	ii. 42
—, exhortation of the subjects to resist it	— 85
—, a discourse on attempt of Spanish armada	— 108
— by Canutus, with a powerful navy	iii. 147
—, the Spanish one, in 1588, cruelty of the plan	— 148
—, the orders to be observed upon	v. 226
— a letter on a French designed one	x. 112
—, the project of one, in what manner practicable	— 489
—, the government of France always disposed to it	— 500
—, an account of a Scotch one	xi. 66
—, the Roman one, Cassibeline's answer to Caesar upon	xii. 160
Invention of wrestling, claimed by the Athenians	ii. 332
—, on necessity being the mother of it	xi. 44
Inventions, a century of the names and scantlings of	vi. 405
Inventory of goods left in the lodgings of father Peters	viii. 134
Investigation of the original of the word admiral	— 173
Invincible armada of Spain occasioned by the Dutch	— 325
Invitation to king Charles II. from the people of England	— 99
Joab, on his escape to the altar for a sanctuary	vi. 244
Joan, pope, a dialogue upon her between a protestant and papist	iv. 9
—, her existence never disputed until Onaphrius' time	— 13
—, reason assigned for a deviation in processions	— 14
—, a marble image of her formerly in the street	— 15
—, the silence of Onaphrius about this marble image	— 16
—, why this marble image of her was cast into the Tiber	— 17
—, the artifices of papists to extirpate her memory	— 19
—, Charana's testimony on the existence of her	— 21
—, the testimony of Mantuan on the marble image	— 22
—, the evidence of Schedel, Platina, and others about her	— 23
—, the testimony of Jacobus Bergemensis about her	— 24
—, Volaterran, the historiographer's testimony of her	— 25
—, the testimony of Trithemius about her	— 26
—, Wernerus Roienink his evidence concerning her	— 27
—, the old editions of Wernerus, uniformity about her	— 28
—, exception against Platina's testimony of her removed	— 29
—, Chalcocondylas, the Athenian's evidence of her	— 30
—, vindication of Clauserus about her story	— 31
—, Florimondus proved guilty of lying about her	— 32
—, reasons for omitting her name in catalogues	— 33
—, Martinus Polonus, his evidence on her existence	— 34
—, the testimony of Marianus Scotus concerning her	— 35
—, why Marianus Scotus was not quoted for proof of her	— 36
—, a parallel case stated for such an omission of	— 37
—, the story of cut out of a manuscript at Oxford	— 38
—, loose assertions about no negative proof	— 39
—, her surname English, how accounted for	— 40
—, the silence of Scrabus to proof against her	i. 48
—, Haino, on his living and dying before her time	— 49
—, the history of Fredecius was prior to her life	— 50
—, Lupus Servatus died before her time	— 51
—, Lupatrandus and others, their silence accounted for	— 52
—, Regius was silent about other popes as well as her	— 53
—, Benedict's omission of her to disproof of her existence	— 54
—, reasons why historians of popes writers are so proofs	— 55
—, as to their possible, because popes were slain	— 56

	Vol.	Page.
Joan, pope, reasons why her sex was not discovered	iv.	73
—, on her falling in travel during a procession	—	74
—, on her being buried without usual solemnities	—	76.
—, on the improbability of her having any tomb, &c.	—	75
—, on the name of as related in scriptures and legends	—	77
—, Plutina's plain account of her	—	79
—, how Polonus and Sigebert are reconciled about	—	80
—, different opinions of the duration of stated	—	86.
—, on the year of her election to the popedom	—	87
—, Nicholas, not a cardinal when she was elected.	—	91
—, of Arc, the maid of Orleans, burnt	x.	307
John, Pope, letter to from the nobility and commons of Scotland	i.	128
—, XXII. one of the six popes accused by Dantes	iv.	59
—, XII. a curious account of him, even from papists	—	101
—, king, England interdicted for six years in his reign	—	463
—, St. one of the creatures of Oliver Cromwell	ix.	391
—, king of England, his disgraceful peace with France	x.	232
—, Laurence, said to be the inventor of printing	—	507
—, king of France, his pursuit of Edward the black prince	viii.	169
—, St. his law argument on the attainder of the earl of Strafford	v.	58
Johnson, alias Guy Fawkes, his execution in Palace-yard	lii.	49
—, Ben, on St. Nicholas's in Newcastle	xi.	454
—, Richard, on the nine worthies of London	xii.	164
Johnston, St. account of persons there incapable of trust	x.	235
Joiners, their manner of dealing with court cup-boards	viii.	78
Jokin, John, sent privately to England to accomplish a peace	iv.	507
Jones, colonel John, his qualifications to be a lord	vi.	493
—, —, a commissioner in Ireland	—	501
Joseph, Michael, his persuasion to the Cornishmen's revolt	xi.	423
—, —, his condemnation and execution	—	427
Journals of parliament, imperfect before Henry VII.	viii.	225
Journey of two English pilgrims from Egypt to it	lii.	323
—, of cardinal Wolsey from Peterborough to the north	iv.	546
—, or itineration of the stork, reason of being so called	v.	508
Journeys, the long ones of swallows and other birds	—	506
Joyce, lieutenant colonel, on lord general Cromwell's anger with	—	457
—, —, Cromwell's asseveration about him	—	46.
—, —, study to quarrel with	—	538
—, —, interesting Richard against	—	560
—, —, ingratitude to, &c.	—	561
Joyeuse, the duke of, Raleigh's ghost on his retirement from life	lii.	544
Ipswich, the native place of cardinal Wolsey	iv.	463, 490
Ireland, policy of the French king in carrying on war there	i.	77
—, the vocayon of John Bale, bishop of Ossorie in it	—	323
—, accounts from it of disasters of the Spanish navy	ii.	47
—, the earl of Essex sent to it by queen Elisabeth	lii.	508
—, —, is unworthily recalled from	—	46.
—, lord Gray the deputy of, is attainted of high treason	v.	68
—, the duke of, his shameful flight near Whitney	—	326
—, on establishing the papal clergy there, &c.	—	485
—, on the earl of Glamorgan's negotiations there	—	562
—, Robert earl of Essex made governor of by Elisabeth	vi.	7
—, on the little care taken by parliament to relieve it	—	192
—, an act for prohibiting importation of cattle from it	viii.	26
—, historical collections about the church of it	—	534
—, aphorisms relative to the kingdom of	ix.	311
—, Paris, &c. account of popish massacres in	—	384
—, the lord chancellor of, his letters to bishop of Rochester	x.	64
—, archbishop of Dublin in it, his letter to ditto	—	65
—, is conquered by Henry II.	—	289
—, demand made of the forfeited estates there	—	535
—, on the propriety of making it defenceless	—	537
—, on general Ginkle's being left there to reduce it	—	558
—, the earl of Pembroke is appointed lord lieutenant of	xii.	78
—, Geraldine, lord chancellor of	—	377
—, the earl of Lincoln flies thither	—	383
—, lord Lovel makes his escape to it	—	46.
—, the speech of Perkin Warbeck there	—	394
—, earl of Strafford, the lord lieutenant of	xii.	63
Irish, their tempers and dispositions congenial with the Spaniards	i.	35
—, cabinet, or the king's secret papers about the papal clergy	v.	485
—, Roman Catholics, the terms granted them by treaty	—	486
—, —, confirmation of the treaty with	—	489
—, —, clergy, articles granted to them	—	46.
—, rebels, account of their route by the Luiskillin men	—	496
—, subjects, on king Charles's necessity to indulge them	—	523
—, plot for introducing Irish soldiers into England	—	562
—, resolutions for deliverance of the earl of Glamorgan	—	589
—, corroghs or corraclies, a description of them	vii.	165
Isabella, archduchess, her rash speech on the siege of Ostend	—	596

	Vol.	Page
Lowtherstown, account of defeating the rebels near it	v.	496
Loyola, Ignatius, his oath, inferior to the bloody oath	viii.	442
Loyalty, a discovery of the people's against the king	v.	264
— of Mr. James Howell, an account of it	ix.	58
—, or an account of Drake's and Raleigh's ghosts	xi.	32
Loyola, Ignatius, founder of the order of the Jesuits	—	180
Lublin, on the disputes in the synod there	vj.	365
Luca, a short description of it	xii.	123
Lucas and Lisie, account of their being killed	viii.	382
Luca, an account of its government as a commonwealth	ix.	491
Lucifer, prince of darkness, his salutation to the pope	iv.	387
—, articles of agreement entered into	—	393
—, covenant with lawyer corruption, &c.	—	394
—, justice connivance, &c.	—	395
— hell, an account of a great feast of the pope	—	396
Lucius, king of Britain, sends letters to pope Eleutherius	ii.	460
Lucky days, a curious enquiry into them	viii.	300
Ludlow, major general, his rancour against Charles I.	xii.	219
Luitprandus' history was after pope Juan's time	iv.	54
Lumsden, lady, her house converted into a garrison	x.	236
Lunars, an account of their smoking much tobacco	xi.	530
Lunatics, deemed by the Turks to be inspired	ix.	475
Lunsford, sir Thomas, how designed to cover Monmouthshire	v.	531
Luochella, the great destruction there by an earthquake	x.	194
Luther, called by the anabaptists a false prophet	v.	259
—, deemed worse than the pope by anabaptists	—	466
—'s exclamation on the condition of the anabaptists	—	471
Lutheran, in what sense Roman Catholics understand it	ii.	71
—, Dr. Nieumeister deemed an intemperate one	xi.	353
Lutherans, the Saxons generally of that persuasion	—	392
Lutzen, an account of a great and famous battle there	iv.	183
Luxembourg, the duke of, on a speech to his soldiers	viii.	143
—, his plunder of Utrecht	—	145
Luxembourg, a diary of its siege	ix.	88
—, an account of its capitulation and surrender	—	107
Luxemburg, duke of, is attacked by the prince of Orange	xi.	108
Luxemburg, duke of, defeated by the prince of Orange	—	550
Lyes, a Packe of Spanish ones sent into the world from Spain	ii.	177
—, stated, with their condemnation	—	118
Lyne, the siege of it raised by the earl of Essex	vi.	30
Lynn, allusion to an intrigue of sir Roger L'Estrange there	ix.	57
Lyons, the city to which Faustus Socinus retired from persecution	vi.	391
— of, is taken by the English	x.	295

M.

Macao, the message of Gonsales from it to Spain	xi.	533
Macaria, a description of the famous kingdom of	iv.	380
Mace, the chancellor's and privy purses, stolen	viii.	102
— found in Knight-riding street	—	101
Machiavel's vindication of himself and his writings	i.	78
—, Nicholas, a brief discourse about him	iv.	441
—, less culpable than Lewis XI.	—	442
—, his speech upon religion	vii.	418
—, on conquests of commonwealths	viii.	339
—, on the advantages of fraud	ix.	520
—, a vindication of him	x.	183
Machines, or engines, projection of them for spinning	viii.	122
Mackarel boats, nature of the fishery at Yarmouth	ii.	307
—, on the shoals of them at a certain season	v.	500
Madagascar, an account of the happiness of the people there	xi.	534
—, Andrapela the governor of it	—	535
—, its inhabitants strangers to pride	—	536
— diamonds	—	537
Madness, an humorous cure proposed for it	x.	401
Madon, Dr. Patrick, his account of Tunbridge waters	ix.	176
Madrid, account of Buckingham's arrival there	v.	312
—, account of prince Charles of England being there	viii.	133
—, the plaza or market-place there	ix.	60
—, Charles prince of Wales at the bull-fight there	—	66
Maestricht, on its being taken by the English	viii.	148
Magazines, on the French establishing at Nuys	vii.	507
Magdalen college, Wolsey a fellow of it, and master of school	iv.	490
— in Oxford, the earl of Essex a member of	vi.	5
—, Maria, at Rome, account of that church	xii.	105

	Vol.	Page.
Magick ball, an account of one	viii.	454
Magistracy, an essay on the original and design of it	i.	3
—, and laws, for what ends instituted	vii.	26
—, the ends and designs of it stated	ix.	323
Magistrate, enquiry whether arms may be taken up against	—	364
Magna Charta, obtained by a successful opposition to government	iii.	154
—, an account of its being granted	x.	293
—, of nature, a defence of it	xii.	292
Magnalia Naturæ, or the Philosopher's stone	viii.	452
Magnanimity of the princess of Espinoy stated	xi.	128
Magnes, account of the original of the name	vii.	107
Magnet, on its being transported to Europe from China	—	168
Mahon-Port, account of its advantages to England	xi.	6
—, a description of its noble harbour	—	27
Maidenhead, the forces of prince Rupert retire towards it	vi.	19
Majesty, the mischief of depriving him of his subjects' affections	i.	50
Majolo, count St. a trick of mons. L'abbe Primi	ix.	3
Majores, the king of, pays a visit to England	viii.	174
Maitland, Mr. Alexander, account of his treatment	x.	279
Malagitta, or black pepper, at Juan Fernandez isle	xi.	42
Malcolm, king of Scots, invades Northumberland and Cumberland	iii.	147
—, is resisted by king William, but obtains peace	—	148
Malefactors, account of a project for their employment	viii.	124
—, in what manner they are taxed abroad	ix.	499
Maleuerer, Heurie of Cornhill, one of the London worthies	xii.	191
Malice and envy, a dissertation upon them	ii.	530
—, of Bastwick, Burton, and Frynne to the government	xii.	67
Malignancy, the charge of it against Mr. Howell	viii.	131
Malignity, a definition of the kinds and degrees of it	—	46.
Malisaca, account of being captured by the Dutch	vii.	532
Malmesbury is silent that Alfred was instructed by pope Leo	iv.	66
— did not write the Fast. Reg. and Episcop. Angl.	—	67
Malt-makers, a statement of what is their duty	vi.	127
Malta, a brief description of the island	xii.	122
Man, how far authority is derived from him	ix.	321
Manasses Ben Israel, his proposal about the Jews	vi.	452
Manchester, the earl of, his speech to the city of London	v.	218
—, his commission about scandalous ministers	—	329
Mandamus, account of the improper uses of it	vii.	424
Mandarin, a saying of one upon the gout	x.	401
—, Consules was taken before one in China	xi.	534
Mandeville, sir John, on the subject of his travels	—	485
Mandubratius, a Briton, his revolt to the Romans	ii.	427
Manley, on the present state of Europe	ix.	233
Manners of the time, a free discourse upon by Tom Tell-troath	iii.	428
—, on the insufficiency of preaching to regulate them	x.	464
Manors and farms often given anciently without any writing	iii.	153
Manoury, his conduct on the subject of sir Walter Raleigh's escape	—	381
—, his conversation for the safety of sir Lewis Stukeley	—	385
Mansfield, Albert count of, attacks Munster anabaptists	v.	254
Mantua, the city of described	xii.	129
Mantuan's testimony of the existence of pope Joan	iv.	22
Manufacture of sugar, on the prowess of the Dutch in it	ix.	432
Manufactures, on lands adapted for those of flax and hemp	iv.	459
—, advantage of teaching them to all ranks	vi.	145
—, in what manner destroyed by stage-coaches	viii.	35
—, the propriety of prohibiting foreign	—	51, 56
—, of England, the manner of improving them	—	121
MS. in New College library, pope Joan's story cut out of it	iv.	43
MSS. observations on the pretended authority of some	—	28
—, remarks of papists on ancient ones, their perversion	—	36
—, the assertion of Bellarmine about them disproved	—	37
Manwaring, Dr. account of him as a time-serving priest	xii.	66
Maphrodite, colonel Pride's curious account of one	viii.	385
Mar, his letters to the earl of Leven, lord advocate	xii. 79, &c.	—
Marble chair for the examination of popes admitted by some papists	v.	18
Marburgh, the custom of the inns there	xi.	237
Marcellus, pope, an account of him omitted by Greek writers	iv.	60
Marck, the earl of, is refused necessities in England	vii.	553
—, is seized by Edward III.	x.	296
Marcomanni, some account of the people so called	xi.	286
—, were anciently seated in Bohemia	—	313
Mardyke, account of its being taken from the Spaniards	x.	411
Margaret, countess of Hainault, account of her war	xi.	98
—, duchess of Burgundy sets up Perkin Warbeck	—	373
Marianus Scotus, his testimony discussed on pope Joan	iv.	43
—, a justification of him against the papists	—	87
Marigalanta, account of its being plundered by the English	ix.	521
Mariner, an account of his rank in society	—	410

	<i>Vol.</i>	<i>Page.</i>
Mariners, the number which may be employed in commerce	iii.	300
—, number of them lost in the East India ships	—	302
—, in what manner the royal wish to preserve them	—	304
— and seamen, encouragements proposed for them	x.	321
Mariusus, observations on the name	viii.	308
Maritime laws, the great advantages of them	ix.	470
Marius and Sylla, comparison of their wars with modern ones	iv.	477
Mark, on the steeple of the church of St. at Venice	xii.	75
—, the church of at Venice, an account of	—	79
—, a pope of that name omitted by most of the Greek writers	iv.	60
—, the earl of, in what manner ordered out of England	v.	179
Market, duty of a clerk of one	vi.	121
Marksmen, the unhappy one, or murder of Mr. Fussel	vii.	9
Markets, observations on farming them	x.	264
Marlet, one of those birds almost constantly on wing	v.	503
Mar-prelate, Martin, a prohibited pamphlet	vi.	8
Marqueti, don Raymond, his letter to Don Sebastian	ii.	377
Marriage and Wiving, a discourse concerning it and a good wife	iii.	251
— of the prince of England and the Infanta Major of Spain	—	397
—, Spanish evasions upon it	—	402
— of priests, pope Pius II.'s sayings concerning it	iv.	44
—, observations on its degraded state	viii.	66
— of Charles II. to Mrs. Walters on disclaiming it	—	513
—, the duke of Monmouth's remarks on	—	516
—, I. an ill-fated one	xii.	56
—, Politia's observations on an act for enforcing it	—	193
— and strange courtship of a doctor of divinity	—	205
— indifference of a Suffolk minister about it	—	209
Marriages, in what manner to remedy clandestine ones	ix.	500
Marriott, the great eater of Gray's Inn, an account of	vi.	392
Marry, the observation of Diogenes on the best time	iii.	261
Mars, or Tuisco, some account of his origin, &c.	vi.	93
Marseilles, a colony of Phocians settled at	vii.	164
Marshall, in what manner a favourer of Sedgwick	vi.	64
—, an account of his confessions	—	178
Marshalsea court, on the mischiefs of suits in it	viii.	50, 51
Marston-moor, an account of Cromwell's success there	vii.	277
Martell, Jeffery, is resolutely opposed by duke William	iii.	125
—, is in great personal danger	—	126
Marten, Anthony, an exhortation to defend the country	ii.	85
Martin V.'s bull against heretical books	viii.	203
— of Dorset, promoted in the army for his merit	xi.	16
—'s island in the West Indies, proceedings of English at	ix.	521
—, attempted to be relieved by Decass	—	523
—, account of his conduct in Solebay	xi.	16
Martinet, an account of his conspiracy	ix.	445, &c.
Martyr of Christ, sir John Oldecastle was such a one	i.	285
—, St. Alban, the first British one	ii.	468
Martyrs, an account of Calixtus, &c.	xii.	103
Marvel, Andrew, and other tracts	viii.	413
Mary, queen, account of her unjust treatment of judge Hales	i.	325
—, lady of Scotland, a letter to one in London about her	—	332
— queen, memoirs of her	viii.	482
— recalls Dowdall, primate of Armagh	—	513
—, her letter to the dean and chapter of Dublin	—	514
— of Modena, queen, her policy to produce a pretender	ix.	281
—, queen, the case of her succession stated	—	347
—, an account of her reign	x.	318
—, her death of the small-pox	—	559
Masceu, Dr. of the university of Leipsick	xi.	323
Mask, a circumstantial account of one exhibited in Spain	ii.	560
Masks of women introduced in Elisabeth's reign	iv.	218
Masquerade, an account of one at the court of Spain	ii.	360
—, account of one in the time of cardinal Wolsey	iv.	502
Massachusetts, address of relative to the wars	viii.	72
Massacre of the Irish, in what manner it was set on foot	i.	38
Massacres of Paris, Piedmont, and Ireland, &c.	ix.	384
Massey, colonel, his defence of Gloucester	vi.	22
Master of arts, account of the Scotch degree of	x.	512
Mastiff, capt. Tyrrell, deemed a brave English one	ix.	552
Mastives, a dissertation on mischievous ones	viii.	381
Masts and sails the invention of Daedalus	vii.	164
Matrimony, or the Levellers, a dialogue upon it	xii.	193
Matron, a modest one, how reclaimed from being a wise wanton	iv.	259
Matthew, sir Toby, a jesuit priest	viii.	200
—, account of his infamous character	—	201
Matthews, John, a chief prophet among the anabaptists	v.	237

	Vol.	Page
Matthews, John, his command to bring in their gold and silver	v.	463
Maudlin college converted into a seminary of jesuits	ix.	310
Maudlin Thursday, the pope's general curse upon it	ii.	205
Maurice, deemed a bellows-bender by the Oxford incendiary	v.	343
——, prince, deemed one of the nest of perfidious vipers	—	437
Maurus Rabanus, not an historical writer, but a commentator	iv.	47
Mausoleum of Adrian the emperor	xii.	95
—— Augustus Caesar	—	105
Maxfield, account of his expedition to the Scots	viii.	109
Maximus, account of his gluttony	vi.	392
Maximus, Trebellius, his unfitness for military achievements	ii.	446
——, observations respecting the name	viii.	308
May's Edward the Third, an interesting extract from it	—	171
—— history of the parliament of England	xii.	69
Maydens, wanton ones, a watch word to them	iv.	253
Mayenne, duke of, submits to the government of the French king	iii.	544
Mayor, lord of London, puts bishop Stapleton to death	i.	117
——, entertainment of king Charles I.	v.	91
——, Andrews, Chidley's letter to him	vi.	275
——, Henry Picard, entertains four kings	viii.	174
——, sir William Webbe, address to him	xii.	164
——, sir Wm. Walworth, account of himself	—	169
——, sir Henry Pitchard, ditto	—	173
——, sir William Seauenoake, ditto	—	176
——, sir Thomas White ditto	—	179
Mazarine, the cardinal, news from France on his library	vi.	265
——, his policy to divide the English	x.	539
Meanness and servility, on christianity being abused to them	iii.	450
Means of preserving church and state, some account of	ii.	60
——, the general and uniform opinion to resist invasion	—	65
——, on using them for the removal of temporal evils	v.	296
Meath, bishop of, collections from him	viii.	511
Mechanicks, in what manner they tax themselves	ix.	489
Medals, on the destruction of the Spanish armada	ii.	48
——, account of those in the cabinet of Vienna	xi.	261
Medicine how a woman's tongue may be said to be one	iv.	269
Medicines, on physicians preparing their own	vii.	477
Medicis, Mary de, account of her political intrigues	xii.	58
Medina, the duke of, his orders to fleet for invading England	ii.	42
——, retired for safety to the bottom of his ship	—	71
—— Sidonia, duke of, his reception of Don Sebastian	—	361
—— des Rio Setto, his speech in assembly of the states	viii.	238
Meditations of lieut. Stern on Mr. Thynne's murder	ix.	28
Mediterranean, account of John Reynard's voyage thither	iii.	34
—— seas, their insecurity from pirates	iv.	460
Meissen, a place noted for its porcelain	xi.	325
Melancholcus, Mercurius, on the Cuckow's Nest	vi.	136
Melancthon, do opponent of the Munster anabaptists	v.	259
——, a strong adversary to the anabaptists in Germany	—	466
Melsinger, John, his opinion on the Munster anabaptists	—	461
Members excluded from Cromwell's parliament	vi.	427
Memoirs of mons. du Vail, and his execution	vii.	392
—— of Dr Welwood	xii.	51
Memorials of ancient facts, an evidence of their having existed	iv.	63
—— for Mr. secretary Nicholas the Uxbridge treaty	v.	534
—— of parliament, monstrous ones stated	vi.	263
Menander's Thesis, on St. Paul's quotations from it	—	63
Mende, bishop of, almoner to queen Henrietta	xii.	57
Mendoza, Don Bernardin, on his Meudacta	ii.	69
——, his plot against queen Elisabeth	iii.	516
Menin, Furnes, and Oudenard, account of their capture	x.	417
Mentz, or Maguncia, in Germany, the native place of pope Joan	iv.	47
——, John Gutenberg, the first printer there	vii.	105
——, enquiry whether it was the first place of printing	x.	500
Merchant adventurers, their charter seized into the king's hands	v.	387
——, an account of his rank in society	ix.	410
Merchants' testimony concerning the trade with Muscovy	iii.	291
——, exchange the common rendezvous for them	vi.	451
——, and lawyers, their necessity of honesty and justice	viii.	63
——, Stern's address to them	—	369
——, &c. the petition of them to Charles II.	ix.	33
Mercurie, his speech on sir Robert Sherley's defence of Persia	—	478
Marcus Pragmaticus, Needham the author of it	iii.	90
Mernvignius, account of prince Alberon's war with them	vii.	125
Merrett, Dr. on fir shavings in wines	xi.	91
Messina, account of damage done there by the earthquake	xii.	36
——	x.	199

	Vol.	Page
Messina, a short account of it	xii.	121
Mestre, some account of it	xi.	218
Mestrezat, M. his letters in favour of Nicholas Anthoine	iv.	173
Metals, disputation on their being transmuted	viii.	458
Methods taken by the papists to enslave England	ii.	69
——— recommended by Frederick II.'s example against the pope	—	279
——— to prevent insurrections in England	—	280
Metropolitans, account of those of Canterbury and York	iv.	402
Metz, M. Ferry, a minister of those of Geneva about Anthoine	—	170
Meuse, on Joyce being carried there to prison, and how treated	v.	560
Mexia, Peter, on the image of pope Joan in the streets of Rome	iv.	15
Mice and moths of the court, some account of them	—	520
Middleton, sir Peter, &c. executed for robbing two cardinals	i.	98
———, colonel, attacks the king's forces at Dorchester	vi.	21
Midwives, observations on a royal hospital for them	ix.	191
Mikowitz, some account of the castle there	xi.	519
Milan, the chief city of Lombardy, some account of it	xii.	127
Militello, account of its total destruction by an earthquake	x.	194
Militia is entrusted to Roman catholics by king James II.	i.	10
——— of England, observations on the officers and officers	v.	47
———, on being subject to the king's direction	—	535
———, parliament's desire to wrest it from the king	—	554
———, the power of it seized by Cromwell	viii.	51
Millers, an account of their duty stated	vi.	127
Milo Monachus, not a writer of history, but a poet, &c.	iv.	55
Milton, his defence of the horrid regicide of king Charles I.	i.	7
———, John, his character of the long parliament	v.	37
———, the censure of his book on the commonwealth	vii.	115
———, several of his perversions stated	—	120
———, a reference to his Utopia	—	182
———, a reference to Toland's life of him	xii.	218
———, one of the founders of the Calves Head Club	—	219
Miner, his rank in society considered	ix.	410
Mineral springs, observations on the general nature of them	vii.	453
Minister, a Suffolk one, his indifference about marriage	xii.	209
Ministers of the king, on the mischiefs of misrepresenting them	i.	50
———, the ordinance for removing scandalous ones	v.	329
———, a vindication of the dissenting ones	vi.	129
———, protest of the dissenting ones against regicide	—	132
———, disputation respecting their secular jurisdiction	viii.	810
———, observations on the small number of them	—	318
———, the nature of their authority considered	—	327
Ministry, on Ireland's being in the hands of a French one	i.	77
———, on the call to it, Iohan Bale's learned preface upon	—	323
———, on that of queen Elisabeth and her court	xi.	9
Minorca, on its great importance to England	—	27
Mint, on the foul crimes which are practised in it	x.	364
Miracle, the mighty one, or Mr. Lacy's invitation to Bunhill-fields	xi.	62
Miranda, the count of, promises money to the jesuits	viii.	150
Mirandula, Picus, his opinion about the cause of tides	—	4
Mirror of worldly fame, dedicated to Mr. William Hynd	ii.	515
Misaurus, Philander, observations on the gout	x.	389
Miscarriages, naval ones, an enquiry into	xi.	5
——— of public affairs, remarks on an enquiry into	—	141
Mischiefs of going to law, an illustration of them	iii.	558
———, confining a debtor who is really insolvent	x.	468
———, pensions and places considered	xi.	8
Misdemeanor, curious case of what has been so deemed	v.	405
Misers, how to make them contribute to support the state	ix.	492
Mismanagement, articles exhibited against, &c.	x.	363
———, on the existence of it in the navy	—	364
Misprision of treason, an enquiry about it	vi.	116
——— felony, the nature of it discussed	—	117
Misrepresenting the king and his ministers, the mischiefs of	i.	50
Mitchell, his execution on his own confession only	x.	237
Mitram, a kingdom in Java, some account of	ix.	47
Mixed monarchy, the nature of it stated	—	338
———, the power of a prince in it	—	340
Mock-majesty, or the siege of Munster, &c. related	v.	455
Model, a new one for grammar schools	x.	564
Modica, on its being totally destroyed by an earthquake	—	193
Mogul, or Magor, account of some accidents in the kingdom of	iii.	421
———, his various pleasures, &c. enumerated	—	422
Mojana, some account of it by English travellers	xi.	219
Molanus, his testimony about Siebert discussed	iv.	40
Mollenbroecius, on utility of coffee in gout and rheumatism	xii.	22
Molasses, in what manner they are produced	ix.	417

	Vol.	Page
Mombia, his treachery stated	vii.	513
Monarch, the excesses of, in what manner to be judged of	ix.	332
—'s will, how far to be resisted	—	354
Monarchy, plea for a limited one, addressed to general Monk	i.	17
—, a limited one, on the power of a prince in it	—	20
—, —, a prince's person sacred in	—	21
—, universal, how obstructed by queen Elisabeth	—	34
—, limited, illustration of being the best government	—	45
—, universal, in what manner attempted by France	—	74
—, limited, reference to a plea in favour of it	vii.	99
—, universal, the design of France	viii.	337
—, —, the whole scheme of the French	—	352
—, the ruin of it in what manner managed	—	413
—, the advantages of it represented	—	474
—, a dissertation or treatise upon it	ix.	321, &c.
—, elective, the nature of it stated	—	314
—, how prescription or usage may affect it	—	335
—, the succession of it, how it may be limited	—	337
—, a mixed one, the power of a prince in it	—	340
Monardus, on the Indian priests burning tobacco	xii.	31
Monasteries, on the plunder of English ones by Henry VIII.	vi.	517
—, in what manner plundered by the Conqueror	ix.	403
—, nunneries, &c. account of those of English papists	x.	430
Monastery of Bruna in Moravia, an account of it	viii.	453
—, —, a copper box found there	—	455
—, —, intrigue in it	—	459
—, —, count Peter Paar's visit to it	—	467
—, on that of Santo Sepulchro at Venice	xii.	76
—, —, the capuchin at ditto	—	46.
—, —, the Charthause, a famous one of Pavia	—	127
Moncaster, or Monkleaster, near Newcastle, a Saxon town	xi.	446
Moneto, John Antonio de, his examination on Spanish losses	ii.	56
Money, on reformation of such as is base and coarse	—	477
—, of the kingdom, measures proposed for preserving it	iv.	437
—, Spanish, a proclamation issued against it	v.	385
—, and plate, order of parliament to bring in	vi.	139
—, sir Edward Forde on the means of raising it	vii.	341
—, of Scotland, an account of it	—	445
—, of England, in what manner drained from it	viii.	47
—, large collections of by jesuits	—	452
—, account of its being wanted by the king of England	ix.	6
—, why it would be improper to raise its value	—	497
—, the nature of what is called civility	xi.	53
—, account of what was raised in England to 1659	—	160
—, —, —, to 1700	—	161
Moneyless, a character in the Scottish presbyter	vi.	83
Monies, on the propriety of a new epinage of	x.	371
—, the manner how to get and encrease	—	386
Monk, general, important advice to him	vii.	144
—, —, account of his reduction of Scotland	—	281
—, —, a rhapsodic eulogium upon him	—	408
—, —, a German one, the inventor of the pistol	xi.	542
Monkish rhymes, on the subject of unlucky days	viii.	303
Monks of Gemble, in what manner deceived about Sigebert	iv.	42
Monnoerey, mons. de, an account of his conspiracy	ix.	28
Monmouth, the county of, the measures taken to protect it	v.	531
—, the duke of, account of him at Maestricht	viii.	143
—, —, a letter on account of his mother	—	512
—, —, observations on his mother's marriage	—	516
—, —, an account how he was taken	ix.	123
—, —, his execution stated	x.	327
Monona, John Antonio, examination on the Spanish losses	ii.	49
—, —, his second examination on them	—	54
Monopolies, on the impropriety of them for raising money	ix.	497
Monreal, in what manner damaged by an earthquake	x.	192
Mons, the prince of Orange's glory in the battle of	—	550
—, account of its geography and ancient history	xi.	28, &c.
—, history of it by Mac Gregory	—	26.
—, prince Alberon the founder of it	—	90
—, Alberick, earl of Hainault, the restorer of it	—	93
—, the pomerium or expanse of it	—	94
—, account of being erected into a distinct earldom	—	96
—, —, a terrible fire there	—	97
—, —, Edward III. of England visiting it	—	99
—, —, its attack by Lewis XIV. of France	—	100
—, —, being fortified by mons. Vauban	—	109
—, —, a second time seized by Lewis XIV. of France	—	112

	Vol.	Page.
Monson, sir Thomas, is suspected of favouring Rochester, &c.	v.	378
Monster, serpent, or dragon, an account of one in Sussex	iii.	227
Monstrous births, account of the duchess of Burgundy's	xi.	401
Monteagle, lord, receives an anonymous letter of caution	iii.	17
_____ communicates the letter to certain lords of court	—	18
_____ 's letter causes strict search and investigation	—	19
_____ the consequences of the search on it	—	23
_____ the letter to him relative to the gunpowder plot	viii.	154
_____ his suspicion of Percy as the writer	—	156
Montefiascon, a description of it	xii.	92
Monterusso, account of the people killed there	x.	195
Montezuma, his treating Cortez with chocolate	xii.	26
Montgomery, sir Thomas, his embassy to the French king	—	19
Montrose, the Oxford incendiary's account of	v.	345
_____ account of, his exertions for Charles I.	—	523
_____ the marquis of, an account of his funeral	viii.	236
_____ procession of his funeral	—	237
_____ account of his life and actions	—	242
_____ a declaration of his	xi.	469
Montross, the marquis of, account of his execution	vi.	234
Monzambano of Puffendorf, some account of	ix.	4
Moon, not the sole cause of the tides	viii.	5
_____ account of Domingo Gonsales' voyage thither	xi.	511
_____ a description of the inhabitants by Gonsales	—	523
_____ the palace in it	—	526
_____ account of the precious stones in it	—	528
_____ the return of Domingo Gonsales from it described	—	531
Moor, a grateful one, how Timberlake was restored to liberty by	iii.	328
Moore, Thomas, remarks about him	vi.	512
Moors army, the nature of one described	viii.	408
_____ a pattern of them in the character of Evander in Virgil	—	409
Moravia, some account of it by English travellers	xi.	284, &c.
_____ has the privilege of religious service in their own tongue	—	289
_____ the divisions or toparchies of the country	—	290
Moravians, how they obtained to have religious services performed	iv.	45
Morbeck, sir Denis, personally captured the French king	viii.	179
Mordaunt, lord, suspected as an accomplice in the gunpowder plot	—	162
More, sir Thomas, account of his history of Richard III.	ii.	412
Moreton, archbishop of Canterbury, is denounced by Cornishmen	xi.	422
Morgan, sir Thomas, his expedition to Flushing	vii.	557
_____ Jane, account of her as an old woman in Wales	viii.	123
_____ Evan, was a noted wrestler	—	26.
_____ sir Henry, on conquering Panama	ix.	436
_____ sir Thomas, account of his progress in France, &c.	x.	409
_____ makes a conquest of St. Venant	—	411
_____ an account of his resolute courage	—	413
_____ his defeat of the Spanish forces	—	416
_____ besieges and subdues Ypres	—	420
Moro, Christoforo de, confessor of Philip, his schemes against the queen	iii.	518
Morocco, how the earl of Tiviot perished there	viii.	401
Morone, cardinal, his address to English students at Rome	ii.	200
Mortality, the consequence of famine and excessive rain	iii.	167
_____ of the London clergy, an account of it	vii.	181
_____ account of a dreadful one at Nevis	ix.	518
Mortimer, his flight to France with king Edward's queen	i.	109
_____ and the queen return from France to England	—	116
_____ assume the government of England	—	122
_____ advise Edward's being put to death	—	125
_____ account of his being persecuted by Jack Cade	xi.	371
Morton, accounted a nursing father to the church	vi.	304
Moschea at Adrianople, an account of	viii.	101
Moscow, the numbers destroyed there in the plague of 1570	vii.	332
_____ an account of the fire there by the Tartars in 1571	—	333
Mosely, sir Edward, his arraignment and trial	vi.	46
_____ his acquittal from the charge of ravishment	—	50
_____ on king Charles II.'s removal to it	—	253
Moses and the Egyptian, the case stated	ix.	596
Motion of the earth, whether a principle of the tides	viii.	4
Motta, account of being wholly destroyed by an earthquake	x.	199
Mountagu, junior, stated to be a sworn papist	viii.	205
Mountague, deemed one of the nest of perfidious vipers	v.	436
_____ colonel, some account of him as a new lord	vi.	493
Mountains of Feistritz, an account of their height	xi.	234
Mountford, sir Simon, is beheaded	—	404
_____ Corbet, and others, taken and executed	—	412
Montgomery, sir James, an account of his misery	x.	479

	Vol.	Page
Mountjoy, lord, an account of his family, &c.	v.	150
—, his opposition to Warbeck	xi.	424
Muggleton, Lodowick, an account of his life	viii.	83
—, is apprenticed to a taylor	—	46.
—, account of his gradations in religion	—	84
—, recants his denunciations	—	85
Muggletonian convert, the infatuation of one	—	85
Mulberrian trees, instructions for increasing and planting them	iii.	80
Mulgrave, the earl of, his letter to Dr. Tillotson	ix.	316
Mullets, account of them as a periodical fish	v.	500
Mum, observations on prohibiting its importation	viii.	17, 29
—, how to make it as dogs at Brunswick	xii.	34
—, an account of its virtues by Dr. Willis	—	36
Muncer, Thomas, a ringleader of the German anabaptists	v.	253
—, preaches against the pope and Luther	—	46.
—, by his violence become a magistrate, &c.	—	46.
—, is taken prisoner, and his conduct	—	253
Munday, Anthonie, address of on his travels to Rome	ii.	168
—, how served by Dr. Woodward	—	170
—, has letters to Dr. Allen at Rheims	—	171
Mundy, Dr. his account of the effects of chocolate	xii.	28
Munroe, colonel, account of his being slain	vi.	17
Munster, preparations are made to reduce rebels of	v.	254
—, five thousand of the rebels of it are slain	—	255
—, the bishop of expelled by the insurgents	—	257
—, measures taken to induce submission of rebels	—	261
—, city is reduced to the last extremity	—	263
—, a copious account of the siege of it	—	435
—, Bernard Rotman's popularity as a preacher	—	438
—, the manœuvres practised there by anabaptists	—	461
—, double dealing of Rotman, &c. there	—	462
—, the bishop of is promised effectual aid	—	468
—, message to the rebels of from landgrave of Hesse	—	469
—, observations on proceedings of the rebels of	—	472
—, the bishop of demands a reparation of damages	—	475
—, answer of king John of Leyden to bishop of	—	477
Murano, account of the glass-makers there	xiii.	80
Murder, Salmasius, on his account of king Charles's	i.	7
—, of great numbers of nobility in France	—	431
—, of kings, the horrid practice of recommended	ii.	130
—, of Henry de Valois, king of France and Poland	—	144
—, how M. de Guyse concerned	—	143, &c.
—, in what manner effected	—	146
—, of Sarah Stout of Hertford, an account of it	—	250
—, of princes, not Catholic, maintained by Romish professors	iii.	9
—, of one of the king's guard, persons tried for it	—	52
—, account in what manner it was concerted	—	55
—, of the late French king by Rauilliack	—	109
—, Lewis XIII.'s letters patent issued upon it	—	113
—, of queen Elisabeth, the various schemes devised for it	—	518
—, of the prince of Orange by Spanish conspiracies	iii.	540
—, various instances committed by Leicester	iv.	479
—, Buckingham's soliloquy or confession of	v.	215
—, of Hubert Trutaling by the Munster anabaptists	—	257
—, the duke of Buckingham at Portsmouth	—	320
—, a particular statement of Trutaling's	—	463
—, in what respects the church no immunity against it	vi.	246
—, of Mr. Fussel of Blandford by Strangeways	vii.	9
—, of John Spotswood, an account of	—	245
—, of the prince of Orange, in what manner done	—	538
—, of the bears, an account of colonel Pride's dexterity	viii.	380
—, Corker's letters on sir Edmundbury Godfrey's	—	449
—, of Mr. Thynne, lieut. Stern's confession of it	ix.	9
—, account of that of Mr. Thynne	—	46.
—, of Mr. Thynne, consultations how to effect it	—	11
—, is projected by count Coningsmark	—	16
—, Borodzyck's confession of it	—	44
—, the earl of Shaftesbury, Dangerfield tempted to it	—	50
—, Madam Collier, &c. ditto	—	51
—, the pamphlet of killing no murder, a copy of	—	284
—, of sir Edmundbury Godfrey stated	—	379
—, Henry III. of France	—	384
—, IV. ditto	—	46.
—, the duke of Bretagne at Roan	x.	292
—, Henry III. of France noticed	—	321
—, immorality a cause of that of king Charles	xii.	68
—, prophaneness another cause of it	—	69
Murderers, not allowed the privilege of sanctuaries	vi.	142
Murdering kings, &c. justified by the pope	i.	316

	Vol.	Page.
Murmurings against government, the mischiefs of	i.	50
Muscovado sugar, in what manner produced	ix.	417
Muscovy company, their opinion of the operations of trade	iii.	313
——, duke of, his tyrannical impositions	ix.	466
Musick of Scotland, an account of it	vii.	444
——, dancing, and balls, why too much supported	viii.	52
Muskery, lord viscount, one of the Irish commissioners	v.	485
—— king Charles's letter about him	—	530
Mussalp, an enquiry into his office	viii.	102
Mustapha, in what manner delivered out of prison	v.	182
——, the design of Achmet to strangle him	—	184
—— is preserved by means of a dream of Achmet's	—	185
—— is proclaimed emperor of the Turks	—	186
—— is again sent prisoner to the Seven Towers	—	187
——'s partizans retire from the storm	—	46.
—— is again released, and again declared emperor	—	193
——, an account of his circumcision	viii.	99
Mutius Scævola, his magnanimity and resolution	xi.	102
Muyd, of France, an account what it is	x.	209
Myrtle, that tree is a species of it	xii.	23
Mystery of trade, investigated in various particulars	viii.	36
—— and art of printing considered	x.	238

N.

Nails of Christ's cross, account of them by bishop Jewel	ii.	198
Name of Lutheran given to Christ by the Spaniards	—	71
—— given to casks of herrings from the noted Jack Cade	—	331
—— of Cades, an alteration of a letter from Gades	—	368
—— Garnett, branched out into five others	iii.	53
—— Sergius, the pope, not changed on his election	iv.	68
——, that of pope Joan, not a new devised one	—	77
—— of Parr, memorials of families so called	—	219
—— Eustathius, abused by an assembly-man	vi.	60
—— conqueror, how detested	—	101
——, that William should be stripped of it	—	103
Names of inventions, by the marquis of Worcester	—	405
—— persons designed for Cromwell's house of lords	—	488
——, the various ones used for the house of parliament	—	54
——, titles, and dignities, &c. an act for regulating	viii.	55
—— of Pride and Bride, a witticism upon them	viii.	384
——, the various names which have been given to England	xi.	482
Nangiacus, his absurd account that Kentishmen have long tails	iv.	44
Nantes, the edict of, letters patents of French king upon it	iii.	114
Nantz, the edict of, whether it was binding on Lewis XIV.	ix.	275
——, revocation of, stated by father Le Chase	—	276
Naples, John Reynard and others, arrive there from the Turks	iii.	43
——, account of the number of pilgrims there	vi.	228
——, a description of the city of	xi.	476
——, Gaeta castle deemed the key of	xii.	116
——, some account of the city of	—	118
——, account of the palaces in it	—	119
——, the castle of St. Helmo there	—	120
Narbonne, lord of, his speech on the truce	—	17
Narborough, sir John, on the importance of a station at Tangier	viii.	362
Narcissus, in what manner he appeased the Roman soldiers	ii.	431
Narcoticks, their natural tendency to promote sleep	vii.	384
Narrative of the wonder-working parliament of Richard II.	i.	133
—— Jews council by Brett	vi.	206
——, the second, of Oliver Cromwell's late parliament	—	402
Naseby, the ship which brought Charles II. to England	xi.	37
Nashe's lenten stuff, on the foundation of the town of Yarmouth	—	208
Nation, the English is a member from the Teutonic	vi.	98
——, the Scythick can only be compared with the English	—	95
——, on the means of advancing its trade	xii.	250
National advantage of pursuing the herring fishery	iii.	309
Nations, under what names they assemble their people for business	i.	47
——, how the welfare of them may be undermined	—	46
——, how excess of buildings, apparel, &c. injurious to them	ii.	97
Nations, a summary of different ones on the coast of South America	iii.	307
Natural and moral history of the Indies by Joseph Acosta	—	267
—— history of coffee stated	xii.	40

	Vol.	Page
Natural history of thee or tea described	xii.	23
chocolate related	—	25
tobacco explained	—	29
Naturalizing foreign protestants, a general act for it	viii.	17, &c.
Nature of the English, in what respects different from the French	i.	19
spicery, the country of Arabia so deemed	viii.	75
Naval miscarriages, an enquiry into the cause of them	xi.	5
Navarre, the king of, pays a visit to England	viii.	174
is assisted by lord Willoughby	x.	321
and France, declaration against rebels	xii.	238
Naudæus, Gabriel, on the library of cardinal Mazariæ	vi.	265
Naves, the original of the name accounted for	vii.	164
Navigation, a discourse on its first invention	—	168
Naunton, sir Robert, his Fragmenta Regalia	v.	121
Neaportus river, now called Laubach, some account of it	xi.	226
Navy, the Spanish invincible one, its losses on the coast of Ireland	ii.	47
officers in Cromwell's parliament, an account of	vi.	467
an account of gross mismanagement in it	x.	304
on the punishment of cursing and swearing in it	xi.	13
Naylor, James, the grand impostor, his life, &c.	vi.	424
born at Wakefield	—	425
letters of Hannah Stranger to him	—	427
a summary of his actions	—	435
O'Neale, Shane, his attainer and fall in open rebellion	v.	72
Neander, on the culture of tobacco	xii.	31
Necessity, the mother of invention	xi.	44
Nedham's history of rebellion, in verse	vii.	185
Needham, Dr. address to him on the nature of abstinence	—	365
on elder-berries in drupsies	xii.	33
on the uses and benefits of fir tops	—	35
Negative of the king in parliament discussed	vi.	112
Neglect of Ireland, an account of the manner of it	—	192
the pulpit, a serious cause of reflection	x.	273
Interest of the Palsgrave by James I.	—	322
and ruin of foreign protestants since Elisabeth's time	—	451
of a naval war, the great mischiefs of it	xi.	5
Negligence, state, his treaty and articles with king Lucifer	iv.	395
a principal cause of poverty	viii.	64
Negotiations, a reference to Thomas Winter's with De Laxis	iii.	546
of cardinal Wolsey, by Mr. Cavendish	iv.	488
of the earl of Glamorgan with the Irish papists	v.	562
letters upon them	—	565, &c.
on confirming them	—	572
Nelson, Dr. the preface to Charles I.'s trial referred to	xii.	218
Nennius, a worthy Briton	—	157
Neptune, on his being accounted god of the sea	vii.	163
Nero, a perfect monster in butchering Seneca	viii.	372
account of making his horse a consul	—	376
Nervii, the first founders of Tournay	xi.	115
Nest of perfidious vipers, or second calendar of black saints	v.	434
cuckows at Westminster, or queen Fairfax and lady Cromwell	vi.	136
Netherlanders, deprived of their ancient liberties and privileges	v.	176
Netherlands, the earl of Leicester goes to English army there	ii.	506
the policy of their being supported by England	—	512
the oppression of them by Spain considered	—	540
the wicked plots of the Spaniards against	v.	172
the Spanish inquisition introduced there	—	173
the duke d'Alva's conduct against them	—	176
the Spanish cruelties, a summary of	—	177
are assisted against Spain by the prince of Orange	—	179
the cruelties of the duke of Alva there	vii.	522
a justification of the war against them	—	544
the sovereignty of it offered to queen Elisabeth	—	560
account of the English league with them	—	561
Spanish, danger of the French possessing	viii.	341, &c.
Neuhaus, an account of it by English travellers	xi.	292
Nevis, account of a dreadful mortality there	ix.	518
Neustadt, a description of it by English travellers	xi.	249
Neustrians, only the dross of the Gallick nations	vi.	100
Newark, the queen's letter to the king from it	v.	540
Newbury, an account of the battle there	vi.	25
the names, &c. of persons slain there	—	26
account of the Jews which fell at the battle of	—	191
Newcastle, on the trade by shipping of that and other places	iii.	294
an account of its being seized by the Scots	vi.	12
upon Tyne, a survey and description of it	xi.	446
Pampendon or Pandon, a part of it	—	451
Ben Johnson on St. Nicholas there	—	454
account of its charters	—	456

	Fol.	Page
Newcastle upon Tyne, Gateside annexed to it, and severed	xi.	497
—, the coal-mines in its vicinity	—	497
Newcomb, Thomas, printer, an account of him	vii.	107, &c.
Newfoundland, the ships employed in the trade thither	—	395
—, on sir Walter Raleigh's going to it	—	379
Newgate, the parson of the convicts imprisoned there	viii.	124
Newhaven in France, an account of its surrender	x.	321
Newmarket, account of the king's goss-hawks there	v.	506
Newport, the countess of, a sworn papist	viii.	305
News from Hell, and Rome, and the inns of court	iv.	387
—, France on the library of cardinal Mazarine	vi.	395
—, Staffordshire, or account of a judgment there	viii.	118
—, Wales, on wonderful old woman there	—	127
—, Plymouth, a distressing account of a voyage	ix.	80
—, for England, or declaration of Drake's and Raleigh's ghosts	xi.	33
—, from the channel, or a description of Berke	—	552
Nicholas, St. the road of, a name for Yarmouth roads	ii.	297
—, secretary, memorials for on the Uxbridge treaty	v.	534
—, sir Edward, a letter to him intercepted	vi.	19
Nicholls, Anthony, his account of the army	—	67
Nicker nicked, and paid in his own coin	vii.	361
Nickname of Gondamor, the archbishop ambassador	iii.	546
—, Tony Tapskin, so invented	ix.	52
—, Blayborne, for the king of England	xii.	13
Niem, Theodoricus de, secretary to one of the popes	iv.	15, &c.
Nienojevius, his disposition towards the opinions of Socinus	vi.	366
Niemeister, Dr. an intemperate Lutheran	xi.	353
Nieuport, thoughts on the French possessing it	viii.	341
—, and Ostend, on the English possessing them	—	346
Nile, observations relative to its flowing	vi.	227
Nimeguen, on the peace there settled	viii.	630
Nine Worthies of London, by Richard Johnson	xii.	164
Nipnet Indians, their friendship not to be relied on	viii.	73
Nobility, barons, and commons of Scotland, letter to pope John	i.	123
—, many of them murdered in the outrages of France	—	431
—, a dissertation on the nature and qualities of it	ii.	522
—, of Bohemia, account of their wealth	xi.	316
Nobleman, in what manner he served a clergyman	—	216
Non-juring parsons, on the subject of pressing	xi.	11
Nonsense, how essentially useful to the godly	vii.	73
Norfolk, the duke of, Leicester's treachery to him	iv.	475
—, his speech to cardinal Wolsey	—	536
—, how he opposed Wolsey's ambition	—	544
—, descent of family of that title	ix.	136
Norham castle, its siege and gallant defence	xi.	428
Norman coast, Harold the usurper shipwrecked upon it	iii.	129
—, bishop of London obtains a charter of liberty for the city	—	152
—, yoke uncased, or discussion of the Norman succession	vi.	175
—, laws, how Kent was independent of them	vii.	27
Normandy, account of its canon and civil law	iii.	120
—, the duchy of claimed by Roger Tresny	—	121
—, the French defeated there by William I.	—	122
—, the great loss sustained in the battle	—	123
—, account of the success of William I.'s arms there	—	125
—, Robert Courtruis succeeds William as duke of	—	163
—, the earl of Essex chases rebellion out of it	—	542
—, is exempted from Des Aides of France	x.	211
Normanism, an impure mixture of our language	vi.	99
Normans, the lives of the three kings of England of that race	iii.	115
—, their valorous exploits in war stated	—	122
—, their propensity to arms always conspicuous	—	133
—, a report of their discipline to Harold	—	139
—, are invested with the English lands by the conqueror	—	143
—, subverted the more ancient Saxon laws	vi.	216
Norris, sir Robert Naunton's brief account of him	v.	138
—, North, and others, go over to Holland	vii.	558, &c.
North, Mr. an account of his danger from the plague	viii.	102
—, on the irruptions of the Picts from thence	xi.	451
—, a relation of ancient families residing in that part	—	465
—, castles erected there	—	467
Northampton, the earl of, is acquainted with letter on the gunpowder plot	iii.	17
—, reference to the parliament which was held there	iv.	324
—, the poll-money granted in the parliament at	—	46.
—, Henry Howard created earl of	v.	352
—, earl of, his concern with Rochester, &c.	—	359
—, his curious report to king James	—	367
—, discovers his designs against Overbury	—	376
—, a letter to him from the governor of the tower	—	377
—, as lord warden of cinque ports is suspected	—	385
Northern discoverie, a dialogue between Jamie and Willie	iv.	4.8

INDEX.

lxxxv

	Vol.	Page
Northumberland, Edward, the earl of, condemned of high treason	iv.	457
—, earl of, and Welch, commissioned to arrest Wolsey	—	548
—, proposes a treaty of peace	vi.	18
—, is fined on account of the gunpowder plot	viii.	168
—, Peter Warbeck is proclaimed king there	xi.	410
Norway, Harold Harfager, the king of arrives in the Humber	lii.	136
—, is defeated by Harold	ix.	458
Norwegians, the dross of the Teutonic nations	vi.	100
Norwich, an account of its being improved by Yarmouth	ii.	301
—, the sheriffs of, their annual herring pie, account of	—	332
—, account of the great damage by lightning there	vi.	422
—, croycery in the bishop's possession	viii.	222
—, on the kings of England keeping Christmas there	xii.	384
—, oppression of the foreign protestants there	xii.	50
Norwood, colonel, his encouragement of religion at Tangier	viii.	405
Nosocomium academicum, a project of stated	vi.	146
Nostradamus, his prediction of a memorable peace	viii.	307
Nothing New, a question about it discussed at Paris	iv.	301
Noto, account of its destruction by an earthquake	x.	191
Nottingham, Charles earl of, his embassy to Spain	ii.	545
—, on a compleat defeat of the rebels near it	xi.	318
—, the earl of, admiral Russel's letter to	xii.	42
Nouvellet, don, a letter from him to father Texere on Sebastian	ii.	305
Noyon, is besieged and taken in view of the Spanish army	iii.	543
Nuisances, on the necessity of enquiry about them	vi.	27
Number of popes, different accounts of by popish writers	iv.	64
Nusciata, in Italy, an account of it	xii.	89
—, hospital at Naples, a description of	—	118
Nuncio from Rome is received by king James II.	i.	10
—, of the pope, his reply to Gondamore	viii.	237
Nunneries, abbeys, and priories, the visitation of them	—	305
—, and monasteries, &c. of English papists	x.	430
—, an account of those in Vienna	xi.	257
Nuns, Theodoricus de Niem, on their incontinence, &c.	iv.	93
—, a seminary of them in Queen-street	viii.	205
—, in the English cloister at Dunkirk	xi.	177
Nuntius a mortuis, or a message from the dead	vi.	508
Nursery of the countess of Lincoln, an account of it	iii.	453
Nuys, account of magazines establishing by the French at	vii.	507
Nysel, Daniel, the emperor of Germany's librarian	xi.	260

O.

Oak of Boscobel, account of it as an asylum for Charles II.	vi.	248
Oars, an invention of the Boetians	vii.	164
Oath of allegiance annulled by a breach of the coronation oath	i.	93
—, lord Burleigh's advice to queen Elisabeth on it	ii.	278
—, account of Drewrie and Davies conduct thereon	iii.	61
—, dissenting ministers to the parliament and king	vi.	131
—, the members who sat in Cromwell's late parliament	—	483
—, ordered to be taken by the members of the rump parliament	vii.	130
—, of secrecy, ordered to be taken by the jesuits	viii.	151
—, the bloody one of papists, is printed for Robert Bolron	—	440
—, of secrecy, administered by Rushton to Bolron, a copy	—	441
—, the bloody one of papists exceeds that of Ignatius Loyola	—	412
Oaths, on propriety of laying aside publick ones	xii.	228
—, the mischiefs of imposing publick ones stated	—	233
Obedience, the various degrees of it stated	ix.	320
—, passive, the doctrine of it disproved	—	373
Oberstein, the earl of, commander of the forces to besiege Munster	v.	251
—, his appointment as general	—	408
—, and the bishop, persuade their submission	—	474
Objection against bills without money removed	x.	387
Objections to county workhouses, &c. answered	viii.	182
Observation of days, a discussion upon it	—	302
—, on the name of St. Eutropius	—	310
—, of bishop Davenant on ministers civil jurisdiction	—	250
Observations on the trial of Spencer Cowper, &c. for murder	—	30
—, of Greter relative to pope, John	iv.	30
—, lately made at Bath by Dr. Thomas Guidott	—	125
Observer, the Loyal, some remarks upon it	ix.	54
—, a menace against the writer of it	xii.	29
Obstructions to raising soldiers, retaining their pay a great one	ii.	96

	Vol.	Page.
Obstructions, neglect or iniquity of purveyors, &c. great ones	ii.	97
Oceana, by Mr. Harrington, reference to it	vii.	124
Odé, a pindarick ode, on Belvoir castle	viii.	249, &c.
Offences, directed to be enquired into at assizes	vi.	114
Office of Publick address, a discussion upon it	—	138
— for counterparts of bills, to detect forgeries	x.	304
Officers of the militia of England, &c. select observations on	v.	47
— publick, an enquiry about them	vi.	119
— of foot regiments in Scotland in Cromwell's parliament	—	466
— in Scotland, members of his parliament	—	466
— the admiralty, who were members in Cromwell's parliament	—	467
— civil, in Scotland, who were members therein	—	468
Offices, the mischief of purchasing them stated	x.	237
—, act against the sale of them	—	237
—, &c. on the impropriety of gentlemen in parliament taking	—	237
Oglethorpe, sir Theophilus, on being totally neglected	—	280
Old, on its comparative or relative signification	iv.	79
— Noll, one of the yeomen of the guard to queen Mary	v.	403
— man on marrying a young woman, the folly of it	x.	464
Oldcastle, bishop Bale's chronicle of sir John	i.	243
—, sir John, his character and actions described	—	246
—, the processe against him	—	253
—, determination of archbishop Arundell against	—	256
—, when deemed a forgotten hereticke	—	285
—, is executed for being a heretick	vii.	258
Oldsworth, Michael, on the chancellor of Oxford	vi.	134
Olearius, his account of the coffee-houses of Persia	xii.	61
Olivares, count de, his consultation of Gondomar	iii.	539
Oliver's parliament, account of members excluded from it	vi.	457
Oliver, the laws of, discussion on their duration	vii.	389
Olmuts, the limits of its division or toparchy	xi.	290
Osloe, sir Richard, a character of as one of Cromwell's lords	vi.	368
Onaphrius, the first popish writer who wished to disbelieve pope Joan	iv.	13
— is totally silent about the marble image of her	—	16
— not to be credited, on slighting the story of the stool	—	17
— the testimony of Florimondus, concerning him	—	69
— the shifts he is reduced to in rejecting of pope Joan	—	79
Opinion of the king on the character of the parliament	v.	542
Oppression of sailors, his treaty with king Lucifer	iv.	304
— of William the Conqueror, the nature of it stated	ix.	461
Optatus omits the mention of Felix II. as a pope	iv.	68
Optimacy in government, Mr. Howell's account of it	i.	45
Orange, the prince of, a reference to his murder	iii.	540
— determines to assist the Netherlanders	v.	179
— is elected to be stadtholder	vii.	517
— an account of his being murdered	—	538
— his expedition to England	ix.	213
— account of his arrival at Torbay	—	215
— his entrance into Exeter	—	216
— a description of his army	—	219
— a letter to him from the pope of Rome	—	244
— and princess, on crowning them	—	371
— reference to his landing at Torbay	x.	328
— his character represented	—	545
— his repulse of the French	—	548
— whether he maintained predestination	—	549
— his glory in the battle of Mons	—	550
—, princess of, the prudence of her conduct	—	546
Oranges, the plenty of them in the isle of St. Helena	xi.	511
Oran-keys, the pretended plot of	vii.	533
Oration of Galgacus, some account of it stated	ii.	414
— stated at large	—	452
Orcades and the north parts of Scotland discovered to the Romans	—	457
Orchards, none in Scotland, and a curious reason assigned	iv.	436
Orders of the duke of Medina for the voyage to England	ii.	42
— to be observed by students of the English college at Rome	—	179
— and privileges, &c. of the commons house of parliament	iv.	559
— to be observed on the coasts against invasion	v.	242
Ordinance for regulating the university of Cambridge	—	328
— for demolishing monuments of idolatry, &c.	—	440
Ordinary, duke Humphrey's, a curious account of	iii.	79
—, an enquiry into the nature of his duty	vi.	121
Ordinations, various sorts of, how mis-stated	viii.	332
Ordovices almost extirpated by Julius Agricola	ii.	448
Origen, observations on his unmaning himself	x.	449
Original of Sigebert, whether in the monastery of Gemble	iv.	41
—, pretended one, how to be corrected	—	80
— and occasion of the Index expurgatoria	viii.	593

Originals, hand-written ones, often belied by papists	Fol. Page
Orsinius, account of the revolutions of England	iv. 36
Orleans, account of the revolutions of England	xii. 62, 71
Ormond, earl of, Leicester's design of murdering him	iv. 345
_____, the Oxford incendiary's account of	v. 475
_____, marquis of, lieutenant-general and governor of Ireland	v. 485
_____, letters of king Charles to	v. 528
Orphan fund of London, a discussion upon it	ix. 451
Osbeck, Nathanael, his account of Perkin Warbeck	xi. 399
Osgualdo, Sen, a potted hill so called near Feistrica	v. 274
Ossian is proclaimed grand seignior, and Mustapha imprisoned	v. 187
_____, assembles a large force against the Polonians	v. 188
_____, returns after making a peace, not the most honourable	v. 191
_____, and his courtiers are terrified with many omens	v. 192
_____, is dethroned, and Mustapha restored	v. 193
_____, is humbled, and submits to the disposal of Mustapha	v. 196
_____, the grand Turk, an account of his dream	xi. 484
Ossorie in Ireland, the vocacyon of Johan Ball to the bishopricke	ix. 323
Ostend, account of the Spanish losses there	viii. 524
_____, on the consequences of being possessed by the French	viii. 341
_____, and Nicuport, on their being possessed by the English	viii. 346
_____, the conspiracy against Holland detected there	ix. 416
Ostorius Scapula lands in Britain, and finds it in confusion	iii. 433
Oswaldstrey market, the exploit of Jane Lloyd there	viii. 129
Otho, the elder, elector palatine of the Rhine	iv. 153
_____, the illustrious, duke of Bavaria, and prince palatine	v. 157
_____, Henry, prince elector palatine, a character of him	v. 164
Oudenard, Menin, and Furnes, account of their surrender	x. 417
Ovens, an account of those in Egypt for hatching chickens	iii. 324
Overbury, sir Thomas, observations in his travels in the Netherlands	iii. 97
_____, _____ on the archduke's country	100
_____, _____ on the state of France	102
_____, _____, his vision, with account of various ghosts	344
_____, _____, the description of his ghost	346
_____, _____, returns from France, and is honourably employed	v. 356
_____, _____, becomes a favourite with king James I.	360
_____, _____, his fidelity to viscount Rochester	363
_____, _____, dissuades Rochester against marriage	368
_____, _____, procures the hatred of the countess of Essex	371
_____, _____, how deceived into a trap laid for him	372
_____, _____, how the king became incensed with him	373
_____, _____, declines going on an embassy	374
_____, _____, his variance with viscount Rochester	375
_____, _____, account of the various poisons prepared for	378
_____, _____, is kept close prisoner in the tower	380
_____, _____, perceives his death to be determined on	381
_____, _____, how Somerset punished all who spoke of his death	389
_____, _____, his death is called in question	390
_____, _____, how the knowledge of his death was ascertained	391
_____, _____, Somerset declared guilty of his death	393
_____, _____, his poem of The Wife offended the earl of Somerset	vi. 393
_____, _____, a letter containing remarks upon him	viii. 97
_____, _____, resque assigned for the truth of such a letter	v. 122
Overseers of the poor, their duty as laid down at York assizes	vi. 122
_____, _____, highway, against Thorpe's address on them	126
Overthrow of the Spanish navy, and summary of its losses in Ireland	vi. 58
_____, _____, with its losses in the engagement	59
_____, _____, armed by the English fleet	148
_____, _____, with the ships and men lost	165
Overturn, the appropriate pass-word of the fanatics	viii. 81
Ovo castle at Naples, an account of it	xii. 119
Oswley, sir Charles, one of Cromwell's intended lords	vi. 491
Outrages of France exemplified in the murder of admiral Chastillon	i. 431
Owen's case of high-treason in James I.'s reign	v. 64
Owl, the ominous appearance of one on Balthazar's being elected pope	iv. 453
Oxford incendiary, the character of one stated	v. 339
_____, letters of king Charles from that city	v. 516
_____, the first parliament of king Charles I. there	vi. 10
_____, on the king's forces being alarmed in the vicinity of	29
_____, the university of, sir Thomas Bodley's veneration for it	v. 56
_____, Manchestered, or News from Pembroke and Montgomery	134
_____, university, in what manner new modelled by Pembroke, &c.	135
_____, Mr. Corbet is made the publick orator of it	16
_____, Langley created doctor of, and head of Pembroke college	16
_____, account of sundry things concerning it	viii. 58
_____, queries relative to it, respecting reformation of	68
_____, dialogue on the parliament there, propriety of discussed	viii. 488
_____, the earl of, a satyr upon his being created a peer	xi. 193

P.

	Vol.	Page.
P. W. the advice given to Mr. Hartlib on parts of learning	vi.	141
Paar, count, his representation of Wenceslaus to the emperor	viii.	462, &c.
——, his treacherous designs upon Wenceslaus	—	466
——, count, Peter, visits the monastery of Brubain Moravia	—	466, &c.
Pack, alderman, one of Cromwell's intended lords	vi.	508
Packs of Spanish lyes, ripped up and unfolded	ii.	117
Packington, sir John, account of him in Fragments Regalia	v.	143
Pacquet boat advice, or account of French emissaries	viii.	139
Padstow, the negotiations of the earl of Glamorgan, how procured there	v.	562
Padua, a description of the city so named	xii.	129
Painters, on the little credit to be given to Romish ones	iv.	90
Palace, the old one in Westminster, traitors executed near it	iii.	48, &c.
—— of Peter Strozz, an account of it	xii.	69
——, Cassina, an account of it	—	66
——, that of Caprarolas belonging to cardinal Farnesio	—	93
——, and garden belonging to lord George Ursini	—	107
——, of Tivoli, near Rome, an account of	—	113
——, account of in Naples stated	—	119
Palaces, an account of the most memorable ones in Vienna	xi.	259
——, noble ones at Prague in Bohemia	—	306
Palaeologus, Jacobus, how he was assailed by Socinus	vi.	368
Palatinate, why it was invaded by the French	i.	75
Palatine, princes electors, of the Rhine, a catalogue of them	iv.	155
——, prince elector, and duke of Bavaria, account of Lewis	—	158
——, account of Rudolph I. and Adolph the Simple	—	159
Palatio Farnesio, a description of	xii.	110
Palatium Farnesii, an account of stated	—	111
Palermo, account of damage there by an earthquake	x.	193
——, a concise description of the city of	xii.	180
Palestine, the travels of two English pilgrims in the country of	iii.	347
Palma, an account of it by English travellers	xi.	281
Palmer, how he became head of All Souls college, Oxford	vi.	123
——, in what manner one of that name was served	—	136
——, sir Thomas, message of Henry VIII. by him	x.	316
——, raises the fort of Chatillon's garden	—	317
Palmerius, his testimony on pope Joan's being a woman, &c.	iv.	27
Palmio, Benedicto, instigates William Parry to murder queen Elisabeth	iii.	516
Palgrave of the Rhine, account of his alliance with England	v.	365
——, his interests how neglected by king James I.	x.	323
Pampeden, or Pandon, account of it as a part of Newcastle	xi.	450
——, a description of it stated	—	455
Pamphlets, their importance in an English library stated	Int. x, xii	—
Pamphyli ships of war, invented by the people so called	vii.	164
Pananis, sir Henry Morgan's observations on conquering it	ix.	436
——, sir Francis Drake's failure there	—	437
Pandora, how religion has become such in swarms of sects, &c.	vi.	258
Pannonia, the history of by English travellers	xi.	279
Pantaleon, Sa, his narrative of the occurrences in the New Exchange	vi.	325
Paper written by the late duchess of York	ix.	162
Papers found in the custody of Francis Throckmorton	i.	523
Papist, why every one should be secluded from the English crown	—	51
——, or Catholick, address to on the discourse of pope Joan	iv.	11
——, his challenge about original MSS. refuted	—	36
——, Secretary Windebank declared to be a fierce one	viii.	198, 204
——, sir Digby represented as a sworn one	—	203
——, the duke of York an avowed one	—	211
——, the bloody oath, how printed by Robert Bolron	—	440
Papists, their incessant malice against queen Elisabeth	ii.	209
——, lord treasurer Burleigh's advice relative to them	—	278
——, and Hugonots, on the opposition between them	—	281
——, their great influence and sway in Jerusalem	iii.	359
——, the futility of their boast about hand-written originals	iv.	36, &c.
——, their historical accounts misrepresented and facts perverted	—	49, &c.
——, their infamous perversion of the writings of protestants	—	86
——, the weak grounds of their arguments demonstrated	—	92
——, observations on their being admitted into the army	v.	555
——, their design to charge the puritans with the gunpowder plot	vi.	130
——, an account of their designs in 1680	viii.	410
——, numerous progeny	—	411
——, the conduct of persons who are reputed to be such	—	440
——, Castle, Clement, Raulliac and others, the tools of	—	442
——, an explanation of several of their equivocations	—	443

	Vol. Page
Papists, the fire of London, a part of their plots	ix. 379
on the necessity of banishing them	— 381
remarks on their incessant intrigues and manoeuvres	— 385
in what manner colonel Cannon was treated by them	x. 378
English ones, account of their monasteries, colleges, &c. abroad	— 430
the treason of, what it consisted in by 27th of Elisabeth	— 453
why the laws against them are suspended	xii. 60
Pappenheim, slain by a cannon shot at the battle of Lutzen	iv. 192
Parable of the three jacknaws	x. 248
Paradox explained, in accounting for the present state of England	iii. 568
of the happiness of the Madagascar people	xi. 534
Paragon ship, a second rate, how she took fire and was burnt	vi. 389
Parallel between cardinal Wolsey and archbishop Laud	iv. 468
on ancient and modern fanatics considered	vii. 251
Pardon assured to sir Walter Raleigh, and his subsequent voyage	iii. 373
offered to the rebel anabaptists of Munster	v. 258
—, is refused	— 265
to the earl of Somerset, how counteracted	— 368
Parents, on the very great propriety of nursing their own children	iii. 453
Paris, how brought to extremity by victories in the Netherlands	— 542
John of, his allusion to a woman being elected pope	iv. 32
Matthæw, enumeration of reports about popish clergy	— 36
on the prince's arrival there, with the duke of Buckingham	v. 311
how the Jews are allowed there to enjoy religion	vi. 226
address to the parliament of, on cardinal Mazarine's library	— 265
a letter from sir George Wakeman there to his friend	viii. 553
account of the grievous massacre of protestants there	ix. 384
and London, a dialogue between those famous cities	x. 494
Parishes in England, their number estimated	viii. 123
Parkinson, the commendation of coffee by him	— 77
Parlement of Byrdes, a satirical poem	xii. 139
Parliament, Richard Cromwell's speech to the two houses	i. 25
the pre-eminence and pedigree of by Howell	— 46
how it has lost its power in other nations	— 47
account of the duty of a representative in it	— 49
of White Bands in Edward II.'s reign	— 102
their election of Edward III. in his father's life	— 120
the last of queen Elisabeth, her golden speech to	ii. 352
the first of king James, his speech to	— 534
the speech of king James to on the gunpowder plot	iii. 5
members of it are the body of the court	— 12
prorogation of it, and king James's observations	— 13
houses, determination of making search in them	— 19
the pennyless one, of thread-bare poets	— 71
at Northampton, subsidy of poll-money granted at	iv. 324
the power of peers and commons of in judicature	— 355
advice and motives addressed to the assembly of	— 400
the speech of sir Thomas Roe in it on the coin	— 466
bill of attainder passed by against the earl of Strafford	— 466
of Scotland, the earl of Argyll's speech in it	— 480
the orders, proceedings, &c. of the Commons House	— 559
Mr. John Milton's account of, and assembly of divines	v. 37
the power of considered to raise the militia of the kingdom	— 47
Mr. George Harwood's address to on sir Edward Harwood	— 196
the nature of one considered, as applied to former ones	— 241
a vindication of and its proceedings in the militia	— 272
the intention of it stated with regard to the king	— 293
an eulogy upon its proceedings, as favoured by providence	— 299
the bloody one, as exemplified in an unhappy prince	— 323
in what manner it has no power of levying war	— 415
archbishop Laud no enemy to in general	— 488
the earl of Londen's speech to a committee of both houses	— 511
observations on the king's opinion of it	— 549
colonel Joyce protests against the purging of it	— 558
forces, Rushworth's account of them in Cornwall	— 564
stipulation that the Catholick clergy should not be molested by	— 572
account given by them of the Brentford attack	vi. 19
major Skippon defends the rear of their army	— 24
the army of, gets possession of Barnstable	— 31
—, obtains possession of Lancaster	— 32
the visitation of a sick one	— 42
a discussion of the king's negative in it	— 112
on their order to bring in money and plate	— 150
account of the regicide members of	— 138
the memorials of, deemed monstrous	— 263
of Paris, an address to them	— 265
observations on the chasing of Oliver's	— 434
account of members excluded from Oliver's	— 437
violation of the privileges of, queries upon	— 438
account of lawyers in Oliver's gauled one	— 461

	Vol.	Page.
Parliament, account of officers in Oliver's garbled one in Scotland	vi.	466, &c.
— general in ditto	—	466, &c.
— governors, &c. in ditto	—	467
— civil officers of Scotland in ditto	—	469
— queries on the state of the late one	—	471
— second narrative of Oliver's late one	—	482
— the oath taken by the members of ditto	—	483
— the late one, its dissolution by Oliver Cromwell	—	485
— a word addressed to it	vii.	33
— the house of, various names by which it is called	—	54
— the rump one, qualifications for it	—	124
— statement of Cromwell's garbled one	—	283
— address to by the earl of Clarendon	—	343
— reasons why it ought to discharge debts	viii.	14
— a letter to a member of it	—	66
— an act to preserve the person of queen Elisabeth	—	247, &c.
— account of the antiquity and dignity of it	—	316
— on king James's aversion to	—	240
— the fatal one of 1640 considered	—	305
— on managing so as to ruin monarchy	—	413
— the evils of long continuing the same	—	472
— the insolvency against Gaveston	—	475
— their murder of king Edward II.	—	46
— their meanness in the reign of queen Mary	—	476
— the ferryman, &c. a discussion on the mad one	—	488
— on short-arsed one	—	46
— on the mode of passing bills in it	ix.	112
— account of Jefferies' revenge upon it	—	308
— counsellors of, in France, were purchased	x.	215
— gentlemen in it, account of those holding offices	—	367
— the great importance of its being free	—	544
— the speech of sir Charles Sidley in it	—	568
— votes of the commons house of	xi.	144
— account of the expences of the long one	—	157
— man, the character of an honest one	xii.	47
— the convocation continued without one	—	67
— of England, the history of it by May	—	60
— qualifications of a good member of	—	230
— man, sense a qualification for one	—	244
— integrity ditto	—	245
— petitions to be presented in the next session of	—	247
Parliaments, the prerogative of them in England discussed	iv.	304
— discourse on the success of former ones	v.	241
— on Mr. Howell's being friendly to them	viii.	130
— the antiquity and dignity of by sir Robert Cotton	—	216
— the danger of mercenary ones	ix.	388
— were very frequent in our ancestors' times	xii.	240
Parma, duke of, with the Spaniards, retreat at Aumale	iii.	543
— princess of, her disingenuous conduct	v.	175
— collects soldiers, &c. to suppress Netherlanders	—	176, &c.
— prince of, his oppression of the Dutch	vii.	523
— allusion to his being governor of Flanders	xi.	128
Parnassus, Boccalini's parliament of	viii.	527
Parr, Thomas, of Winnington in Shropshire, his age, &c. stated	iv.	204
— the occasion of his being brought to London	—	203
— circumstances of his life, and his manœuvres	—	206
— occurrences of the kingdom during his life	—	216
Parry, William, a hired regicide to murder queen Elisabeth	iii.	516
Parson's wife, on taking spinning-wheel to bed	xii.	211
Parsons, Robert, his book on succession to the English crown	i.	35
— the king catholic's confessor, his conduct	ii.	211
Partition treaty, the consequences of it stated	x.	560
Pascent, its total destruction by an earthquake	—	193
Paschasius Rutenus was no writer of history	iv.	55
Passage, enquiry into the subject of birds and other creatures of	v.	408
Passengers in the various stage-coaches, an estimate of	viii.	33
Pastrene, the duke of, his remark on Camden's annals	—	239
— Gondomere's reply to it	—	46
— his second speech	—	46
Patent for making brass farthings granted by king James I.	v.	383
Patience, no sufficient cure for tyranny	ix.	303
Patrick, St. on his driving all venomous beasts from Ireland	—	44
Patriots, their keen sense of smelling, &c.	viii.	411
Patrons of learning, account of ancient ones	—	291
Patusolo, its total destruction by an earthquake	x.	193
Pavia, on the duke of Bourbon's settling himself in it	iv.	507
— the battle of, its serious consequences to Francis I.	viii.	373
— a brief description of the city of	xii.	156
— Charthaus, a famous monastery in it	—	157

	Vol.	Page
Paul, the apostle, St. his questions from the Thais of Menander	vi.	63
—, St. earl of, his habits of treasury punished	vii.	567
—, father, unmasks the council of Trent	viii.	293
—, St. count de, constable of France, account of	xii.	9
—, St. the tricking constable, his double dealing	—	14
Paul's churchyard, St. account of traitors there executed	iii.	47
—, Bates hanged and quartered there	—	48
—, St. in London burnt down and a new one begun	—	167
Paulet, sir Amias, sets Wolsey in the stocks, but pays dear for it	iv.	464
—, Mrs. Elisabeth, is married to the earl of Essex	vi.	11
Pauli, Simon, his observations on thee	xii.	23, 24
—, opinion of sugar	—	27
—, book against tobacco	—	31
Pawlet, sir James, affronts Wolsey when master of Magdalen school	iv.	490
Pawn-broker, the character of an unconscionable one	viii.	179
Pay of the navy, importance of a strict attention to it	xi.	15
Peace is concluded between England and Scotland	iii.	148
—, by what means effected under Wolsey's management	iv.	518
—, an invocation to it, occasioned by present wars	v.	452
—, papers on the subject of effecting it in Ireland	—	485
—, articles proposed for effecting it with the catholicks	—	486
—, a treaty for, proposed by the earl of Northumberland	vi.	18
—, how knights of bath are created in the season of	vii.	155
—, Peter Groot endowed with powers for procuring	—	516
—, a memorable one foretold by Nostradamus	viii.	307
—, was preferable to an armed one	ix.	233
—, the disgraceful one of king John with France	x.	290
—, an inglorious one made by Edward IV.	—	309
—, with Scotland, an account of it	—	321
—, of the duke of Burgundy with Lewis XI.	xii.	18
—, effected by M. Contay	—	26.
—, and-innocence, a good expedient for accomplishing	—	228
Peasants or boors, a description of Dutch ones	ix.	537
Peer of Great Britain, reasons of Marley's being created one	i.	1
Peers and commons of parliament, their power in point of judicature	iv.	355
—, account of the first and second summons of them	viii.	217, &c.
Pegasus, cardinal, account of a feast he presented to the pope	iv.	306
Peina, an account of it by English travellers	xi.	343
Pembroke and Montgomery, the earl of, is discarded	vii.	12
—, his speech at Oxford	—	134
—, college, Langley appointed the head of it:	—	135
—, earl of, lord lieutenant of Ireland	x.	78
Penal laws against catholicks, on taking them away	v.	521
—, observations relative to them	—	549
Pendrill family, their important services to Charles II.	vi.	248
Pennyles Parliament of thread-bare poets, an account of	iii.	71
Peurie, John, his examination on the subject of religion	ii.	31
Pensioner, by what means Charles II. was so to France	i.	76
Pensioners, French ones in England paid by M. Cleret	xii.	19
Pensions and places, remarks on the mischiefs of them	xi.	8
Pensylvania; mischiefs there of a high value of coin	x.	381
People's good, enquiry whether this be the end of government	ix.	323
Pepper, Mack, or malagitta, in the isle of Juan Fernandes	xi.	42
Pequin in China, on Gonsales sighting near it	—	531, &c.
Percy, Thomas, account of his hiring vaults of the parliament house	iii.	19
—, a house near to it	—	22
—, his speech on the execution of gunpowder plot	—	25
—, the oath of secrecy taken by him and others	—	28.
—, a confidential servant of Charles I.	v.	521, &c.
—, Thomas, hires a house for the gunpowder plot	viii.	151
—, is suspected of writing the letter to lord Montreagle	—	156
Perfidy, the Dutch, principally instigated by Holland	vii.	564
—, of the reformists of France	x.	321
Perfumes, a dissertation upon them	ii.	528
Perjured villainy, account of its punishment	viii.	118
Perjury, a description what it is	—	114
Perk in Scotland, an account of its meaning	x.	512
Perkin Warbeck, an account of his history	xi.	367
Perkins, Mr. his opinion on cock-fighting	vii.	64
—, cruelty to the brute creation	—	71
Perriwigs, when they were first brought into England	iv.	218
Perrot, sir John, account of his trial for treason	v.	73
—, his character stated by sir Robert Naunton	—	140
Perry, the family of, wrongfully executed for murder	viii.	86
—, John, accuses his mother and brother of murder	—	88, &c.
—, Joan, and her two sons, beguiled to acknowledge it	—	91
Persecution of conscience, thoughts and reflections on	—	599
—, some observations on its nature	xi.	362
Persia, on the coffee-houses there	xii.	91

	Vol.	Page.
Persian empire, its addition of glory by sir Robert Sherley	iii.	92
— ambassador, sir Robert Sherley, a commendation of	—	93
Persians, their choice of a king	viii.	381
Person of a prince, the necessity of its being sacred	i.	91
—, the difference between that and power	v.	415
Pescaro takes the French king prisoner	viii.	237
Peter, St. in what manner he is painted by the papists	iv.	16
—'s pattern, the certain way to worldly happiness	vii.	73
— the great, czar, his unlimited power	xi.	355
Peterborough, cardinal Wolsey kept the feast of Easter there	iv.	546
Peters, Hugh, his epitaph on sir Edward Harwood	v.	801
—, account of publishing Irish papers taken at Padatow	—	563
—, and an assembly man compared	vi.	64
—, a word for the army, by him	—	65
—, strenuously defends the soldiers	—	66
—, a funeral sermon on him	vii.	73
—, account of his last will and testament	—	132
Peterswalds, an account of it by English travellers	xi.	320
Petition of the beggars to king Henry VIII. against papery	i.	217
— sir Lewis Stukeley on his conduct to sir Walter Raleigh	iii.	386
— presented unto the king at York by the lords	iv.	391
— of doctor Elisham to the king on James I. being poisoned	—	493
— to the parliament on the same	—	498
— of the gentlemen and students of Cambridge	v.	239
— gentlemen and tradesmen's wives of London	—	268
—, the manner of its reception	—	271
— apprentices and other young men of London	—	302
—, directions for receiving it	—	304
— clothworkers, to prevent exportation of white cloth	—	387
— colonel Fitz-Williams to the king	—	531
— to the king at Shrewsbury by a traitor, refused	vi.	15
— of a chaplain of a camp for redress	x.	162
— the ladies for husbands	—	165
— widows for a redress of their grievances	—	170
— bachelors, &c. a reply to	—	179
Petitions to be presented in the next session of parliament	xii.	247
— against the numbers of stage-coaches	viii.	43
Pettus, sir John, of Suffolk, his seizure by Cromwell	vii.	277
Pewter, in what manner transmuted into gold	viii.	465
Pewterers, duty of them stated	vi.	123
Pharisee, the old one portrayed	—	344
Phifer, a furious anabaptist his ravages in Germany	v. 254, &c.	
Philip, the second, of Spain, his last words and death	ii.	284
—, on a young one, sprung from his father's loins	iii.	509
— of Spain, his last effort of an invincible armada	—	516
—, is compelled to intreat for peace	—	544
—, the ingenious, prince palatine of the Rhine	iv.	163
—, king of France, is wounded at the battle of Cressy	viii.	107
—, escapes from the battle to Bray	—	168
—, father, a medium of the jesuits correspondence	—	202
— of Spain, his attempt upon England	—	340
— of Macedon, how he was defeated by the Romans	—	350
—, duke, succeeds to earldom of Hainault	xi. 99, &c.	
—, is succeeded by Charles the Warrior	—	103
Philippot, Thomas, on the first invention of navigation	vii.	168
Philistines, the case of Samson's destroying them stated	ix.	299
Phillipsburg, the French attack upon it without declaration of war	i.	75
Philopatris, a vindication of learning	viii.	290
Philosophical essay on the nature of the tides	—	1
Philpot, Nicholas, observations on registering deeds, &c.	vii.	488
Philpott, Mr. Henry, chief ranger of Finckley park in Hants	v.	556
Phlegm, how it may promote abstinence	vii.	379
Phocians, first colonized and inhabited Marseilles	—	164
Phonicians improved the form of ships	—	163
—, sent out a colony to Gades	—	164
—, the first founders of Tangier in Africa	viii.	403
Phenomenon, account of a strange one at Syracuse	x.	188
— Alari	—	189
Phrygia, patriotism of Ancurus, the king's son there	ii.	102
Phylacteries of presbytery, new ones	vi.	344
Physician, his qualifications for institution	—	149
—, Christopher Losada, martyred	viii.	438
Physicians, the necessity of their advice on going to Bath	iv.	113
—, a dialogue between and the archbishop of Canterbury	v.	41
Physick in the spring, account of its great utility	iv.	117, &c.
—, the London practice of, its unhappy state	vii.	463
—, impropriety of its being practised by apothecaries	—	471
Physiognomy, a friar's knowledge of, and strange proof	—	394
—, in Italy, some account of it	xi.	280

INDEX.

XCV

	Vol.	Page
at Tiddem's	xi.	298
they were commanded to be shaven	iv.	31
where William, and is slain	iii.	125
by reputation	viii.	428
secret powers	ix.	142
	—	154
	—	157
attended to	vi.	144
employment	viii.	60
	—	179
parts deemed improper	ix.	497
and advancing trade	xii.	250
pronounce his curse	ii.	206
produced to him	—	323
and for	viii.	182, &c.
secret intelligence	—	206
the ambassador	—	237
and	—	304
in his belly	—	331
communication	—	353
	ix.	244
	iv.	134
introduce it	i.	34
against it	—	217
iv. agree in the main points of	ii.	279
was Scott	iii.	480
by the cardinal on it	v.	26.
of the English religion	—	298
	vii.	358
	—	501
it	viii.	96
in it	—	198, &c.
it	—	199
of	ix.	378
captured by them	i.	84
one	ii.	88
ment	iv.	17
amous Maurus	—	47
were about them	—	62
stated	—	64
	—	67
even unknown	—	69
them	—	71
	—	81
	—	89, &c.
successors	—	99, &c.
called on	—	64
using it	viii.	210
	—	231
	—	414
	—	482
	ix.	225
regius	viii.	23
	xi.	325
	ix.	218
	xi.	27
	viii.	404
	xii.	124
	—	16.
ator	viii.	204
up of Rochester	x.	64, &c.
land	x.	16
	x.	434
	—	440
	xii.	253
	viii.	387
	x.	324
of	xii.	34
of	ii.	355
to relieve it	iii.	506
red	—	539
boat	—	76.
	ix.	485
	xi.	371
	ii.	383
lus	iv.	12
loan	—	43
	x.	364
	xi.	191

	Vol.	Page.
Persian empire, its addition of glory by sir Robert Sherley	iii.	92
ambassador, sir Robert Sherley, a commendation of	—	93
Persians, their choice of a king	viii.	381
Person of a prince, the necessity of its being sacred	i.	91
—, the difference between that and power	v.	415
Pescaro takes the French king prisoner	viii.	237
Peter, St. in what manner he is painted, by the papists	i.	16
—'s pattern, the certain way to worldly happiness	vii.	73
— the great, czar, his unlimited power	xi.	355
Peterborough, cardinal Wolsey kept the feast of Easter there	iv.	546
Peters, Hugh, his epitaph on sir Edward Harwood	v.	201
—, account of publishing Irish papers taken at Padstow	—	563
—, and an assembly man compared	vi.	64
—, a word for the army, by him	—	65
—, strenuously defends the soldiers	—	66
—, a funeral sermon on him	vii.	73
—, account of his last will and testament	—	132
Peterswalds, an account of it by English travellers	xi.	320
Petition of the beggars to king Henry VIII. against papery	i.	217
— sir Lewis Stukeley on his conduct to sir Walter Raleigh	iii.	368
— presented unto the king at York by the lords	iv.	391
— of doctor Eglisham to the king on James I. being poisoned	—	403
— to the parliament on the same	—	408
— of the gentlemen and students of Cambridge	v.	230
— gentlemen and tradesmen's wives of London	—	268
—, the manner of its reception	—	271
— apprentices and other young men of London	—	302
—, directions for receiving it	—	304
— clothworkers, to prevent exportation of white cloth	—	389
— colonel Fitz-Williams to the king	—	531
— to the king at Shrewsbury by a traitor, refused	vi.	15
— of a chaplain of a camp for redress	x.	162
— the ladies for husbands	—	165
— widows for a redress of their grievances	—	170
— bachelors, &c. a reply to	—	179
Petitions to be presented in the next session of parliament	xii.	247
— against the numbers of stage-coaches	viii.	43
Pettus, sir John, of Suffolk, his seizure by Cromwell	vii.	277
Pewter, in what manner transmuted into gold	viii.	455
Pewterers, duty of them stated	vi.	123
Pharisee, the old one pourtrayed	—	344
Phifer, a furious anabaptist his ravages in Germany	v. 254, &c.	—
Philip, the second, of Spain, his last words and death	ii.	284
—, on a young one, sprung from his father's loins	iii.	503
— of Spain, his last effort of an invincible armada	—	516
—, is compelled to intreat for peace	—	544
—, the ingenious, prince palatine of the Rhine	iv.	163
—, king of France, is wounded at the battle of Cressy	viii.	107
—, escapes from the battle to Bray	—	168
—, father, a medium of the jesuits correspondence	—	202
— of Spain, his attempt upon England	—	340
— of Macedon, how he was defeated by the Romans	—	350
—, duke, succeeds to earldom of Hainault	xi. 99, &c.	—
—, is succeeded by Charles the Warrior	—	108
Phillipott, Thomas, on the first invention of navigation	vii.	162
Philistines, the case of Samson's destroying them stated	ix.	299
Phillipsburg, the French attack upon it without declaration of war	i.	75
Philopatris, a vindication of learning	viii.	299
Philosophical essay on the nature of the tides	—	1
Philpot, Nicholas, observations on registering deeds, &c.	vii.	408
Philpott, Mr. Henry, chief ranger of Finckley park in Hants	v.	568
Philem, how it may, promote abstinence	vii.	379
Phocians, first colonized and inhabited Marseilles	—	164
Phoenicians improved the form of ships	—	163
—, sent out a colony to Gades	—	164
—, the first founders of Tanager in Africa	viii.	405
Phenomenon, account of a strange one at Syracuse	x.	188
— Alari	—	189
Phrygia, patriotism of Ancurus, the king's son there	ii.	102
Phylacteries of presbytery, new ones	vi.	344
Physician, his qualifications for institution	—	149
—, Christopher Losada, martyred	viii.	439
Physicians, the necessity of their advice on going to Bath	iv.	113
—, a dialogue between and the archbishop of Canterbury	v.	41
Physick in the spring, account of its great utility	iv. 117, &c.	—
—, the London practice of, its unhappy state	vii.	463
—, impropriety of its being practised by apothecaries	—	471
Physiognomy, a friar's knowledge of, and strange proof	—	394
Piave-river, in Italy, some account of it	xi.	280

	<i>Fol. Page</i>
Picard, Henry, lord mayor of London, entertains four kings	viii. 174
Picardy, the lord Willoughby and others assist Henry there	iii. 542
Pichau, or Becka, account of it by English travellers	xi. 246
Pickering, sir Gilbert, his qualifications for being a lord	vi. 491
——, a tool of the papists	viii. 442
Picquet, account of a game at	viii. 46
Picts and Scots, the means by which they entered England	ii. 474
——, in what manner they harassed the Britons	vi. 98
——, their irruptions from the north	xi. 451
—— wall, an account of it	— 469
Piedmont, an account of massacres there and other places	ix. 384
Piefourchie, a French impost, what it is	x. 213
Piemento, is only gathered by destruction of the trees	ix. 423
—— tree, abundance of them at Juan Fernandes	xi. 42, &c.
Pierce, bishop of Bath and Wells, his preaching	vi. 12
Pierpoint, Hen. William, against registering deeds	vii. 493
Pies, made of herrings, sent annually to the lord of Caster	ii. 332
Pigeons of Aleppo, trade in them with France	viii. 147
Pilate, Pontius, account of his palace	xii. 100
Pilchards, on their coming in vast shoals at their seasons	v. 500
Piles, driven into the river Thames to oppose the Romans	ii. 427
Pilgrimage, account of Englishmen's to Jerusalem	iii. 326
Pilgrimages, various ones stated of the Catholics at Rome	ii. 194
Pilgrims, the travels of two English ones, by Timberlake	iii. 322
——, their approach to the city of Jerusalem	— 327
——, are accompanied in Jerusalem by friars	— 329
——, their visit to various places around it	— 331
——, account of their remarks on mount Olivet	— 46
——, visit the monastery of Bethlehem	— 335
——, their visit to the Sepulchra Sancta	— 46
——, a general account given by of the country	— 341
——, their narrow escape on return near Alexandria	— 344
Pillory, the speech of Dr. Bastwick thereon to the people	iv. 229
—— Mr. Prynne to the populace, when there	— 230
—— Mr. Burton thereon to the people	— 233
Pimlico, a lecture in Waltham forest by Aminadab Blower of	— 177
Pipaco, some account of by English travellers	xi. 224
Piracy of Saltee, enquiry into its extirpation	viii. 403
Pirate, the original of it investigated	vii. 175
Pirates, their increase in the Mediterranean, how injurious	iv. 400
Pirlford near Chertsey, in Surrey, account of Mrs. Snow of that place	— 445
Pirna, a large town, visited by English travellers	xi. 321
Pisa, a short description of it	xii. 122
Piso's account of the cocoa kernels	— 27
Pistell or letter to Gilbert Potter in prison on queen Mary	i. 321
Pistol, an account of a hallowed one, and for what purpose	viii. 446
——, invention of it by a German monk	xi. 548
Pitchard, sir Henry, lord mayor of London, account of himself	xii. 173
Pithias, a crafty Sicilian, his stratagem to outwit a Roman	iii. 289
Pius Quintus, pope, on throwing pope Joan's image into the Tiber	iv. 17, &c.
—— II. his saying about refusing and granting marriage to priests	— 44
Place-hunter, a history of one, with its wretched effects	x. 478
Places and pensions, the mischiefs of them considered	xi. 8
Placidus, an account of his history	ix. 69, &c.
——, how he rescued James Vitell from assassins	— 73
——, and Vit-li go together to Seville	— 76
Plague, account of one at Westminster	vi. 42
—— in London in 1605, the numbers destroyed by it	vii. 329
—— at Moscow in 1770, the numbers there destroyed	— 334
—— account of the death of sir Tho. Baues by it	viii. 108
Planets, the temple of at Rome	xii. 113
Planino, the English travellers description of	xi. 225
Plantation, account of the nature of a sugar one	ix. 416
Planters, the state of those resident in Barbadoes	— 436
Planting and increasing mulberry trees, instructions for	iii. 80
—— latina's testimony respecting the pope's processions correct	iv. 14
——, is followed by Hartmannus Schedel	— 23, &c.
——, not excepted against since Bernartius	— 28
——, on his being racked and imprisoned by Paul II.	— 29
——, released from prison by Sixtus IV.	— 26
——, his observations about Anastasius Bibliothecarius	— 48, &c.
——, farther vindicates the credit of Anastasius	— 51
——, how his writings have been corrupted about pope Joan	— 86
——, his account of pope Sylvester supported by Siebert	— 98
Plantius, Aulus, sent into Britain to reduce those who had revolted	ii. 430
——, by what means he vanquished the Britons	— 431
Plautuses, the nature of their language considered	viii. 369
Plays, stage ones, Prynne's Histrionum against them	xii. 57
Plaz, or market-place of Madrid, on bull-fights there	ix. 60
Plea for limited monarchy, in an address to general Monk	i. 17
Pledging, occasioned by Danish treachery	viii. 147

	Vol.	Page
Pliny, a reported speech of his	viii.	388
Plot, the gunpowder one, a discussion of its cruelty	iii.	7
—, observations on discovery of it	—	8
—, letter concerning it to lord Monteaigle	—	17
—, confession of Thomas Winter thereon	—	23
—, how it was conveyed into the cellar	—	28
— of the Spaniards to divide the interests of other countries	—	106
—, a pretended one of the Oran-keys	vii.	532
—, the gunpowder one, proceedings of conspirators about	viii.	150, &c.
—, Thomas Bates, &c. accomplices in it	—	152
—, sir Everard Digby, &c. find money for	—	153
—, letter to lord Monteaigle on it	—	154
— against the king, sir William Boswell's information on	—	183, &c.
—, overture and general discovery of	—	188, &c.
—, archbishop of Canterbury's letter to the king on it	—	191
— against Cromwell, observations whether pretended	ix.	227
— of papists, in the murder of sir Edmundbury Godfrey	—	379
— Blackhead and Young against the bishop of Rochester	x.	1
Plots of the jesuits against the English government	i.	34
— papists against the English queen and church	ii.	176
— jesuits in England under the instructions of Gondomar	iii.	531
— discovered by Camillou	v.	103
— of Gondomare on the popish religion, &c.	viii.	231
—, pretended ones, how and for what purposes designed	—	413
—, discovery of them by Edward Cottam, a jesuit	—	460
— of the papists in the fire of London	ix.	379
Plotters in the gunpowder treason, some account of them	iii.	22
Murder of monasteries, nunneries, &c. by Henry VIII.	vi.	517
Plonket, the king's thanks to him for services in Ireland	v.	530
Plymouth garrison is relieved by lord Roberts	vi.	31
—, account of prince Edward's reception there	viii.	174
—, account of strange news from it	ix.	80
Pocklington, Dr. a representation of archbishop Laud's favour to	iv.	458
Pocklynton, the Oxford incendiary's representation of	v.	342
Poem, an humorous one, or rambles of Robin Conscience	i.	63
—, a copy of Theodore Beza's rendered into English verse	iii.	517
— of the Wife by sir Thomas Overbury occasions his death	vi.	9
Poet-laureat, Hakim Fardausi, the eastern one	xii.	22
Poitiers, the battle there alluded to, to encourage the English	ii.	102
—, the French king and his son made prisoners	vii.	169
—, the prisoners made there carried to Bourdeaux	—	174
—, account of the numbers engaged there	—	351
—, the statement of the battle there	x.	399
Poinings, sir Edward, is staggered at the duchess of Burgundy	xi.	403, &c.
Poison, how a woman's tongue may be deemed so	iv.	270
—, the marquis of Hamilton's death occasioned by it	—	412
—, observations relative to king James dying by it	—	417
Poisons transmitted to the tower for sir Thomas Overbury	v.	378
Polaud, sir Robert Sherley sent ambassador to it from Persia	iii.	87
—, the menaces of Osman, the grand Turk, against it	v.	187
—, how concerned to counteract the designs of France	viii.	115, &c.
—, account of restraints upon its king	ix.	487
Pole, cardinal, Dr. Burnett's letter on his powers	—	148, &c.
Poles, the manner of defending themselves against the Turks	v.	188
—, in what manner peace was effected with the Turks	—	190
—, their dismission and reward of the Cossacks	—	191
Police officers shoot Catesby and Percy, on resisting them	viii.	158
Policy, Machiavel's account of the essential parts of it	i.	80
— of sacrificing the earl of Strafford, archbishop Laud, &c.	iv.	484
— of the Hollanders, its selfishness stated	ix.	4
— of Mary of Modena, queen, to produce a pretender	—	281
— cardinal Richieu to divide the English	x.	539
Politeness of sir Cyril Wich, an account of	xi.	355
Politica, on an act for enforcing marriage	xii.	193
Politicks of France directed to the establishment of popery	i.	43
— designed to exhaust the English finances	viii.	108
—, where a final judgment in them is to be placed	ix.	308
Poll-money, the subsidy of voted in parliament at Northampton	iv.	324
—, signior, his account of projects, &c.	viii.	10
— tax of Augustus, a reference to it	ix.	483
—, in what manner necessary to be imposed	—	515
Polonus vindicated respecting the story of pope Joan	iv.	33, &c.
— never says, that Iltus's theatre was the temple of the sun	—	35, &c.
Poloroon, was originally an English settlement	vii.	531
—, account of the Dutch treachery there	—	538
Polygamy, advice to a friend on it	x.	240
Pomegranates, their great plenty in St. Helena island	xi.	511
Pomærium, or explanade of Mons	—	51
Pompey and Cesar, their wars less hurtful than ours	iv.	47

INDEX.

KCV

	Vol.	Page
Fonds, very numerous throughout Bohemia	xi.	298
Pontacus, his testimony that priests were commanded to be shaven	iv.	31
Ponthieu, Ingelram, earl of, opposes William, and is slain	iii.	125
Pontio, John, his sufferings in the inquisition	viii.	428
Pool, cardinal, observations on his secret powers	ix.	142
—, his letter to the pope	—	154
— Philip II.	—	157
Poor, their education, how far to be attended to	vi.	144
—, on the utility of finding them employment	viii.	60
— Robin's character of a pawn-broker	—	179
—, collections for them, in what respects deemed improper	ix.	497
—, the method of employing them, and advancing trade	xii.	250
Pope, in what manner he is brought to denounce his curse	ii.	206
—, in what way the king of fishes was produced to him	—	323
—, his letter to prince Charles accounted for	viii.	182, &c.
—'s legate, his three-fold cypher for secret intelligence	—	206
—'s nuncio, his reply to Gondamere the ambassador	—	237
— authority in England totally discarded	—	304
—, observation that every man has one in his belly	—	331
—, his dreadful curse, or form of Romish excommunication	—	553
— of Rome's letter to the prince of Orange	ix.	244
Popedom, in what manner intruded upon	iv.	134
Popery, account of Campanella's plot to introduce it	i.	34
—, the beggars' petition to Henry VIII. against it	—	217
—, the various orders of Dominicans, &c. agree in the main points of	ii.	279
—, aphorisms for its restoration by Thomas Scott	iii.	486
—, secret articles agreed on and approved by the cardinals on it	—	46.
—, or protestantism, the present state of the English religion	v.	298
—, its natural hostility to great designs	vii.	358
—, a letter to Mr. Serjant against establishing it	—	501
—, the tricks used to pervert men to it	viii.	95
—, how its advocates manœuvre to maintain it	—	198, &c.
—, aversion of the king and archbishop to it	—	199
—, the quaker's remonstrance on its danger	ix.	374
Popes, how the Christian religion has been corrupted by them	i.	84
—, an account of their usurpations and pride	ii.	88
—, on their being examined by a stool of easement	iv.	17
—, no particular notice taken of them by Rabanus Maurus	—	47
—, on the different accounts of different writers about them	—	62
—, the numbers of them in succession differently stated	—	64
—, on Leo and Benedict's continuance as such	—	67
—, their pedigrees very frequently omitted, or even unknown	—	69
—, judgments upon the evil lives of some of them	—	71
—, contradictory accounts in their histories	—	81
—, no memorials remaining of many of their acts	—	89, &c.
—, however wicked, often commended by their successors	—	99, &c.
Popish chronologists, not always to be implicitly relied on	—	66
—, succession, discussion, of the dangers attending it	viii.	210
—, religion, &c. Gondamere's plots concerning it	—	251
—, cruelties towards protestants stated	—	414
—, successor, the dangers of one exemplified	—	482
—, king of Sweden, on his being deposed	ix.	225
Population, on promoting an increase of it with the means	viii.	23
Porcelain, Meissen near Dresden, a noted place for it	xi.	325
Portlock, a rumour of the French landing there	ix.	218
Port of Mahon, in the island of Minorca, its value	xii.	27
—, on making Tangier a free one	viii.	404
—, account of Laris as a town in Italy	xii.	124
—, of Porto Venero in Italy, an account of it	—	16.
Porter of the king's bed-chamber, declared to be a traitor	viii.	204
—, lord chancellor of Ireland, letters to the bishop of Rochester	x.	64, &c.
Portland, account of Martin's conduct there	xi.	16
Ports, sir Walter Raleigh's discourse on those of England	x.	434
—, sir Dudley Diggs, his observations upon them	—	446
—, fishing ones, on erecting work-houses at them	xii.	253
Portsmouth, the duchess of, her treason	viii.	387
—, the duke of Buckingham murdered there	x.	324
—, fidelity of Colonel Goring, the governor of	xii.	84
Portugal, the true history of Don Sebastian, the king of	ii.	355
—, the account of the earl of Essex's journey to relieve it	iii.	506
—, the conduct of Phillip II. of Spain there stated	—	539
—, on Don Sebastian and Don Antonio's treatment	—	76.
—, an account of its taxes stated	ix.	485
—, Sebastian deemed a counterfeit king of	xi.	371
Portuguese, their two noble qualities stated	ii.	387
Possevin's testimony respecting Florimondus Ramondus	iv.	12
—, expedient to destroy the memory of pope Joan	—	43
Post-office, account of proceedings in it	x.	364
—, bay's news from the continent of Europe	xi.	494

	Vol.	Page
Peas of Italy, account of their extent	xi.	272
Postscript in verse, to the life of archbishop Laud	iv.	454
Postulata on the designs of the creation	v.	501
Potsdam, an account of it by English travellers	xi.	331
Poverty, some account of the causes of it	viii.	60
Powder, the procurement of it for the plot	—	153
Powdering tub, on Parker's narrow escape from it	iv.	428
Power of a king, in what respects it is restrained	i.	29
—, and his person, the difference between them	v.	415
— and authority, the original of them considered	vi.	118
—, the growing one of France considered	ix.	4
—, the executive cannot dispense with the laws	—	210
— of governors, their extent enquired into	—	303
— of a prince, in a mixed monarchy	—	346
—, bishop Bilson's observations on resistance of it	—	361
—, importance of England to preserve the balance of	xi.	188
—, the balance of, D'Avenant's observations upon	xii.	55
Poszuolo, in Italy, a description of	xii.	117
Præmunire, on cardinal Wolsey's being indicted for	iv.	541
—, punishment, &c. in cases of	v.	19
—, the lord chancellor's danger of incurring it	—	387
—, a serious species of offence stated	vi.	114, &c.
Pragmatick sanction, a discussion of it	x.	499
Prague, an account of the bloody execution there	iii.	409
—, an extraordinary account of jesuits habited as devils	v.	110
—, a particular description of it	xi.	295
—, account of the noble palaces in it	—	306
—, was anciently noted for its literature	—	307
Praier and complaynte of the Plowman upto Christ	i.	153
Prasutagus, king of the Icenians, makes the Roman emperor heir	ii.	440
Prating alley, near St. Paul's, books to be sold there	xii.	257
Pratolino, in Italy, a description of it	—	86
Prayer of the lieutenant of the tower before his execution	iii.	321
— father Peters to the Virgin Mary	vii.	135
— of a fanatick, a description of	viii.	81
—, an additional one proposed to the litany	—	378
Prayers used in the queen's chapel for defence of the realm	ii.	107
Preachers assembled relative to the Jews	vi.	450
Preaching of Johan Baptyste in the wilderness by Johan Bale	i.	202
—, the scripture rule for it	vi.	199
—, insufficient to regulate the manners	x.	464
Precepts to be observed relative to wiving and marriage	iii.	283
Predecessors of popes, not always distinctly described	iv.	53
Predestination, whether maintained by the prince of Orange	x.	549
Preface to Johan Bale's vocaryon to the bishoprick of Ossorie	i.	328
—'s to books, observations upon them	xi.	369
Prejudices, the notion of them rectified	—	358
Prerates, on their intermeddling without necessity	vi.	129
Prerogative of parliaments in England, by sir Walter Raleigh	iv.	304
— the king, on regulating it in parliament	v.	9
—, on the subjects of war, peace, money, &c.	—	41
— court, sir Nathaniel Brent the judge of it	vi.	135
Presbyter, sir John, the arms of	—	524
Presbyterians, victory of the independents over them	—	80
—, the character of them described	—	184
—, how Wilkes and Dutton were treated by them	—	189
Presbyters, a consistory of	—	85
—, time-serving ones stated	—	138
— and bishops, how confounded	viii.	328
Prescription, a short and legal one for the kingdom, &c.	vii.	89
— or usage, constituting monarchy	ix.	335
Present state of England, or paradox explained	iii.	552
— Europe examined	ix.	233
Press oppressed, or the London printer's lamentation	vii.	104
—, on the liberty of it	viii.	290, &c.
—, the tears of	—	527
— gang, account of the conduct of one	xi.	10
Pressing non-juring parsons, observations on	—	11
Preston, lord, causes the abbe Primi's book to be suppressed	ix.	3
Prestoun, colonel, his valour at Tournay stated	xi.	199
Pre-tender, obstacles to the credit of the birth of a prince	i.	11
Pretghausen, friar Francis, a commendation of his honesty	viii.	453, &c.
Pride, a dissertation upon it	ii.	524
— of the prelacy stated in a parallel between Laud and Wolsey	iv.	463
— colonel, his proposals to the council for the army	vi.	272
—, intended for one of Cromwell's lords	—	496
—, or lord, his last speech	viii.	380
—, his condemnation of Charles I.	—	383
—, account of his three brew-houses	—	324

	Vol.	Page.
Pride, colonel, the situation of his three brewhouses	viii.	384
—, his luminous account of Florida wine	—	385
—, wholly unknown to the people of Madagascar	xi.	536
Priest, a curious discourse of one, on the funeral of Hugh Peters	vii.	75
—, sir Toby Matthew, a jesuit, his character, &c.	viii.	200, &c.
—, William Rushton, an account of his proceedings	—	440, &c.
—, Richard Simon, how he manages Lambert Simnel	xi.	375
—, Sitthorp, a time-serving one, an account of	xii.	65
—, Dr. Manwaring, ditto	—	66
Priest, and bishops of Ireland, bishop Bale's account of them	i.	340
—, the Italian, and all of the western church were shaven	iv.	31
—, golden ones formerly were content with wooden chalices	—	44
—, are admitted into England, and lord Northampton is suspected	v.	385
Primi, M. l'Abbe, is pensioned by the French ambassador	ix.	3
—, confined in the Bastille for ten days	—	45.
Prince, the purposes for which a revenue is granted to one	i.	21
—, Togodumnus, a British one, and a son of Cunobelin, slain	ii.	432
—, Henry, late prince of Wales, a discourse respecting him	iii.	519
—, Rupert, &c. their portrait by the Oxford incendiary	v.	345
—, Henry of England is disgusted at Viscount Rochester	—	364
—, Rupert, one of the nest of perfidious vipers	—	437
—, of Orange is made stadtholder	vii.	517
—, Holland, Francis the duke of Anjou is made	—	523
—, the Black, conquers the French king	viii.	163
—, Dr. William Burley tutor to him	—	164
—, his death at Canterbury	—	177
—, of Orange receives a letter from the pope of Rome	ix.	244
—, the power of one in a mixed monarchy	—	340
—, of Wales, the pretended one, his education	x.	282
—, account of his valour at Cressy	—	298
—, Orange, his character	—	543
—, his repulse of the French	—	548
—, delighted much in hunting	—	549
—, his glory in the battle of Mons	—	550
—, Wales, the pretended one, a hue and cry	xi.	60
Princes, enquiry who are to be judges of their actions	i.	9
—, how far they are able to change a national religion	—	30
—, their disability to protect protestant subjects	—	39
—, lawfulness of murdering heretic ones, by whom maintained	iii.	9
—, on the propriety of their having restraints	v.	295
—, on a succession of martial ones	viii.	340
Princess of Orange, the prudence of her conduct	x.	546
Principles of the jesuits stated	ix.	276
Printer, the London one's lamentation, or press oppressed	vii.	104
—, John Gottenburg the first one at Mentz	—	45.
—, William Caxton the first one in England	—	105
—, account of Mr. Christopher Barker, and others	—	107, &c.
—, William Caxton, followed printing in Westminster Abbey	x.	503
—, Fust or Faust, the first of Tully's offices	—	507
Printing and writing, an essay upon them	—	538
—, observations upon it by Burges	—	504
—, press, the first in England was Simon Islip's	—	505
—, whether Mentz was the first place of it	—	506
—, whether Haerlem was its first place	—	507
—, of China, a description of it	—	508
Priorities, abbeys, and nunneries, the visitation of them	viii.	305
Prison, a vulgar name for a powdering-tubb	iv.	428
—, sir Walter Raleigh and others delivered from	vi.	392
Prisoners, Stern's address to them	ix.	35
Privileges of the fishermen of Yarmouth in Norfolk stated	ii.	299
—, proceedings, &c. of the commons house of parliament	iv.	559
—, proposed to volunteer seamen	ix.	468
Privy purses and mace of the chancellor stolen	viii.	102
Prises, commissioners of, their delay to account	xi.	145
Probus, the emperor, vanquished the Vandals and Burgundians	ii.	467
Proceedings, a vindication of the late ones in England	i.	2
Process of archbishop Arundel against sir John Oldcastle	—	253
Procession of the king of Spain to St. Mary's church	ii.	552
—, on Corpus Christi day	—	555
—, popes of Rome to the Lateran church	iv.	14
—, on the delivery of pope Joan during such a one	—	74, &c.
—, of cardinal Wolsey to Westminster Hall	—	500
—, Charles I. from the north to Guildhall	v.	94
—, account of Naylor's at Bedminster near Bristol	vi.	425
Proclamation of an upstart atheist	xi.	364
Proctors, lieut. Stern's address to them	ix.	34
Project of gymnasium mechanicum stated	vi.	146
—, ergastulum literarium described	—	152
Promoters of accusations, a description of them	viii.	419

	Vol.	Page
Prophaneness, the growth of it considered	xi.	168
—, a considerable cause of king Charles's murder	xii.	69
Prophecies relative to don Sebastian king of Portugal	ii.	382
Prophecy respecting the cow and the bull	iv.	545
— of archbishop Usher stated	ix.	108
Propheying, liberty of, Dr. Taylor's account of	viii.	298
Proposal of Manasses Ben Israel concerning the Jews	vi.	452
— subduing Canada	xi.	8
— an endowment of alms-houses for batchelors	xii.	301
Proposals to the committee for regulating law	vi.	469
— for making the land-tax equal	ix.	507
Protection, the sanctuary was made to Josb	vi.	244
Protector, the speech of Richard Cromwell to parliament	i.	25, &c.
— of the Netherlands, the prince of Orange declares himself	v.	179
—, copy of Cromwell's declaration against the family of the Stuarts	vi.	428
—, Cromwell, his mal-administration, queries upon it	—	568
—, his false assertions concerning tythes	—	507
—, his arguments against single government	—	325
—, how he abused the confidence of parliament	vii.	51
—, how Cromwell made himself so over England	—	228
Protectorate, account of its form of government	—	50
Protestant interest, and the present case of England stated	i.	31
— and religion, the means for ruining	—	43
—, archbishop Laud's declaration of being one	v.	481
—, shepherd near Iseburgh knocks down a black devil	viii.	37
— religion, a part of the English government	ix.	371
— Mr. Fergus Graham dismissed at St. Germain's for being one	x.	380
Protestantism, Charles II.'s warm professions for it	ix.	3
Protestants doom in popish times, a disquisition upon it	i.	36
—, the strong combinations of the papists against them	—	112
—, the doctrine of their church how it differs from papists	iv.	156
—, bishop Davenant, a worthy defender of them	vi.	304, &c.
—, archbishop Usher and bishop Morton, true friends of	—	305, &c.
—, a general act for naturalizing foreign ones	viii.	17, &c.
— of Hungary, the emperor's concessions to them	—	511
—, their ill treatment at St. Germain's by James II.	x.	374
—, foreign, their neglect and ruin since queen Elizabeth	—	451
—, how the treaty of Ryswick was injurious to them	—	452
—, French ones, their encouragement in England	xii.	59
Protestation, the king's commissioners, at Uxbridge treaty	v.	535
Proverbs, Italian ones, about the Romish clergy	x.	456
—, French ones, ditto	—	46
Providence displayed in the preservation of Alexander Selkirk	xi.	40
Providential instance of beasts suspending their nature	iii.	68, &c.
Provisions, the price of them at various periods during Parr's life	iv.	278
—, on king Charles halting at Exeter for them	vi.	32
—, consumption of them hindered by stage-coaches	viii.	36
—, naval, remarks on their plenty and goodness	xi.	14
Provost of Glasgow and other places, deemed unfit for trust	x.	234
Provostship, or government of the first settlers of Yarmouth	ii.	297
Pruck, or Prugg, account given of it by English travellers	xi.	247
Prussia, character of the king of	—	334
Prynne's Histrio-mastix against stage-plays	xii.	57
—, Burton, and Bastwick, their malice to government	—	67
—, prosecution of for his Histrio-mastix	—	78
—, Burton, and Bastwicke, their trial in the star-chamber	iv.	220
—, his speech to the populace from the pillory	—	230
—, his perversion of the statute respecting treason	v.	415
—, some observations on his speeches	vi.	66
—, an account of his confessions	—	178
—, William, his prescription to recover the kingdom, &c.	vii.	89
Psalms, quotations from, expressed by archbishop Laud	iv.	454
Public address, the propriety of an office of farther discussed	vi.	153
Puffendorf's Monzambano, a reference to	ix.	4
Palkau, a description of	xi.	284
Pulpit, an account of its neglect	x.	273
Punishment of an English mariner at the Groyue	ii.	543
—, not inflicted for revenge	xii.	74
Purgatory, the absurdity of it stated by Machiavel	i.	87
—, how to be compared with burnt tobacco-pipes	x.	303
Puritan, account of Cromwell's turning to be one	vii.	275
Puritans, charged by the papists with the gunpowder plot	vi.	130
—, were odious to king James I.	viii.	240
—, gunpowder plot attempted to be fixed on them	—	46
—, the remarks of a jesuit respecting them	ix.	392
—, account of their settlement in Virginia	—	431
Purses, the privy and chancellor's mace stolen	viii.	102
Putney, a bridge of boats made there	vi.	18
Ye-corner, in London, one of Pride's brewhouses at	viii.	389

INDEX.

XCik

Pyramus , a palace in the moon, described by Gonsales	Vol. Page.
Pyra , John, esq. his speech to the lord mayor of London, &c.	xi. 536
alderman Garroway's answer to him	v. 219
delivers the commons answer to gentlemen's petition	— 234
Pyrenean treaty of peace	— 271
Pyrrhus receives a slave from Fabritius, intending to poison him	x. 486
	iii. 534

Quabseg , the English town there destroyed	viii. 74
Quacks , the various requisites for them	— 135
academy, an account of it	viii. 135
loquacity, a necessary qualification for one	— 137
Quadi , some account of stated	xi. 285
Quaker , James Naylor, the grand impostor, account of	vi. 424
Disborough, some account of his strange actions	— 437
's letter to the pope	viii. 436
remonstrance on the danger of popery	ix. 378
's letter to his friend in London to sue out a writ	xii. 49
Quakers , on the treatment of them in New England	vi. 435
Qualifications of a good member of parliament	xii. 239
Qualities of coffee, by Dr. Willis	— 81
Quarrels about religion, their injurious effects	vii. 43
Quarters of the sick, the regularity of their payment	xi. 25
Queen Elizabeth , how she has given assistance to the protestants	i. 36
of king Edward II. how she deceived her spies	— 119
Jane, the instrument of her proclamation	— 315
her conversation with Dr. Peckenham before her death	— 369
Elizabeth, her danger from the intrigues in Scotland	— 382
secures the bishop of Ross for treason	— 405
the treasons of Francis Throckmorton against	— 522
Throckmorton's letter of submission to her	— 532
artifice of Throckmorton to her delivering queen Mary	— 536
association, and act for security of her person	ii. 4
the conduct of the English jesuits concerning her	— 172
the popish designs against England in her reign	— 173
her memorable speech on the Spanish invasion	— 201
on the increase of her customs by herring fishery	— 207
summarie reasons for reforming her base menies	— 477
her answer to the bull of pope Pius	iii. 514
worthy to be written in letters of gold	— 515
account of various persons prepared to murder	— 516
stores provided in the Spanish armada	— 64
more accounts of persons seized to murder	— 518
her	— 545
her generous conduct to Spain	— 546
on Leicester's design to marry her	iv. 474
Catharine , on being cited to appear respecting a divorce	— 583
account of her reception of the cardinals	— 588
Elizabeth , what deemed levying war in her reign	v. 59
makes Leicester master of the horse	— 150
the earl of Sussex lord chamberlain	— 152
Mr. William Cecil secretary of state	— 156
Henrietta writes to the king from Bath	— 557
Newark	— 560
and king of Bohemia give a welcome to the English	vi. 10
Fairfax, her parliament held with lady Cromwell	— 186, &c.
Catharine , account of her retiring to Kymbolton	— 514
Elizabeth resolves to assist the Dutch against Spain	vii. 565, &c.
account of her resistance to the king of Spain	— 565
lord Warmond's earnest supplications to her	— 566
an account of her death	viii. 150
street, in London, a seminary of nuns there	— 205
Elizabeth, the act to preserve her person sacred	— 207, &c.
Mary, the meanness of parliament in her reign	— 475
her change of the bishops	— 343
of Modena, her policy to procure a pretender	ix. 347
her case of succession	— 347
Elizabeth, how she roused the English nation	— 431
a summary of her reign	x. 380, &c.
an account of her court and ministry	xi. 9
address of John Sadler to	— 32

	Vol.	Page
Reign of Richard II. and Henry IV. some account of	x.	303
Henry V. and the battle of Agencourt	—	303
Edward V. and account of his murder	—	309
Richard III. and Henry VII. some account of	—	310
Henry VIII. described	—	314
Edward VI. a statement of	—	317
queen Mary and her popish tyranny	—	318
Elisabeth, a statement of	—	320, &c.
James I. and Charles I. some account of	—	323, &c.
Charles II. stated	—	326
William III. some remarks on it	—	545
Charles I. a comprehensive view of it	xii.	50
Relation of lamentable accidents at Wydecombe in Devonshire	iv.	280
Relicks, an account of some famous ones in churches at Rome	ii.	184, &c.
Relics of Brennus's army, the Gauls were such	vi.	105
Religio Medici, some mention of it	xi.	300
Religion, the protestant, the means of ruining it	i.	43
how the palatinates exercise of was destroyed	—	75
the christian, how it has been corrupted by popes	—	84
the falsity of papists in charging protestants about	—	514
of protestants, a description of it	ii.	94
directions to U-bridge commissioners about	v.	534
what the rebels have done for it	vi.	37
of the Greeks, a description of it	—	227
a conformity in it, may be deemed a Pandora	—	258
of Levellers, a discussion on it	vii.	41
the speech of Machiavel on it	—	418
the Roman Catholic, Clarendon's letters on it	—	430
an account of Muggleton's gradations in it	viii.	84
how it is perverted to patronise conspiracies	—	140
the popish, on Gondamore's plots to promote it	—	231
the encouragement of at Taugler by the earl of Tiviot	—	408
in what manner reformed in Spain	—	413
what share the protestant has in the English government	ix.	221
the numerous sects of in Amsterdam	—	544
the national one of Holland that of Calvinism	—	545
observations on the present state of it	xi.	103
natural and revealed, how they explain each other	—	494
Religious men, propriety of such being commanders at sea	—	13
Relinguen, lieut. gen. his gallantry at the battle of Lutzen	iv.	190
Remark on Cambden's annals by the duke of Pastrane	viii.	239
Remarks on the letters of the king's cabinet	v.	548
words Babel and Babylon	vi.	193
about Thomas Moore	—	512
on the conduct of Mr. Harrison, junior	viii.	96
on the French by an English captain	—	141
original of St. Eutropius, Maximus, &c.	—	308
breach of the triple league	—	347
of a jesuit, on the Arminians	ix.	392
on establishing a fund for paying bills	x.	378, &c.
in general, upon the nature of liquors	xii.	37
Remedy for clandestine marriages, remarks on one	ix.	500
Remonstrance to be made on pensioning the Scots	iv.	486
of the Dutch about De Witt, &c.	vii.	504
a quaker on the danger of popery	ix.	378
the bachelors against the ladies	x.	175
Rents of lands, on their reduction	viii.	18
in what manner to be raised	—	37, &c.
Renty, the marquis of, his assault on Tournay	xi.	129
Renunciation of the Spanish succession	x.	495
Renymed, king Edward's laws sanctioned there	vi.	109
Reoland, his account of the conspiracy to betray Holland	ix.	445
speech and confession relative to the conspiracy	—	450
Reply to the bachelors petition	x.	179
ladies petition	—	26
Reports and documents, on expediency of filing them	xi.	33
Republican unmasked, or, History of the Calves Head Club	xii.	216
Republics, in what manner they incline to ruin	viii.	339
Request to Virtue, an invocation for sir Robert Sherley	iii.	94
the courts of in Westminster, &c.	viii.	17
remarks on their utility	—	48, &c.
Requisites of a tyrant, how far deficient in Cromwell	ix.	496
Resderda, some account of by English travellers	xi.	225
Reservations, the mental ones of papists explained	viii.	444
Resistance, the several degrees of it stated	i.	7
whether and in what cases not rebellion	—	81, &c.
of the citizens of Leyden to the Spanish oppressions	v.	180
whether lawful in an absolute monarchy	ix.	326

	Vol.	Page
Rates, the original of the name	vii.	164
Ratenau, some account of it by English travellers	—	341
Ravenna, the bishop of, his opinion of pope Joan unknown	iv.	53
Rauilliaek, Francis, account of his terrible death	iii.	109
—, the murderer of Henry of France	—	543
—, a tool of the papists	viii.	442
Rawleigh, sir Walter, introduces tobacco into England	xii.	29
Ray, Mr. on the use of fir-tops in the scurvy	—	35
Rayon, mons. his correspondence with Martinet	ix.	446
Read, captain, a jesuit, privy to the plot against the archbishop	viii.	202
Reading, the birth-place of Laud, archbishop of Canterbury	iv.	451, &c.
—, is besieged by the earl of Essex	vi.	20
—, colonel Ashton's parly to surrender it	—	21
—, when and in what respects useful	—	144
Reasons for reforming the base coin of queen Elisabeth	ii.	477
—, commencing war against the states-general	ix.	1
—, a bill to expedite proceedings in law	xi.	49
—, of Dr. Emma's not rising from the grave	—	64
—, submitted to the electors of parliament-men	xii.	239
—, assigned for annual parliaments	—	46.
Rebellion, a description of it by Machiavel	i.	81
—, bishop of Ross attempts to raise against the queen	—	405
—, in Angra, in Tercera island	ii.	359
—, a discussion when levying of war is such	v.	407, &c.
—, on those who introduce religion as a pretext for	—	410
—, various ancient and modern instances of it	—	412
—, the flood of began in the county of York	vi.	111
—, the English one, a description of in verse	vii.	185
—, the Hogan Mogans inciters of it	—	537
—, attempted by lord Lovell and some others	xi.	373
Rebellions in the reign of Henry II. stated	v.	232, &c.
—, the various sorts of them discussed	—	404
—, constantly design a revolution in government	—	419
Rebels, names of those condemned in the bloody parliament	—	327
—, a catechism for, or a large discussion on rebellion	—	403
—, the punishment of them by the laws of England	—	421
—, an account of the violence of those of Munster	—	469
—, of Ireland, an account of their proceedings	—	496
—, new british general, some account of him	—	518
—, raise the siege of Oxford, where they had some loss	—	526
—, an account of their having quitted Tadcaster	—	536
—, what services they have done for English subjects	vi.	41
—, Amsterdam the emporium for English ones	vii.	537
—, account of their debarking near Lancaster	xi.	383
—, are headed by the earl of Lincoln	—	386
—, completely defeated near Nottingham	—	388
—, the Cornish ones, account of their arrival at Taunton	—	422
—, lord Dawbney marches against	—	424
—, are opposed by the Kentish men	—	425
Recorder of London, Jefferies dismissed from the office of	ix.	308
Recreation, Baxter's observations on the subject of	viii.	363
Recusants, remarks on repealing statutes against them	v.	549
Red-herring, the sign of, in title to Nashe's Lenten stuff	ii.	295
—, the sale of described in the market at Rome	—	323
—, wings, some account of them as birds of passage	v.	504
—, observations that their flights are very short	—	505
Ree, the isle of, sir John Burrows slain there	iii.	550
Reeve, John, account of him as an infamous blasphemer	viii.	84
Reform of religion, and state of it in Elisabeth's time	v.	409
Reformation of the church of England how it began	ii.	88
—, how little the rebels have done for it	vi.	41
—, of schools and universities	x.	561
Reformists of France, their perfidious conduct	—	321
Refractory subjects, on an act of oblivion for	v.	297
Regicide, on the charge of against dissenting ministers	vi.	129, &c.
Regicides, account of lords who were such	—	138
Registering deeds in counties, some account of	vii.	428
—, its mischiefs stated	—	493
Registers, various ones for the poor, commerce, &c.	vi.	164, &c.
Registry of sales of lands, &c. in each county	viii.	20
Regulation of gaols and gaolers proposed	x.	238, &c.
—, of number of, solicitors' clerks	xi.	58
Regulations of the university of Cambridge, ordinance for	v.	322
—, of proceedings in law, necessity of	xi.	51
Regulators of law, Chidley's letter to them	vi.	226
Reign of Elisabeth, how enhanced by Dudley and Empson	v.	35
—, the happy one of Edward the Confessor	ix.	437

	Vol.	Page
Rochellers, supply the English with provisions	iii.	551
Rochester, the bishop of, his letter to the ecclesiastical court	i.	313
, sir Robert Carr created viscount	v.	357
, viscount, his intrigues with the earl of Northumberland	—	359
, receives a letter from countess of Essex	—	362
, prince Henry's dislike of him	—	364
, his support of the clothworkers	—	365
, meets with opposition from Overbury	—	368
, persuades Overbury to refuse embassy	—	372
, proposed marriage with the countess	—	375
, intended marriage with the countess of publicly de-	—	379
clared	—	379
, on being laid open	vi.	195
, on Charles II.'s arrival there from Calais	vii.	112
, letters to on Young and Blackhead's plot	x.	64
Rockwood, Ambrose, an accomplice in the gunpowder plot	viii.	152
, taken prisoner for it	—	158, &c.
Rod for Lawyers, by Cole	vii.	25
Roe, sir Thomas, his speech on the decay of coin and trade	ix.	456
Roger the fidler, an account of his life	ix.	54
Rolewink, Wernerus, on pope Joan's being with child, &c.	ix.	26, &c.
Roll, Henry, put to death at Utrecht for anabaptism	v.	460
Roman Catholics, on militia being entrusted to them	i.	30
, on Curtius his noble achievement as one	ii.	102
, college for the English, on candles being hallowed for	—	175
, general Agricola, account of his speech	—	414
, Britain, Camden's account of it mostly approved	—	415
, ships, on their being destroyed on the British coast	—	423
, soldiers, on their refusal to come to Britain	—	431
, army, on its degenerating in Britain	—	446
, general, Julius Agricola, his speech to his soldiers	—	454
, emperor, Adrian, subdues the Caledonians	—	459
, Severus, his visit to Britain	—	464
, state, account of its weakness by revolts	—	473
, Catholics declare murder of heretick princes lawful	iii.	9
, gentleman, how outwitted by a crafty Sicilian	—	239
, priests, Durandus on their being shaved	iv.	31
, invasion, Cassibeline's answer to Cæsar upon it	xii.	169
Romans, the speeches of Galgacus against them	—	422, &c.
, and Britons, various battles between them	—	422, &c.
, are resisted by the Silures	—	437
, the particular speech of Galgacus against	—	452
, are greatly harassed by the Caledonians	—	464
, severity of the law against change of government	iv.	487
, were perfect masters of civil government	ix.	483
, the first in Britain, an account of	xi.	449
Romayne Life of the English students in the college	ii.	167
Rome, the Lives of Englishmen in the English college there	—	167
, Munday's account of Englishmen's lives at	—	168
, and its religion, an account of it by Dr. Lewes	—	176
, orders for the English seminary there	—	179
, account of relics in the churches of the city	—	184, &c.
, Welchmen and Englishmen differ in the college there	—	190
, an account of the pilgrimages there	—	194
, on Campion and Sherwin being executed in	—	200
, Englishmen banished from the college there	—	203
, account of the feast of the Carnè Vale at	—	205
, the martyrdom of Richard Atkins there	—	207
, John Yonge's account of the intrigues in it	—	208
, Bellarmine's observation on judging the popes of	iii.	503
, how far Platina was disposed to soften the popes of	iv.	14
, on Cyriacus being pope of, though unnoticed by many	—	62
, Hell, and the King of court, a letter from the Devil	—	387
, the pope's approbation of a grand feast	—	396
, for Canterbury, or the life of archbishop Laud	—	450
, the pope of, his letter to the prince of Orange	ix.	244
, the church of, some account of its character	x.	446
, Appia, a way so called without the city	xiii.	103
, account of Holy Cross and other churches there	—	105
, Peter in Vinculo church there	—	107
, the temples of the planets in it	—	113
, the palace and garden of Tivoli near it	—	115
Romish church, its laws and decrees against hereticks	i.	36
, state apologetics to re-edify it	iii.	486
, religion most odious to the Jews	vi.	233
, clergy, Italian provects about them	x.	456
, French adages concerning them	—	456
Ronquillo, don Pedro, Spanish ambassador, his memorial	viii.	530
, he, admiral, sails to Holland with king William	ix.	532

INDEX.

CV

	<i>Fol.</i>	<i>Page.</i>
Rookwood, Ambrose, one of the principals in the gunpowder plot	iii.	23
—, his critical situation before he was taken	—	29
—, his confession at the time of execution	—	48
Ross, the bishop of, is seized and sent to the tower of London	i.	405
— on the duke of Norfolk	ix.	133
Rota, the censure of on Milton's book	vii.	115
Rothuen or Ruthven, second brother to the earl of Gowrie	ii.	333
Rothwen, general, made governor of Edinburgh castle	iv.	439
Rotman, Bernard, effects of his preaching	v.	256, &c.
—, in what manner slain at Munster	—	475
Rosen, the amount of the Des Aides there	x.	212
Rouse, Mr. some account of him as an intended lord	vi.	492
Rowall, the laird of, his house converted into a garison	x.	235
Royal Gamesters, or cards new shuffled	xi.	46
Rudland, a battle fought with the Welch, near it	v.	232
Rudolph I. prince elector palatine of the Rhine, some account of	iv.	159
— IL. ditto	—	169
—, his short reign	—	169
—, succeeded by his brother	—	169
Rudyard, sir Benjamin, his accommodating speech	v.	216
Rufus, William, succeeds his father in the government of England	iii.	164
—, an account of his dream	xi.	484
Ruin of Charles I. occasioned by the defection of the Scots	vi.	516
— and decay of trade, a letter on it	x.	361
— of foreign protestants by the neglect of them since Elisabeth	—	451
Rule of preaching, as laid down in scripture	vi.	199
— of English laws, in what manner faulty	—	219
Rules of behaviour in life by sir Henry Sidney	i.	389
— about the shire grounds in Ireland	v.	71
— of government, what they were originally	vi.	214
Rum, account of the manner in which it is produced	ix.	418
Rumford, petitions from it to the parliament	vi.	187
Rummin, Elynour, the famous ale-wife of England	iii.	476
Rumney, observations on the decay of its port	x.	435
Rump parliament, qualifications to be a member of it	vii.	124
—, the oath to be taken by its members	—	130
—, turned out by major-general Harrison	—	281
Rupert I. and II. electors palatine, some account of them	iv.	160
— III. ditto	—	161
—, prince, stiled a bellows-mender	v.	343
—, one of the nest of perfidious vipers	—	437
—, retires towards Maienhead	vi.	19
—, attacks the rear of Essex's march	—	27
—, meets with a check from colonel Hollis	—	46
Rupertus, English bishop, or Grosthead, a great scholar, &c.	iv.	57, &c.
Rushton, William, a jesuit priest, some account of him	viii.	440, &c.
—, his conduct on sir Edmundbury Godfrey's murder	—	450
Rushworth procures and transmits the Irish papers	v.	563
—, his collections on the designs of the jesuits	xii.	61, 64
Russel, sir Francis, one of Cromwell's intended lords	vi.	502
— in what manner he was wheedled to a scaffold	ix.	319
Russell, admiral, his letter to the earl of Nottingham	xii.	42
Ruzius, his appearance before the inquisitors	viii.	433
Rye, one of the ancient towns of the Cinque ports	ii.	308
—, on the decay of its port	x.	435
Rynd, William, his first examination on Gowrie conspiracy	ii.	347
— second ditto	—	349
Ryswick, the treaty of, how injurious to the protestant interest	x.	452
—, transacted by lord Portland	—	554
—, in 1697, an account of	xi.	112

S.

Saa, Emanuel de, his aphorisms stated	x.	447
Sabellicus, his testimony about the pope's marble chair	iv.	18
—, on introducing the story of pope Joan	—	26
Saddle-horses, a decrease of their number	viii.	33
Sadler, John, his address to the queen	xi.	32
Sage dried, its value in China	xii.	23
—, Thevenot's observations on its virtues	—	26
Sailer, an English one at the Groyne, strikes a churchman	ii.	543
—, the sufferings of a Dutch one stated	xi.	197
Sailors, English ones, on their bad treatment	x.	368

	Vol.	Page
Sails of ships, the invention of by Dædalus	vii.	164
St. Germain. See Germain		
* St. John, his argument of law against the earl of Strafford	v.	53
———, one of the creatures of Cromwell	ix.	294
Salamanca doctor of divinity similar to the Scotch	x.	514
Salaries of the council of Cromwell, a statement of	vi.	460
Salazar, Christófero de, his engagement to murder queen Elisabeth	iii.	516
Sale of the king's lands determined by an act	v.	559
Sales of lands, &c. on registering in each county	viii.	50
Salgado, James, his account of a bull-baiting	ix.	60
Salick law, some account of it	x.	300
Salisbury, account of sir Walter Raleigh's proceedings there	iii.	384
———, sir Robert Cecil, since earl of, some account of	v.	154
———, arrival of the Cornish rebels there	xi.	445
Saltee, a description of it	viii.	394
———, on the policy of extirpating its piracy	—	403
Salmasius, how he failed in his attack on Milton	l.	7
Salmon, on their periodical seasons within rivers	v.	500
Salt-ash, &c. their submission to the parliament	vi.	31
———, vitriolated, &c. how far to be deemed a cause of tides	viii.	6
Samaritan, the fanatick shewn to be a perfect one	—	88
Sambenito, a garment so called, the description of	—	425
Sammatus Scario, a Candiot, the history of him	xii.	77
———, is betrayed by Zacharias Corio	—	78
Sampson, his case of destroying the Philistines stated	ix.	279
Samuel, the ground for his destroying Agag considered	—	34
Sanctuaries, not allowed to justify murderers	vi.	242
Sanctuary at Bewdley is invested by lord Daubney	xi.	438
Sands, Cerdick, so named from Cerdicus	ii.	296
Sandwich, the earl of, his opinion of Tangier	viii.	405
———, an account of its haven	x.	436
———, Hastings. the captain of killed	xii.	44
Sandys, his commendation of coffee	viii.	77
Saracens, why their soldiers were employed against the pope	ii.	279
Saragosa, effects of an earthquake there	x.	191
Satisfaction and restitution, how they differ from each other	ix.	22
Satyr on drunkenness, by Philip Foulface	ii.	262
——— the earl of Oxford and others	xi.	195
Satyrical discourse, an account of	viii.	135
Savage, the case of his beating a privileged person	v.	83
Saul, on his being appointed and elected king	ix.	229
———, the defence of David against him considered	—	327
Saunders, doctor, on his mission into Ireland from Rome	ii.	172
Savona, the city of briefly described	xii.	126
Saxon, preparation in their times for the honour of knighthood	iii.	166
——— Weimar, the duke of, his enraged and furious conduct	iv.	191, &c.
——— ancestors, sprung from Teutonick blood	vi.	97
——— laws subverted by the Danes	—	216
——— town, Moncaster or Monkchester near Newcastle was such	xi.	446
Saxons, on the assistance they rendered to the Britons	vi.	97
———, in what manner they subverted the British laws	—	216
———, expelled the Britons	ix.	345
———, in religion are all Lutherans	xi.	322
———, how they establish themselves in Britain	—	451
Saxony, Frederick elector of banishes Muncer for his preachings	v.	253
———, John duke of, and his neighbours oppose anabaptists	—	254
———, John Frederick, elector of at the assembly at Coblents	—	466
Scaffold, the words of lady Jane Dudley upon it	i.	373
———, how Russel was wheeled to one	ix.	310
Scandalous ministers, a commission for suppressing them	v.	329
Scantlings of inventions by the marquis of Worcester	vi.	405
Scarborough, a ship laden with arms for king Charles	v.	536
———, the great danger of being captured by parliament	—	537
Schafnaburgensis, Lambertus, nature of his history	iv.	54
Schedel, Hartmannus, makes mention of pope Jean	— 23, &c.	
Scheld river, a description of it	xi.	115
Schemes of the countess of Essex to accomplish a divorce	v.	367
——— Cuneus against the archbishop of Canterbury	viii.	198
Schlick, count, how he intended to deceive Wenceslaus	—	462
Schomberg, duke of, king William's opinion of him stated	x.	556
Schonleben, a learned man of Laubach	xi.	228
School, a female one for papists at Greenwich	viii.	204
Schoolmaster, a book so called by Roger Ascham	ii.	307
Schools of learning, a vindication of them	vi.	298
——— erected near churches by Charles the Great	—	305
——— and universities, on the reformation of them	x.	561
Schottwien, an account of it by English travellers	xi.	249
Schicho, its total destruction by an earthquake	x.	197
Sciences and arts, on teaching them to all ranks	vi.	143

	Vol.	Page.
Schrodas, on the virtues of coffee	xii.	32
—, his answer to Simon Pauli on thee or tea	—	34
—, on juniper berries as a cure for the stone	—	32
Sejordi, its entire demolition by an earthquake	x.	103
Scipio, in what manner he diverted the Romans from accusing him	lii.	9
— conducted war	viii.	344
Sclavonian language, where spoken	xi.	245
Scodia, account of people killed there by an earthquake	x.	105, &c.
Scotch red-shanks, a species of herrings so named	ii.	312
— covenants, the marquis of Huntley's reply to them	iv.	297
— service-book, how connected with archbishop Laud	—	453
— chronicle, a conclusion of it	vii.	445
— and English union, on the danger of it	viii.	244
— bishop, an account of Dr. Gordon	x.	275
— invasion, an account of it	xi.	66
Scotchman's character of James I. lord Burleigh's remarks on	viii.	513
Scotland, letter of its nobility, barons, &c. to pope John	i.	128
—, king James's observation on articles of union with	iii.	11
—, Malcolm, king of, protects many malcontent English	—	147
—, a brief chronicle of its kings for 1900 years	—	405
—, on the English plunders a village there	iv.	436
—, officers of foot regiments there in parliament	vi.	466
—, civil officers there in Cromwell's parliament	—	468
—, the reduction of it by general Monk	vii.	281
—, a description of its modern state	—	435
—, no woods in it	—	436
—, the loughs of it described	—	437
—, a description of its universities	—	438
—, an account of its kirks	—	439
—, curious account of their christenings and burials	—	440
—, the castles and houses of described	—	441
—, an account of their lairds, gibbets, and clans	—	442
—, a curious description of their cookery	—	443
—, their drink, music, and highways described	—	444
—, some account of their money	—	445
—, on the Dutch fomenting disturbances there	—	536
—, on the earl of Argyle's landing there	ix.	140
—, on the absolute power there, a statement of	—	212
—, on affairs of the government there	x.	232
—, on a peace with it	—	321
—, characterised in several curious observations	—	509
—, what is meant by a perk there	—	512
—, on having too many universities in it	—	505
—, lieut. general Langston's regiment ordered to	xi.	71
—, on its destitute condition	—	84
—, queen Anne's letter to the council there	—	84, &c.
—, Perkin Warbeck lands there	—	414
—, observations, or a short description of it	—	441
Scots, on the queen of, and credit of her detection	i.	388
—, the bishop of Ross president to the queen of	—	406
—, that archbishop Laud had no great affection for	iv.	453
—, on giving money to them for services	—	465
—, their overthrow at Blamston, or Hoddenfield	—	465
—, the earl of Essex marches against them	vi.	19
—, that they never reached York after Hengist's time	—	98
—, their defection the cause of king Charles's ruin	—	516
—, on their being infested with lice	vii.	435
—, their defeat by the English army	viii.	107
—, the expedition of Maxfield to them	—	199
—, — marquis of Hamilton ditto	—	209
—, Peter Hjalos accomplishes a peace with them	xi.	430, &c.
Scott, Thomas, account of state aphorisms for restoring popery	lii.	436
Scottish queen, her secrets disclosed by Throckmorton	i.	535
— king, the declaration of in 1585	—	537
— Poltick Presbyter slain	vi.	60
Seotus, Marianus, his express mention of pope Joan	iv.	36, &c.
—, how rectified as to the time	—	57
Serape-all, his dialogue with Busy-body	iv.	419
Scripture, that the Copernican hypothesis does not contradict	v.	502
— passages, an illustration of several	—	467
— rule of preaching stated	vi.	109
Scudamore, lord, his conduct in France	xii.	29
Scurry, Mr. Ray on use of fir-tops for it	—	33
Scythick nation only to be compared with the English	vi.	98
Sea-fight of 1588, John Antonio's account of it	ii.	84
—, a turbulent one at Constantinople terrifies the Turks	v.	101
—, on the great expediency of English armaments there	—	208
—, ships at a distance from land, visited by woodcocks	—	504
—, on having religious men as commanders there	xi.	13

	Vol.	Page
Sea, account of the duke or doge of Venice being married to	xi.	74
Sea-fight, All-man-sir's description of one	viii.	10
—, account of in Bantry and Dublin bays	x.	556
Sea-lions, account of them at Juan Fernandez isle	xi.	44, &c.
Seals, on the abundance of at Juan Fernandez	—	46.
Seamen, Stern's address to them	ix.	33
—, on their being anciently enrolled	—	467
—, and mariners, encouragement for	x.	221
—, on the expediency of registering them	—	222
—, in what manner to be paid	—	223
—, their profligacy described	xi.	17
—, on propriety of raising their wages	—	18
—, the evil of paying them when leaving port	—	19
—, on various hardships of their situation	—	20
Sea-ports, sir Walter Raleigh's observations on	x.	434
—, sir Dudley Diggs, his remarks upon	—	440
Seas, the British, England's sovereignty in them	vii.	539
Seasons of the year on the coast of Guiana in South America	iii.	187
—, for resorting to the Bath waters	iv.	114
Seauenoake, sir William, lord mayor of London	xii.	176
Sebastian, king of Portugal, history of his adventures	ii.	355
—, discovers himself to duke of Medina	—	361
—, pretended prophecies about	—	362
—, second part of his adventures	—	367
—, Dr. Texere's letters about him	—	368, &c.
—, Don Raymond Marqueti's letter to	—	36.
—, Don Nouvelet's letter about	—	395
—, declaration on his absence	—	399, &c.
—, his letter from Venice	—	40.
—, released from a dungeon at Venice	—	405
—, Don, his impolicy gave the advantage to Spain	iii.	539
—, king of Portugal, a counterfeit one	xi.	371
Sebastian's in Spain, an account of it	x.	422
Secretary of state's place, its dignity and peril	v.	166
Secrets of state affairs, Tom Tell-Troath's discussion of	iii.	428
Sect of the Family of Love in Surrey, a description of	iv.	446
Securus openly maintains the opinion of Socinus	vi.	365
Sedgwick, how he was favourable to Marshall	—	64
Sedition, solicitor, his agreement with king Lucifer	iv.	395
—, Dutch the fomentors of it in 1641	vii.	537
Sees of English bishops, orders to translate them to cities	iii.	166
Segontiaci submit themselves to Cæsar	ii.	428
Sejanusses, the nature of their language	viii.	369
Seizure of the accomplices in Overbury's death	v.	391
—, king by lieutenant-colonel Joyce discussed	—	537
Selby in Yorkshire, quitted by the parliament forces	—	536
Selden, Mr. his repartee on the assembly of divines	vi.	58
Selkirk, Alexander, his wonderful history	xi.	40, &c.
—, born at Largo, in Fifeshire	—	41
Seminal female humours, effects of being perverted	vii.	378
Seminary of jesuits, Maudlin College turned into one	ix.	310
Semper idem, on fanaticks	vii.	251
Senate, prohibition of Solon against young men in it	viii.	477
Sene, the birth-place of Faustus Socinus	vi.	356
Seneca, the butchering of by Nero the act of a monster	viii.	372
Sense, a qualification for a parliament-man	xii.	244
Sentence and execution of Nicholas Anthonie for religion	iv.	176
—, of Bastwicke, Burton, and Prynne in the star-chamber	—	228
Sentiments of jesuits respecting Arminians	xii.	62
Sepulchra Sancto, Englishmen admitted into it by the Turks	iii.	335
Sepulchre, an account of our Saviour's by English pilgrims	—	46.
Sepulchro Santo, a monastery at Venice so named	xii.	76
Sequanish Gauls are assisted by Ariovistus	vi.	98
Sequestrations of the London clergy, account of	vii.	181
—, some observations upon them	xi.	56
—, of the estates of delinquents	—	158
Seraglio of the Grand Seignior invaded, and the gates broken	v.	192
—, at Adrianople, an account of it	viii.	99
Sergius, pope, never changed his name after election	iv.	68
Serjeant, Mr. a letter to him against establishing popery	vii.	501
Serke island, in the English channel, a description of	xi.	552
Sermon, a funeral one for sir Hugh Peters	vii.	73
—, a learned one of Oliver Cromwell	xi.	544
Serpent, or dragon, account of a monstrous one in Sussex	iii.	227
Serpents, the dream of Faustina, the empress, of two of them	—	229
Servetus, Lupus, wrote no books of history	iv.	53
Servetus, account of his being burned at Geneva	vi.	359
Service of the Penderill family to Charles II.	—	248

	Fol. Page
Service of the English church in Ireland, order for it	viii. 640.
Services, what done by the rebels for English subjects	vi. 41.
Settling-cur, a description of one	viii. 181.
Settlements in Virginia by the English, the Spanish aversion to	241.
Seventeen provinces, sir Thomas Overbury's travels through	iii. 97.
—, a description of their constitution	— 99.
—, on their great quantity of shipping	— 99.
Severus makes peace with the Caledonians	ii. 464.
— addresses his captains before his death	— 465.
Seville, the proceedings of the inquisition there	viii. 422.
—, an account of Triana castle there	— 423.
—, bibles secretly conveyed to it	— 430.
—, account of John Leon, a taylor of	— 431, &c.
—, Arias of the city of	— 432.
—, account of Placidus and Viteli coming to it	ix. 76.
Seyler, baron of Seylerburgh, Wenceslaus is created	viii. 471.
Shaftsbury, a letter to the earl of	— 410.
—, the earl of, an account of his life and death	ix. 48, &c.
Shame, on persons being past it	— 61.
Sharp, sir William, account of his hard usage	x. 280.
Shaving, all western priests practised it by the pope's canons	iv. 31.
Shavings of fir, Dr. Merret's account of in wine	xii. 36.
Sheffield, lady, how Leicester fell in love with her, &c.	iv. 474.
Sheldon is imprisoned at Oxford	vi. 135.
Shelley, sent to demand York house from Cardinal Wolsey	iv. 541.
Shelvey, Gervase, of Sandwich, case his, a misdemeanor	v. 405.
Shepherd's spring song on king James's arrival in England	ii. 595.
—, the faithful one's dying song	iv. 283.
—, a mock devil knocked down by one	viii. 97.
—, an account of his rank in society	ix. 409.
Sherborn, Richard, his house in Lancashire searched	viii. 450.
Sherburn, how unjustly taken from sir Walter Raleigh	vii. 389.
Sheriff, enquiry about the nature of his duty	vi. 119.
Sheriffs of Norwich, on baking herring pies	ii. 332.
—, on the nature, &c. of their office	v. 49.
— of counties, on writs being issued to them	xi. 50, &c.
Sherley, sir Robert, ambassador from Persia to Poland	iii. 87.
—, anagram upon his name	— 90.
—, a congratulatory compendious speech upon	— 92.
—, the Polish court's speech to him	— 93.
—, his apostrophe to his native country	— 94.
—, on being called to manage foraine affairs	— 16.
Sherwin, the Englishman's speech at Rome before execution	ii. 209.
Shipping, on the importance of it to the English trade	iii. 290.
—, how far its operations extend to different countries	— 291.
—, how the Straights trade in it is diminished	— 292.
—, on its unprofitableness to the Mediterranean	— 300.
Shippon-hall in Yorkshire, proceedings of papists there	viii. 444.
Ships and men of the Spanish armada lost on Irish coast	ii. 58.
— of the Romans are lost, and the Britons revolt	— 423.
—, on the judicious use of them by mariners	iii. 299.
—, the form of them improved by Phenicians	vii. 163.
—, French ones stopped by the governor of Wesel	— 508.
—, Dutch treachery in burning ours at Chatham	— 538.
— of the French in Dublin bay, an attack upon	x. 556.
—, on providing them with pious chaplains	xi. 14.
Shire-grounds, the Irish rebellion on account of	v. 71.
Shoals of sea-fish, on their motions at certain seasons	— 500.
Shockel mount, an account of it by English travellers	xi. 247.
Shoemakers, enquiry into the nature of their duty	vi. 123, &c.
Shops, on being kept by young tradesmen	viii. 55.
Shovel, sir Cloudealey, doubts concerning his fate	xi. 7.
Shrewsbury, the earl of, Leicester's unworthy treatment of	iv. 478.
—, countess of, why committed to prison	v. 392.
—, the king there refuses a petition from a traitor	vi. 15.
Shrove Tuesday bawd, a comparison of one	vii. 118.
Shuffling, cutting, and dealing, a political game	— 46.
Sibthorp, account of him as a time-serving priest	xii. 65.
Sicilian, a crafty one, how he outwitted a Roman	iii. 289.
Sicily, account of a terrible earthquake there	x. 187.
Sickness, is counterfeited by sir Walter Raleigh	iii. 380.
Sidley, sir Charles, his speech in parliament	x. 552.
Sidney, sir Philip, letter to him on his conduct in life	i. 389.
—, account of him in the Fragmenta Regalia	v. 135.
—, Henry, is governor of Ireland	vi. 7, &c.
—, Philip, not friendly to bishops	— 8.
Siege, the city of Oxford in danger of one	— 29.
— of Luxemburgh, a diary of it	ix. 86.
— of Haiton castle, surrender, and demolition.	xi. 429.

	Vol.	Page
Sieges, the French dexterity in them	viii.	113
Sinna, Cosmus's pillar for the victory of	xiii.	89
—, High, an account of the city of	—	81
Sigebert, king of the East Angles, assumes a monastic life	iv.	382
—, vindication of his assertion about pope Joan	iv.	36
—, was not at Gemblé when he wrote his history	—	32.
Sigismund, king of Poland, the Turk makes war upon him	—	103
Sigis duty in France, an account of it	x.	216
Silk-worms, on breeding them and planting mulberry trees	xiii.	60
Silver, on its disappearance from circulation	iv.	305
Silvius, Æneas, his spite against the Hussites	—	23
Suaves, their exasperated enmity to the Roman emperor	ii.	337
Simiers, on Leicester's machinations against	iv.	375
Simnel, Lambert, account of his insurrection	xi.	373
—, is proclaimed king of England	—	363
Simple monarchy, a description of it	ix.	238
Sin against the Holy Ghost, Romish observations upon it	xii.	159
Sindercoumbe, Mr. whether he was the author of a plot	ix.	237
—, in what manner he was destroyed	—	236
Sison, Richard, a priest, the manager of Lambert Simnel	xi.	373
Stitus V. pope, his oration on the death of Henry III.	xi.	136
—, observations on the Trinity, &c.	—	136
—, not the person who removed pope Joan's image	iv.	16, 32.
— IV. restored Platina to his liberty	—	39
Shalton, on his being sent to the Tower	ix.	3
Shippers, lieut. Stern's address to them	—	55
Shippon, major, defends the rear of the parliament's army	vi.	34
—, account of his firm courage	—	33
—, instance of his boldness	—	34
—, general, designed for one of Cromwell's lords	—	392
—, his covetance in a horse-litter	viii.	352
Shrimishes at Auburn hills in Wiltshire	vi.	23
Slandering, the use of it to the godly	vii.	78
Slavery of the French people, an account of	viii.	146
Sleep, on being generally necessary to life	vii.	363
—, how narcotics and cold juices promote it	—	364
Sligo, account of news from thence	v.	438
Slingsby, some remarks on the name of	viii.	363
Sluys, on king Charles II.'s retreating from it	vii.	111
—, on the design of surrendering it by treachery	ix.	435
Small-pox, Dr. Pitcairn's method of curing it	xii.	226
Smelling, &c. the keenness of the patriots in the sense of	viii.	311
Smith, account of a curious mathematical one in Yarmouth	xi.	312
—, bishop of Lincoln, and cardinal Wolsey succeeds him	iv.	496
—, Mr. of the Middle Temple on prerogative and liberty	v.	9
Smithfield bargains, a description of	xii.	190
Smoking tobacco, how far good against catarrhs, &c.	—	31
Smuggling, on being encouraged by the post-office	x.	364
Smyrne fleet of the Dutch attacked by sir Thomas Allen	viii.	392
—, is attacked at sea	ix.	3
Sneaker, the character of one	xi.	28
Snipes, very rarely any nests of them found in England	v.	503
Snow, Mrs. Susanna, of Pirford near Chertsey, on family of love	iv.	446
—, how she was deceived by one of them	—	448
Soame river is forded by the English army	viii.	164
Societies, the evils of them stated	—	63
Society, on the rank of husbandmen, &c. in it	ix.	409
—, —, —, shepherds, mariners, &c. in it	—	310
—, —, —, merchants in it	—	46.
Soeini, the danger of the family on account of heresy	vi.	380
Sorinus, Faustus, an account of his life	—	355
—, a letter to him from John Calvin	—	359
—, retires to Lyons, and is employed in Tuscany	—	361
—, his disputations at Zurich in Switzerland	—	362
—, assails Jacobus Paleologus	—	363
—, his marriage with a noble virgin	—	364
—, his ill treatment at Cracovia	—	366
—, is opposed by the synod of Chmelrica	—	368
Solbay, an account of Martin's conduct there	xi.	16
Soldier, the will of one	iv.	437
—, a library, a description of	—	47
—, advice and letters to one	viii.	363, &c.
Soldiers, the duke of Normandy's extraordinary address to	iii.	123
—, a plot to bring Irish ones into England	v.	562
—, Hugh Peters's defence of them	vi.	66
—, on the duke of Luxemburgh's speech to his	viii.	143
—, volunteer ones, a recommendation of	—	354
—, tobacco recommended to them	xii.	31

INDEX.

cri

	Vol.	Page
Soldiery, the common, lieut. Stern's address to them	ix.	37
Solitude, not destitute of some advantages	xi.	41
Solicitors, on necessity of their serving five years	—	58
Solomon, remark on his giving twenty cities to Hiram	iii.	131
Solon, his wise saying to Croesus	vii.	86
Somerset, account of his advancement and favour with king James	v.	353
—, intended grant to him by what means defeated	—	355
—, earl of, is accused by his own conscience	—	383
—, his artifice to procure a pardon of premunire	—	387
—, is counteracted by the lord chancellor	—	388
—, the king more and more dissatisfied with	—	389
—, and countess are apprehended	—	391
—, is found guilty of procuring Overbury's death	—	393
—, countess of, confesses the truth of the accusation	—	392
—, the earl of is married to the countess of Essex	vi.	9
—, and countess are banished from court	—	46.
Song on the northern expedition of the English	iv.	431
Sonnet of king James of Scotland on defeat of Spanish armada	iii.	505
Sovereign, no force to be used against	ix.	355
Sound, consideration of the toll exacted there	—	487
South Wales, account of the great floudes there	iii.	64
Spain, how the Irish are particularly serviceable to	i.	35
—, the duke of Medina's orders for the armada of	ii.	49
—, letter to Don Bernardin Mendoza, ambassador from	—	60
—, assistances rendered to it by England on various occasions	—	103
—, the greatness and power of it considered	281.	8cc.
—, account of the king's procession to St. Mary's church	—	558
—, christening of the infanta of	—	558
—, negotiations for marriage with an infanta of	iii.	307
—, on the dangerous tendency of treaties with	—	509
—, the design of its treaties farther stated	—	511
—, its various acts of treachery to England	—	516
—, Philip of, his last resource to bribe the earl of Essex	—	518
—, the peace of with Netherlanders only a politick delay	—	540
—, Philip of, his various plans to accomplish his designs	—	541
—, the plots of, a reference to divers of them	—	544
—, considerations on a war with, by lord Verulam	iv.	132
—, a deputation from the Netherlanders has no effect	v.	175
—, king of, is resisted by queen Elisabeth	vii.	525
—, makes a league with king James I.	—	527
—, account of its defenceless state	viii.	115
—, Tesmond, or Greenwel, Oswald, sent to Spain	—	150
—, Winter is sent to it by Robert Cotesby	—	46.
—, account of the assembly of its states	—	232
—, a curious application of the word catholic to it	—	235
—, the king of, his letter to the president and council	—	248
—, Philip of, his attempt upon England	—	340
—, on the state of religion there	—	415
—, an account of the taxes of	ix.	465, 8cc.
—, is devised to the house of Bourbon	x.	560
—, the wars of king Charles II. of with the French	xi.	106
—, a general description of it	—	477
—, Gonsales sends thither from Macao in China	—	533
Spalden, sir Peter, on his betraying Berwick to the Scots	i.	98
Spandau, a description of	xi.	340
Spaniards, on their invasion of England in 1588	ii.	148
—, always alert in their treasons against queen Elisabeth	iii.	518
—, on their intrigues in the Netherlands and in Italy	—	540
—, their wish to be absent from the Netherlands	—	542
—, and the duke of Parma compelled to retreat	—	543
—, their wicked plots against the Netherlanders	v.	172
—, their cruel oppression of the Netherlanders	—	177
—, the most strenuous maintainers of the Romish religion	vi.	227
—, an account of their subtle devices	—	386
—, are defeated by sir Francis and Horatio Vere	vii.	524
—, an account of their losses at Ostend	—	56.
—, on their plundering the golden world	ix.	439
—, their practice of drinking chocolate in churches	xii.	26
Spanish orders for their invading fleet under the duke of Medina	ii.	42
—, navy, account of its heavy losses on the Irish coast	—	47, 8cc.
—, the surrender of some ships of	—	48
—, examination of John de Monona upon its losses	—	49
—, Emanuel Fremosa thereupon	—	50
—, a general account of its losses, and where	—	58
—, invasion, on the means of counteracting it	—	65
—, Lyes, a packe of, contrasted with matters of fact	—	117
—, the condemnation of	—	118, 8cc.
—, on the duke of Medina's conduct	—	123, 8cc.
—, amusements for entertainment of the earl of Nottingham	—	546

	Vol.	Page
Spanish sport of Inigo de Toro, or encountering the bulls	ii.	457
mask, an account of a splendid one	—	550
match intended for Charles prince of Wales	iii.	397
duplicity on the subject of the prince's marriage	—	408
leagues, their insidious nature stated	—	515
treaties, the deception of them referred to	—	509
cruelties, a discussion of, especially that against England	517, &c.	—
alarm at the voyage of sir Walter Raleigh	—	536
jubilee, the day of sir Walter Raleigh's death was	—	539
practices, their diabolical nature described	—	545
account of news from England	v.	118
establishment of inquisition in the Netherlands decreed	—	173
money, a proclamation against it	—	385
church, Lazarillo de Tornos, a great light of it	vii.	75
government is renounced by the states of Holland	—	523
Netherlands, remarks on the French possessing	viii.	341, &c.
minister, Alvares de Luna, a tyrannical one	—	373
ports, on having English consuls in them	—	402
inquisition, an account of its origin	—	414
ambassador, Don Pedro Ronquillo's memorial	—	530
bear of 1588, some account of	ix.	552
dress at St. Sebastian's described	x.	467
crown, the duke of Anjou succeeds to it	—	476
succession, a renunciation of it	—	465
galleons, on intercepting them	xi.	8
fleet, Alphonso de Xima is admiral of it	—	517
Sparkawke, John, his case of treason stated	v.	64
Spark of Friendship and Good-will, by Churchyard	ii.	109
Spartago, the fencer, his artifice	xi.	371
Spartans, on their entertaining no confederates	viii.	339
Speaker of the house of commons, 1 Hen. VII.	—	225
Specafurno, on the lightning and thunder there	x.	197
Speech of Richard Cromwell to the two houses of parliament	i.	25
pope Sixtus V. on the death of Henry III.	ii.	130
queen Elisabeth to her parliament on Spanish invasion	—	261
last parliament in 1601	—	352
Galgacus, how introduced into the Roman history of England	—	414
Julius Agricola, on what authority given	—	46
the noble one of Caractacus to the Roman emperor	—	436
Voadicea to her surrounding Britons	—	441
Galgacus particularly stated	—	452
of Julius Agricola to his soldiers distinctly given	—	454
Severus, the Roman emperor, to his counsellors	—	465
Constantius Cæsar before his death	—	469
king James I. on the gunpowder plot	iii.	5
a congratulatory one to sir Robert Sherley	—	92
of the Polish court to sir Robert Sherley	—	93
and repentance of the lieutenant of the Tower	—	316
of Dr. Bastwicke on the pillory	iv.	229
Mr. Frynne ditto	—	230
Mr. Burton from another single pillory	—	233
Smith on the king's prerogative and people's liberty	v.	9
queen Elisabeth to her parliament, a reference to it	—	10
the lord Digby in parliament concerning grievances	—	29
penned against the judges in the beginning of the parliament	—	32
in the house of commons by the bishop of Litchfield, &c.	—	44
of Peter Adrianson of Leyden, a spirited one to the citizens	—	181
of the earl of Manchester to the lord mayor of London	—	218
alderman Garroway, in answer to one of Mr. Pym	—	224
the archbishop of Canterbury before his execution	—	478
the earl of Pembroke and Montgomery at Oxford	—	134
king James I. in the star-chamber	vi.	224
lord general Cromwell in 1653	—	331
a reasonable one in the house of commons	—	532
of Machiavel on religion	vii.	418
on duke of Luxemburgh's to his soldiers	viii.	143
of Gondamore in the assembly of the states	—	236
Rio Setto de Medina in ditto	—	238
the last one of colonel or lord Pride	—	380
a reported one of Pliny	—	382
of a fellow-commoner of England	ix.	318
the British ambassador to the French king	xi.	181
Perkin Warbeck in Ireland	—	394
the duchess of Burgundy to the English ambassadors	—	401
lord of Narbonne on the truce with England	xii.	17
Speeches, observations on those of Mr. Frynne	vi.	66
Spencers, Edward II.'s favourites, conuauced into Exile	i.	102, &c.
, resume their tyrannical sway	—	105

INDEX.

cxiii

Spencers, Edward II.'s favourites, continue to correspond with France	i.	106
_____ , about themselves up in Bristol castle	—	117
_____ , are given up to the queen	—	118
Spicery, the country of Arabia may be deemed Nature's	viii.	75
Spices, &c. monopolized by the Dutch	viii.	751
_____ the superfluous quantities are burned by them	ix.	492
Spies, father, a witness of the experiments of Wenceslaus	viii.	406
Spinning machines, or engines, a projection of	—	192
Spinning wheel, on a parson's wife carrying one to bed	xii.	211
Spirit, a discussion on the flux of	vii.	389
Spirito Sant, an hospital so named	xii.	99
Spiritual courts epitomized, a dialogue between two proctors	iv.	419
Spleen, various opinions upon the use of it	vii.	377
Sports, king James's declaration on lawful ones	iv.	207
_____ Charles's renewal of declaration to them	—	203
_____ the book of, an allusion to it	v.	207
_____ their toleration on Sundays by king James I.	xii.	68
_____ on Sundays, revival of them by Charles I.	—	16
Spotswood, John, account of his murder	vii.	245
Spragge, sir Edward, admiral in the Dutch war	xi.	18
Spring physic, its great utility to the human constitution	iv.	117, &c.
Springs, discussion on the original of them	vii.	448
Spunging-houses, the practice in them	xi.	50
Squires, Edward, instigated to murder queen Elisabeth	iii.	518
Stables of Benock broken open by Grant	viii.	157
Stadtholder, the prince of Orange declared to be	vii.	517
Stafford, Humphrey, executed at Tyburn	xi.	374
Staffordshire, strange news from it	viii.	118
Stage-coaches, and caravans, on propriety of restraining	—	17, &c.
_____ estimate of passengers in them	—	33
_____ how watermen and excise are injured by them	—	36
_____ their disadvantages stated	—	39
_____ their great injury to health	—	41, &c.
_____ no promoters of business	—	42
_____ on being destructive to trade	—	43
_____ are greatly injurious to hackney coaches	—	47
_____ plays, Prynn's Histrionastix against them	xii.	55
Stagg, Mrs. Anne, the brewer's wife, her petition to parliament	v.	271
Stamford bridge, in Yorkshire, Harold's defeat of Harfager there	iii.	136
_____ hill, king Charles is met there from London	v.	91
Stamp on Adrian's coin as restorer of Britain	ii.	459
Standard of the king taken at Edge-hill	vi.	17
Stanley, sir William, is visited by Guy Fawkes	viii.	153
_____ is accused as a traitor	xi.	405
Stapleton, bishop, is put to death by the lord mayor of London	l.	117
_____ sir Philip, an account of his courage	vi.	17
_____ his services in the battle of Newbury	—	25
Stapreda, Herman, a colleague of Rotman's, and violent anabaptist	v.	460
Star chamber court, its progress to exorbitancy	xii.	68
_____ proceedings there against Eastwicks, Burton, and Prynn	iv.	229
_____ lord chancellor sued there, charged with a premeditation	v.	388
_____ king James I.'s speech there	vi.	224
Starch introduced into England by a Flanders woman	iv.	218
Stars, on Dr. Goad's knowledge of them	x.	396
State Aphorisms of papists for re-edifying Romish church	iii.	486
_____ an examination of them	—	494
_____ censure of the second part of	—	495
_____ the degraded one of marriage	viii.	66
_____ the present one of Christendom	—	105, &c.
_____ on making misers and wasters contribute to it	ix.	492
States, the most flourishing ones ruined by dissension, &c.	ii.	97
_____ general of the United Netherlands, Haga's address to	iii.	213
_____ the great Tark's address to	—	210
_____ of Holland, Mr. Trevor's address to them	vii.	505
_____ acknowledged to be free and independent	—	508
_____ of Spain, duke of Lerma president of the assembly	viii.	233
_____ assembly of, speeches in it	—	238
_____ general, reasons assigned for war against them	ix.	1
_____ are assisted by queen Elisabeth	xi.	129
_____ how endangered by the French	—	190
Stationers' company, queen Mary's charter to them	i. Introd.	xii.
_____ incorporated in queen Mary's reign	vii.	105
Statuaries of Athens, their choice of the gods	viii.	371
Statutes, on repealing all the penal ones against popish recusants	v.	549
Steinkirk, the battle of, lost by king William	x.	554
Stephen, king, his domestic wars stated	—	299
Stephens, a quaker, in a state of madness	vi.	438
Sterling, lord, is a sworn papist	xvii.	205
_____ castle, the state of its garrison	xi. 72, &c.	205

	<i>Vol. Page.</i>
Stern, lieut. John, his confession of murder	ix. 9, &c.
—, how he is acquainted with capt. Vratz	— 11, &c.
—, —, Esart a German	— 14
—, account of him by Dr. Horneck	— 19
—, his letter to Dr. Burnet	— 28
—, last meditations, &c.	— 46.
—, address to bishops, merchants, &c.	— 33, &c.
—, Burnet's sermon before his execution	— 36
—, a letter from Vratz to him	— 41
Sterne, Dr. the paper delivered to him by archbishop Laud	v. 483
Sternhold and Hopkins favoured by assembly of divines	vi. 61
Stewart, called the ghost of Arminius by the Oxford incendiary	v. 343
Steynor of Dorset promoted for his merit	xi. 16
Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, how deposed	lii. 140
Stiria, in Germany, its limits	xi. 243
Stirling, Charles II. encamps at it	vii. 231
Stockerau, a description of it by English travellers	xi. 233
Stocks, on Wolsey's being set there by sir Amias Paulet	iv. 464
Stoinius, Petrus, submits his opinions to Faustus Socinus	vi. 365
Stone, on juniper-berries being good against it	xii. 32
Stones, account of precious ones in the moon	xi. 528
Stool of easement for examining the popes	iv. 17
Storie, copie of a letter concernyng, by a student in the lawes	i. 326
Stork, a bird of passage, makes but short flights and returns	v. 505, &c.
Storks, account of their assembling at Haerlem Meer	— 506
Storm, a dreadful one of lightning and thunder in Norfolk	vi. 422
Story, John, a declaration of his life and death	i. 408
Stourton, lord, suspected of the gunpowder treason	viii. 162
Stout, Sarah, observations on the trial for her murder	ii. 250
Stowe's mistake about Henry VII.	viii. 30 6
Strabus wrote no history, and died before pope Joau's days	iv. 48
Strafford, how the name may be degraded into an epithet	— 444
—, earl of, observation when led to execution	— 454
—, the bill of attainder passed against	— 466
—, the character of as communicated in a letter	— 482
—, observation on having counsel	— 467
—, his advice stated to admit the Scots	— 46.
—, Mr. St. John on bill of attainder against him	v. 53
—, his innocent blood the cause of judgments	— 533
—, how considered as cause of the war	— 552
—, his unfortunate case	vii. 422
—, destroyed by a quibble of law	viii. 382
—, his letter to Charles I.	— 480
—, with others, attempt a rebellion	xi. 373
—, earl of, lord lieutenant of Ireland	xii. 63
Stranger, Hannah, her letters to James Nayler	vi. 427
—, her examination stated	— 432
—, Thomas, an account of his examination	— 433
Strangeways, account of his murder of Mr. Fussel	vii. 9
Strangling, on death of the great Turk and his sons	v. 188
Strangury, how Bath waters are to be used in cases of	iv. 124
Strasburg, surprised by France in time of peace	i. 75
—, whether the first place of printing	x. 506
—, how it was possessed by France	— 560
Stratagem of John Reynard and others to be released from the Turks	lii. 39, &c.
—, the duke of Bourbon and victory	iv. 508
—, of mistress Anne Bullen to counteract Wolsey	— 537
—, a curious one of the Franciscan friars	viii. 98
Stratford, archbishop, his canons on marriages	ix. 580
Straw, and hay, &c. on diminution of the London consumption	viii. 38
—, Jack, a play upon the name of	— 386
Street-walker, by what means a country justice reformed one	xii. 215
Streights, on the failure of the English trade thither	iii. 292
Strickland, Walter, his qualifications for being a lord	vi. 491
—, sir William, designed for one of Cromwell's lords	— 502
Stroakers, account of their boldness and folly	vii. 423
Strozzi, Peter, account of his palace	xii. 39
Strumæ, wens, &c. in what manner accounted for	xi. 247
Stuarts, the protector's declaration against them	vi. 440
Stubbs, Dr. eat the kernels of cacaw	xii. 26
Stuckley, Thomas, his imposition on the pope and king of Spain	ii. 81
Study of the English laws, observations on it	viii. 317
Stukeley, sir Lewis, his vigilance respecting sir Walter Raleigh	lii. 380
—, Manoury employed by to deceive sir Walter Raleigh	— 385
—, his petition and information thereon	— 388
Subjection in a limited monarchy, how far to be extended	ix. 339
Subjects, protestant, cannot be protected by popish princes	i. 39, &c.
—, mischiefs of withdrawing their affection from majesty	— 50

	Vol.	Page.
Subjects of England, on providing for the good of all	v.	11
—, on providing for the king's safety	—	293
—, how or wherein the Scots were loyal	—	297
—, English ones, what done by the rebels for them	vi.	41
Subornation of perjury, its nature considered	—	118
Subornas, necessity of regulating them	xi.	55
Submission of Francis Throckmorton to queen Elisabeth	i.	532
—, an enquiry into the measures of it	ix.	203
—, to the conqueror at Berkhamstead, account of	—	459
Subsidy for war resisted by the Cornish men	xi.	422
Successes in war, &c. not always to be deemed a blessing	vi. 259, &c.	
Succession, a word without doors on the bill to limit it	i. 54, &c.	
—, a discussion on the subject of it	—	55, &c.
—, on the danger of a popish one	viii.	210
—, of the crown of England, a history of it	ix.	248
—, historical collections on it	—	271
—, monarchy admits of limitation	—	337
—, the case of queen Mary and lady Jane stated	—	347
Successive monarchy, what it consists in	—	354
Suckling, sir John, governor of Berwick, song upon him	iv.	431
Sudbury, Simon, archbishop, lost his life in Wat Tyler's rebellion	v.	479
Suetonius, Paulinus comes to Britain in the time of Nero	ii.	438
—, his speech to his soldiers before battle	—	444
—, account of reinforcements sent to him	—	445
Sufferings of John Pontio in the Spanish inquisition	viii.	428
—, Ferdinando in ditto	—	429
Suffolk, duke of, his vehemence against cardinal Wolsey	iv.	534
—, instructions for removing scandalous ministers there	v.	531
—, earl of, his daughter married to earl of Essex	vi.	8
—, duke of, Bolloign is taken by	x.	316
—, minister, his indifference about marriage	xii.	209
Sugar plantations, a consideration of them	ix.	411
—, how first cultivated in the West Indies	—	415
—, plantation, a description of one	—	416
—, work, a statement of its expences	—	418
—, manufactures, progress of the Dutch in	—	432
—, Simon Pauli's opinion of it	xii.	27
—, the opinion of Dr. Willis upon it	—	28
Suits in the Marshalsea, &c. the mischiefs of them	viii. 50, &c.	
Sumatra, or Taprobana, account of sailing on their coasts	vii.	168
Summary of reasons leading to a reformation of base coin	ii.	477
Summons to attend installation, form of the lord chamberlain's	vii.	160
Sun, not the sole or primary cause of tides	viii.	5
Sunday-sports are tolerated by king James I.	xii.	68
—, no sabbath, the title of a book	—	70
Sunderland, the earl of, his letters to the transport board	xi. 77, &c.	
Superstition, ordinance for removing monuments of	v. 440, &c.	
Supplicum Pons, exploit of Cocles there	xii.	101
Suppression of stage-coaches, on the little injury by	viii.	44
Surinam, the insolence of the Dutch there	ix.	1
Surrender of Ypres to general Morgan	x.	421
Surrey, the earl of, sent against the Scots	xi. 424, &c.	
—, retires to Perwick	—	429
Sussex, account of a monstrous serpent or dragon there	iii.	227
—, the earl of, Leicester's treacheries towards	iv.	475
—, a professed antagonist of Leicester	v.	124
—, Radcliffe earl of, account of him in Fragmenta Regalia	—	132
—, his going to the queen	—	525
Swallows, on the various opinions of their emigrations	—	503
—, their making short flights and returns	—	505, &c.
—, a conjecture from scripture that they are not dormant	—	506
—, whether they emigrate to the moon	—	508
—, how the gravity of their bodies decreases	—	509
Swanecombe, William the conqueror is surrounded there	ix.	460
Swans, the ancient laws and customs about them	vii.	291
Swanus, king of Denmark, possesses the government of England	iii.	122
Swearing and cursing, on punishing in the navy	xi.	13
Sweating-cloth, the holy one of St. Veronica	xii.	98
Swedenland, how William I. got rid of the army of	iii.	387
Sweden, the king of, his address to the Swedes and Finlanders	iv.	187
—, falls in the battle of Lutzen	—	189
—, account of his courage and conduct	—	197
—, the advantages gained to it by the battle of Lutzen	—	199
—, on deposing a popish king there	ix.	222
—, an account of its taxes	—	427
—, remarks on their law of castration	x.	450
—, some account of Bridget, queen of	xii.	102
Swedes, union of confederate princes with them	iv.	194

	<i>Vol. Page</i>
Swedish army lost between 5 and 6000 men at Lutzen	iv. 168
Swift, one of the birds which is almost constantly flying	v. 505
——, his hue and cry after the pretended prince of Wales	xi. 60
Swinerton, Mr. prosecutes sir Edward Mosely	vi. 46
——, Mrs. reproved in open court for impudence	— 49
Swiss, the danger they are in from France	viii. 118
Switzers, on the pope's guard of	xii. 98
Swoon, the pensioner De Witt falls into one	ix. 7
Sydenham, colonel, designed for one of Cromwell's lords	vi. 494
Sylla and Marius, allusion to their civil wars	iv. 477
Sylvester II. pope, on selling himself to the devil to be pope	— 98
Symonds, Martha, her examination about James Nayler	vi. 431
Synagogues of Jews in Holland, account of	ix. 545
Synesius on the university of Athens	iv. 83
Synod of Lublin, disputes in it about Socinus	vi. 365
——, Chmelrica decidedly opposes Socinus	— 366
Syracusa, account of a strange phenomenon there	x. 108

T.

Tabor, an account of it by English travellers	xi. 292
Tacitus, an approved authority of Roman history in Britain	ii. 414
Tadcaster, the king's account of the rebels quitting it	v. 536
Tagliamento, a swift river of Italy	xi. 820
Tail of a kite, on its serving for steerage	vii. 164
Taille, a tax of France so named	x. 202
Taillon, an account of it as a tax of France	— 205
Talbot, sir Thomas, on his conspiring the death of duke of Gloucester, &c.	v. 57, &c.
——, Elinor, married to Edward IV.	viii. 515
Tally-man, the ear-mark of an oppressive one	— 179
Tamerlain the Great, his notable saying	— 226
Tangier, a copious discourse upon it	— 301
——, the importance of it to England	— 302
——, the necessity of cavalry there	— 401
——, the advantage of it for the rendezvous of convoys	— 402
——, on declaring it a free port	— 404
——, the earl of Sandwich's opinion of it	— 405
——, religion encouraged there by the earl of Tiviot	— 406
Tanners, a statement of their duty	vi. 123
Taprobana, or Sumatra, account of sailing on the coast of	vii. 168
Tarasius, on charging pope Adrian I. with simony	iv. 97
Tarento, John Reynard and others come thither from Egypt	iii. 43
Tarleton, bishop of Hereford, the manner of his death	i. 91
Tartars, their mistaken judgment respecting the Polonians	v. 128
——, the great slaughter of them by the Cossacks	— 189
——, on their setting fire to Moscow in 1571	vii. 333
——, their use of thee or tea	xii. 25
Tartary, the use of thee first known there	— 23
Taskin, Tony, a nickname	ix. 56
Tavernier, on the coffee house of Ispahan	xii. 21
Taunton castle is taken by the parliament forces	vi. 31
——, Deane, petitions from it to parliament	— 187
——, the Cornish rebels arrive there	xi. 422
——, the march of the king towards it	— 436
Tax, how labourers and mechanics impose it on themselves	ix. 489
Taxes, on the power of imposing them	— 353
——, how they are no charge	— 480
——, account of those of Venice	— 484, &c.
——, ——— Spain	— 485, &c.
——, ——— Sweden	— 487
——, moderately lasting, more easy to be paid	— 513
——, the history of those of France	x. 300
——, illegal ones resisted by archbishop Abbot	xii. 66
Taxing of batchelors, on the propriety of it	— 300
——, widowers, under what limitations	— 56
Taylor, John, his account of Thomas Parr of Shropshire	iv. 204
——, Martha, account of her long fasting	vii. 365, &c.
——, Dr. on liberty of prophesying	viii. 298
Tea, of Japan, or tea, an account of it	xii. 23
——, or thee, the natural history of it	— 64
——, Tulpian on the use of it in China and Japan	— 84
——, how the Chinese gather and use it	— 25

	Vol.	Page.
Tears of England, on account of its civil wars	v.	443
— of the Press, or, the Press oppressed	viii.	527
Tail-treap, Tom, a discourse on the manners of the time	iii.	423
Tail-troth, a downright Englishman, his letter	viii.	610
Temperance, relative, a cardinal virtue of the English	xii.	83
Tempests, how a chest of silver assuages them	—	125
Temple, capt. attacks the king's forces at Islip	vi.	39
— of Diana, is burnt by Herostratus	xi.	371
Temples of the planets at Rome, some account of	xii.	113
Tynersife, the isle of, on sir Walter Raleigh's arrival there	iii.	177
—, account of the pike or peak of	xi.	518
Tennis-ball of fortune, sir Walter Rawleigh was such	v.	144
Tercera, the earl of Essex's voyage thither	iii.	507
Terra Lemnia, found at St. Helena island	xi.	512
Tertullian, his observations on common enemies	ix.	990
Testmond, or Greenwelo Oswald, a jesuit, goes to Spain	viii.	15
Testament and last will of father Peters	vii.	132
Testimony, on that of ancient writers	iv.	13
— of Romish writers, how far to be depended on	— 44, &c.	—
Teutones, the most soldierly nation	vi.	94
—, account of their various branches	—	95
Teutogirk nation, the English a member of it	—	102
— blood, our Saxon ancestors descend from	—	97
— race, the Danish intruders in England were such	—	98
— nations, Norwegians the dross of them	—	100
Texel, sir Saekville Trevor sent to destroy the French ships there	iii.	546
Texere, Joseph, his account of the adventures of Don Sebastian	ii.	308, &c.
—, his narrative of occurrences after battle of Alquibor	—	392
Text, how an assembly-man butchers it	vi.	58
Textor, Ravisius, his testimony about pope Joan	iv.	83, &c.
Thames, only one fordable place upon it, and that difficult	ii.	427
Thanksgiving in England for the battle of Poitiers	viii.	174
Theatre of war, the island of St. Christopher's	ix.	519
Theatres, an essay on them and actors	xii.	146
Thee or tea, the dearness of it in Japan	—	23
—, the jesuit Alexander de Rhodes, his use of it	—	24
—, the use of it by the Japonians and Tartars	—	25
Theeves falling out, or bel-man wanted a clapper	iv.	239
Theft, applied to Leicester's machinations	—	479
—, on punishing it with death	vi.	276
Theodoricus, his banishment of Boetius	viii.	372
Therms Antonius, built by Constantine	xii.	193
— Dioclesiani, some account of	—	114
Thevenot, on the properties of dried sage	—	23
Tholouse, account of a traitor taken and executed there	iii.	545
Thomas, Mr. Edmund, his qualifications for being a lord	vi.	502
—, Dalby, his account of West India islands	ix.	403
—, Mr. chaplain to the factory at Hamburg	xi.	353
Theme, St. its capture one of sir Walter Raleigh's designs	xii.	376
—, the pretended mine near it only imaginary	—	378
Thomyris, the modern one	xi.	391
Thorneton, Roger de, a benefactor to Newcastle	—	448
Thornetown, alias Doornawich, or Doornick	—	116
Thorpe, judge, guilty of treason in giving an oath, against law	ix.	467
—, serjeant, his charge at York assizes	vi.	195
Thoughts on the absurdity and expence of fashions	iii.	657
— a war with Spain, by lord Verulam	iv.	132
— of the king on the fruitless end of the treaty	v.	521, &c.
— respecting it, and doubts of renewing it	—	525
—, different ones about religion and worship	vii.	43
— on persecution of conscience	viii.	298
Thread-bare poets, or, the pennyless parliament	iii.	71
Three Half-moons, a ship so named, her misfortune	—	35
Throckmorton, Francis, a declaration of his treasons	i.	522
—, his treasonable papers	—	523
—, by whom papers written	—	524
—, the design of the treason stated	—	525
—, his submission to the queen	—	532
—, discloses secrets of the Scottish queen	—	533
—, his declaration	—	535
—, his treasonable engagement	iii.	515
—, sir Clement, his advice to the duke of Buckingham	v.	339
Throgmorton, sir Nicholas, how poisoned by Leicester	iv.	474
—, sir John, vexations of Leicester against	—	475
—, sir Nicholas, how guilty of treason	v.	63
Throne, unwillingness of lady Jane Gray to ascend it	i.	314
Thrush, the wind, or redwing, no knowledge of their abode, &c.	v.	503
—, its flights are very short	—	505

INDEX.

cxix

Tower, the lieutenant acquainted with design against Overbury	v.	376
sir Walter Rawleigh is liberated from the	v.	392
hill, archbishop Leach's sermon on the scaffold there	v.	408
of London, the city petition the king to have the government of	v.	553
the lieutenant of executed on Tower-hill	vi.	9
on Skelton's being sent thither	ix.	8
Towers, Mastapha taken from castle of the Seven, and hailed emperor	v.	193
Town of Casabibla, the British king, well stored with cattle, &c.	ii.	428
-wit, a description of one	viii.	11
Towns, the cautious ones resigned to the Dutch	viii.	589
Tracts, their mischievous tendency to embroil the nation	viii.	413
Trade of Yarmouth, its vast importance stated	ii. 300, &c.	
's Increase, or means of improving the English shipping	iii.	289
of the English to the ports of the Mediterranean, &c.		293
Hamburg, Dantzick, &c.		294
Newfoundland and the East Indies		295
how to be ensured on permanent principles	iv.	458
on encouraging foreigners to promote our woollen		460
the tolls in the Sound a heavy grievance to		461
and traffick, what they are	vi.	227
of spices, &c. monopolised by the Dutch	vii.	531
the Dutch monopoly of all that of India		534
encroachments of the Dutch on that of others	- 540, &c.	
on that of England with Ireland	viii.	26
the mystery of considered		35
stage-coaches destructive of it		43
of the French to Aleppo for pigeons		147
to the East-Indies, Goadsmore's opinion of it		241
in what manner improved by war	ix.	480
taxes		490
an elegy on its death	x.	351
a letter on its decay and ruin		361
means of recovering it stated	- 376, &c.	
on advancing it, and employing the poor	xiii.	250
Traders of all sorts, the great increase of them	viii.	53
Trades, a curious account of the arts of different ones	ii.	215
Tradesmen's wives of London, their petition to parliament	v.	208
a college of them proposed	vi.	146
how young ones frequently mistake	viii.	53
on the shops kept by young ones		55
lieutenant Stern's address to them	ix.	35
on being licensed in France	x.	218
Trained-bands of London, &c. prepared	vi.	16
join the parliament army	- 27, &c.	
Trajana Antoniniana	xii.	108
Traites foraines of France, what they are	x.	214
Traitor, account of the punishment of one at Tholouse	iii.	545
in what manner Goadsmore was such	v.	540
Dundas makes a sale of Edinburgh castle	vii.	281
Traitors, the names of those originally concerned in gunpowder plot	iii.	39
the late ones, account of their arraignment, &c.		45
account of their execution stated	- 46, &c.	
various instances of persons declared to be such	v.	64
Olivier Cromwell and abstract of tyrants and	xii.	108
Traitours, examination of by her majesty's commissioners	i.	51
Traskirchen, or Draskirchen, English travellers' account of	ii.	251
Travelling in Scotland, the mode of it	viii.	444
Travels of Antonia Munday and Thomas Nowel to Rome	ii.	168
English gentlemen through Germany	xi.	218
sir John Mandeville and Coryat		485
Treachery of the earl of Gowrie to James I.	ii.	335
Leicester to earl of Sussex -	iv.	475
a statement of in general		478
Dutch at Poloroone	vii.	532
in burning our ships at Chatham		536
earl of St. Paul, the habits of punished		567
of the Danes the cause of pledging	viii.	107
French king in concealing treaties	ix.	3
detected for intended surrender of Slays		445
Treason, whether an heir to the crown be capable of it	i.	62
of the earl of Gowrie and others against king James I.	ii.	335
confession of it by the conspirators at their execution	iii.	48
sir Walter Raleigh condemned for, and treatment		370
of Parry and others, who had engaged to murder the queen		516
Lopez and others against queen Elizabeth		518
divers observations upon the nature of it	iv.	471
the case of judge Thorpe on unlawful oaths		487
cases of, written by sir Francis Bacon, knight	v. 12, &c.	

	Vol.	Page.
Treason, cases of, misprision of, stated	v.	14
—, punishment of, &c.	—	15
— of Thomas earl of Strafford, on bill of attainder against	—	53
—, various cases of recited by Mr. St. John	—	59
—, farther accounts of cases of recited	—	60
—, what to be constituted such by 25th of Edward III.	—	62
—, the objections against what is so deemed, answer to	—	63
—, how compassing or planning deemed to be such	—	64
—, the case of Thomas Heber stated respecting it	—	65
—, how the cases of are applied to the earl of Strafford	—	66
—, on that of the Irish insurgents respecting the shire grounds	—	72
—, statute of 10th of Hen. VII. cap. xvii. a reference to	—	73
—, who are to judge of cases done in Ireland	—	75
—, how the earl of Strafford offended against the law of	—	83
—, how a breach of the publick faith was so deemed	—	84
—, how the bloody parliament demanded punishment of	—	326, &c.
—, the case of Mr. Burdet's and others stated	—	405
—, attempt and design of rebellion declared to be such	—	406
—, the different species of it stated	vi.	114, &c.
—, misprision of that and felony, enquiry into	—	116, &c.
—, of gunpowder plot charged by papists on the puritans	—	130
—, the history of it	viii.	149
—, execution of Winter, Grant, and others for it	—	160
—, Garnet for it	—	161
—, lord Mordaunt suspected of, and fined for	—	162
—, impeachment of the earl of Danby for it	—	388
—, the tragedy of it	—	478
—, of papists, what deemed so by the 27th of Elisabeth	x.	463
Treasonable conduct of Robert Drewrie, a popish priest	iii.	37
Treasons devised by the papists against queen Elisabeth	ii.	172
— of sir Walter Raleigh, in exceeding his commission	iii.	375
Treaties with Spain declared to be unsafe and dangerous	—	509
— against the States-general concealed by the French king	ix.	3
—, the old French way of managing	xii.	9
Treatise, a lamentable one on the misfortunes at Argter	i.	231
— of Iohan Bale's vocacyon to bishoprick of Ossorie	—	328
— on the gout, the dedication of it	x.	407
Treatment of James II. to the English at St. Germain's	—	274
— occasioned many of their deaths	—	279
— of sailors, account of the bad one	—	362
Treaty with France, the conclusion of at Champagne	iv.	518
— the rebels of Munster, a proposal for	v.	469
— of Uxbridge, memorials for Mr. secretary Nicholas	—	534
—, protestation of commissioners in it	—	535
—, peace proposed by the earl of Northumberland	vi.	18
—, a farther one refused by the parliament	—	19
—, observations on the 36 articles of it	—	93
— of Cambray, an account of it	viii.	228
— of peace, the Pyrenean so called	x.	466
Tredagh in Ireland is stormed by Oliver Cromwell	vii.	280
Trent, the council of, is unmasked by father Paul	viii.	293
Tresham, Francis, one of the principals in the gunpowder plot	iii.	23
—, advises sending Winter to Spain	viii.	150, &c.
Tresilian and others, account of their treason	v.	84
Tresny, Roger, makes claim to the duchy of Normandy	iii.	121
Trespases against the peace, enquiry about	vi.	114, &c.
Treswell's account of the earl of Nottingham's journey to Spain	—	535
— Treviso or Trivigi, an account of	xi.	547
Trevor, sir Sackville, sent to destroy the French ships in the Texel	iii.	547
—, Mr. his address to the states of Holland	vii.	505
Trial of sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, for his religion	—	253
— Robert Drewrie, a popish priest, for treason	i.	253
— Nicholas Anthonie, burnt for Judaism at Geneva	iii.	32, &c.
—, declaring himself a Jew	iv.	168
— Bastwicke, Burton, and Fryme, in the Star-chamber	—	175
— sir Edward Mosely, charged with a rape	—	220
—, various captains for cowardice	x.	46, &c.
—, Dr. Nelson's preface to king Charles I.'s referred to	xii.	218
Triana castle in Seville, an account of	viii.	244
Tribute of the Britons neglected, and design of punishing them	ii.	499
Trick of cozening, how learned by a conventicle	viii.	84
Tricks of Gondomar and the jesuits related	iii.	331
— commonly used to pervert to popery	viii.	96
Trigantius, his opinion of thee or tea	ix.	23
Trimmers, the character of them stated	xi.	39
Trinidad, sir Walter Raleigh defeats the Spaniards there	iii.	179
— is taken dangerously ill at it	—	377
Trinity college, Harris made the head of it	vi.	135

	Vol.	Page.
Trinobantes, send a message of submission to Cæsar	ii.	427
—, their capital city was Camalodunum	—	429, &c.
—, their governor Cunobelin reforms them	—	43.
Triple league, remarks on the breach of it	viii.	347
—, on its being broken	ix. 2, &c.	
Trithemius, his testimony relative to pope Joan	iv.	25
—, his account of pope Paul II.'s cruelty to Platina	—	29
Triumph of king Charles, or his reception in London	v.	86
—, learning over ignorance	vi.	295
Troops of England, evasion of the Dutch paying them	vii.	525
—, the barbarous treatment of those disbanded	x.	364
Trough, a torture of the inquisition, an account of it	viii. 421, &c.	
Trouille river, an account of it	xh.	89
Troutbeck, Dr. on the virtues of juniper	xii.	32
Truce of Edward IV. with the king of France	—	11
—, upbraided for it by the duke of Burgundy	—	14
—, the lord of Narbonne's speech upon it	—	17
Trump, admiral, pays his compliments to king William	ix.	534
Trumpeter of Charles I. general Lesly's artful speech to him	vii.	415
Truteling, Hubart, his condemnation by Munster anabaptists	v. 257, &c.	
Truth, the triumph of it over falsehood	vi.	296
Tuam, archbishop of, articles for Ireland found in his carriage	v.	489
Tuban, a kingdom in Java, an account of	ix.	47
Tutso, or Mars, some account of	vi.	93
Tully's offices first printed by Fust or Faust	x.	507
Tulpius, on the use of tea in China and Japan	xiii.	24
Tumult of apprentices against the earl of Strafford	viii.	480
Tunbridge water, an account of its virtues, &c.	vii. 446, &c.	
—, the diseases cured by it	—	497
—, exercise necessary to accompany it	—	461
—, diet proper to be used with it	—	464
—, an essay on its waters	ix. 176, &c.	
—, water, the hypochondria cured by it	—	185
—, on adjuvant medicines with it	—	190
—, lord, his regiment ordered to Scotland	xi.	71
Turenne, marshal, neglects to send orders to general Morgan	x. 415, &c.	
—, his excuse for the omission	—	416
Turk, the Grand, his letter to the states-general of Netherlands	iii.	219
—, account of his being strangled, &c.	v.	182
—, the dream of Ouman	xi.	484
Turkey, Cornelius Haga's embassy to from the Netherlands	iii.	213
Turkish vessels, unable to sail in rough seas	—	38
—, keepers grant indulgence to some English christians	—	39, &c.
—, empire, on being at its height, &c.	v.	190
Turks, on the deliverance of Europe by the sultan's destruction	—	183
—, emperor of, Mustapha is declared	—	186
—, the army of inclosed within walls	—	189
—, how peace with the Polonians was accomplished	—	191
—, how deemed to be inspired	ix.	495
Turner, Dr. a description of in Overbury's vision	iii.	373
—, Mrs: becomes acquainted with countess of Essex	v. 358, &c.	
—, her combination with Dr. Forman	—	358
—, becomes acquainted with Gresham, a mathematician	—	361
—, an account of her artful practices	vi.	9
Turpentine, oil of, Mr. Boyle's observations upon	xii.	35
Turwite is besieged and subdued by king Henry	iv.	495
Tuscans, on their confederacies	viii.	339
Tuscany, the duke of, Socrates is employed by	vi.	361
Tutor to the Black Prince, Dr. William Burley	viii.	164
Twiss, Dr. a Calvinist, his strange assertion	x.	395
Tyler, Wat, archbishop Sedbury suffers in his insurrection	v.	479
—, a play upon the name of	viii.	365
Tyranny of the bishop of Ely in Richard I.'s time stated	iv.	403
—, patience not a cure for it	ix.	303
Tyrant ruling by will, and a king by law, the difference	i.	13
—, the description of one by Aristotle	—	292
—, Ehu'd's dagger a remedy against one	—	298
—, Caligula's disposition stated	—	304
Tyrants and traitors, Oliver Cromwell an abstract of	vii.	108
—, enquiry into the nature of them	ix.	328
Tyre, shipping probably first established there	vii.	103
—, the Carthaginians extracted from it	—	104
Tyrians, receive cities from king Solomon	Hi.	131
Tyrell, capt. a brave English mastiff	ix.	332
Tytches, the protector's false assertion concerning them	vi.	307

V, U.

	<i>Vol.</i>	<i>Page.</i>
Vacancy in the popedom, what to be done in it	iv.	135
Valerian law, the nature of it stated	ix.	297
Valerianus, Johannes Pierius, how he accounts for pope Joan's election	iv.	31
Vall, Du, mons. memoirs of his life and actions	viii.	392
——, his epitaph	—	400
——, not the first robber who lay in state	—	410
Valladolid, account of a martyr to the inquisition there	viii.	432
Valois, Henry de king of France, &c. conspiracies against	ii.	142
—— the reasons of refuted	—	143, &c.
——, Philip de, a reference to him	viii.	107
Valour, not a quality rewarded by James I.	iii.	369
—— displayed by the Swedes in the battle of Lutzen	iv.	199
——, of sir William Belfore at Edge-hill	vi.	17
——, brutish, on the success of Thomas Anello's	vii.	410
—— of lord Audley at the battle of Poitiers	viii.	169
—— Edward, the Black Prince, at Cressy	x.	298
—— colonel Prestoun at Tournay	xi.	129
Valvasor, his faithful account of Carniola	—	229
Value of money, how improper to raise it	ix.	497
—— gold or silver coin, mischief of enhancing it	x.	380
—— money in America, mischiefs of being high	—	381
——, coined gold, on reducing nominal to real	—	385
—— of dried sage in China	xii.	23
Vampyres, an account of them	xi.	234
Vandals, their conquest of Africa	viii.	400
Vane, sir Henry, how treated by Cromwell	vii.	355
Variation of the variation of the compass, account of	—	172
Verney, sir Edward, slain at the battle of Edge-hill	vi.	17
Vatican, Platina's account of its repair correctly stated	iv.	76
Vavasor, lieutenant-colonel is made a prisoner at Edge-hill	vi.	17
Vauban, mons. his fortifications at Mons	xi.	109
—— Tournay	—	130
Vaults, under the Romish churches, on the reliques in them	ii.	184, &c.
—— under the parliament-house searched	viii.	156
Vaux, the true emblem of a jesuit	vi.	305
Vellus-aureum, the project of a book to be so called	—	153
Venant, St. is taken by general Morgan	x.	411
Venere, Porto, a sea-port of Italy	xii.	124
Venetian, on the English religion	—	70
Venetus, Paulus, on importing the magnet from China	vii.	166
Venice, Don Sebastian's letter from the prison there	ii.	377
——, the state of, its jealousy of any confederacy with enemies	iv.	497
——, her artifices in what manner punished	vii.	567
——, an account of the taxes there	ix.	484, &c.
——, on the value of bills of credit in it	x.	379
——, a description of the states of	xi.	477
——, a general description of it	xii.	73
——, the duke of, on his marrying the sea	—	74
——, the Santo Sepulchro, a monastery there	—	76
——, the gondolas of, their numbers	—	80
Venomous beasts, on St. Patrick's driving them out of Ireland	iv.	44
Verde, cape, on the coast of Africa, seamen put on shore at	xi.	510
Verdun, president, of Languedock, apprehends a traitor at Tholouse	iii.	545
Vere, sir Francis, an account of him in Fragmenta Regalia	v.	153
—— and Horatio, beat the Spaniards	vii.	594
Verney, sir Richard, is sheriff of Warwickshire	viii.	157
Vernich, some account of	xi.	226
Veronensis, Emilius, a French historian so named	vi.	100, &c.
Veronica, St. the holy sweating cloth of	xii.	98
Verse, the will of a soldier related in	iv.	437
Verses to Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles Harley	xi.	195
Versoria of Plautus, was the modern Bolin	vii.	167
Vertomannus, Ludovicus, on the compass	—	168
Vertues of the Bath waters stated, and whence arising	iv.	127
Verulam, lord, his considerations relative to a war with Spain	—	132
——, his commendation of coffee	viii.	77
Vespasian, account of his successful employment in Britain	ii.	432
Vespasiani amphitheatrum, its vast extent	xii.	113
Vessels of the French stopped by governor of Wesel	vii.	508

	<i>Vol. Page.</i>
Vice-admiralties, anciently established in England	ix. 466
Victories, observations on those of queen Anne	xi. 39
Victory of William the conqueror at Hastings	ix. 458
— Siens, Cosmus's pillar for it	xii. 89
Victuallers, a statement of their duty	vi. 125
Victualling-office, on mismanagement in it	x. 364
Vienna, on Wencelous and friar Francis arrival at	viii. 468
—, its danger from the French	xi. 194
—, great numbers of fir-trees southward of it	— 248
—, a copious description of it	— 251
—, medals in the emperor's cabinet there	— 261
View of the island of St. Helena	— 511
— the reign of Charles I.	xii. 50
Views, the error of James I.'s ambitious one of alliance	— 56
Vigilius, pope of Rome, his reception of a red-herring	ii. 323
Villa Hermosa, the duke of, amuses the pope's nuncio	viii. 233
Villages, bishop's sees removed from them to large cities	lii. 166
Villainy of lewd women, wherein it exceeds that of men	iv. 239
Villengen, is besieged by the French	xi. 193
Villiers, duke of Buckingham, account of his life and death	v. 307
—, viscount, and baron of Whaddon, his creation of	— 309
— of Leicestershire, how he obtains the favour of king James	— 389
Vincennes, Henry V. dies there	x. 306
Vincent's, St. rock near Bristol, observations on its water	iv. 120
—, Mr. William, his account of a divine judgment	viii. 118
—, capt. and others brought to trial for cowardice	x. 525, &c.
Vinculo, Peter in, church at Rome so called	xii. 107
Vindex Anglicus, or perfections of the English language	v. 428
Vindication of proceedings in England in the revolution	i. 3
— history on the temple of peace	iv. 35, &c.
— Platina and Volaterran against Baronius, &c.	— 51
— sir John Hotham and others	v. 266
— the parliament and their proceedings	— 272
— strong beer and ale, or brewer's plea	vi. 73
— universities and schools	— 298
— coffee-houses	viii. 75
— learning, an essay upon it	— 290
— Nicholas Machiavel	x. 183
Vindobona, that of the ancients ascertained	xi. 252
Vinetum Britannicum, on drying in the shade	xii. 25
Vintners, the continual impositions upon French ones	x. 219
Violence of lord Norfolk against cardinal Wolsey	iv. 544
Violent, the Danish conquest too much so to continue	ix. 345
Vipers, prince Rupert and others so named	v. 437
—, Marquis Hartford, and others so denominated	— 438
—, a nest of perfidious ones, or calendar of black saints	— 434
Virgil, the story of Evander in it, a pattern of the Moors	viii. 409
—, Polydore, on the usefulness of printing	x. 565, &c.
Virgin, a noble one, Faustus Socinus is married to	vi. 364
Virginia company, their pretended privilege on American coast	iii. 313
—, count Gondamore's aversion to English settlements	viii. 241
—, king James I. permits sending colonies to it	ix. 431
Virtue, temperance a cardinal one of the English	xii. 38
Virtues of thee, according to Kircher	— 24
— juniper stated by Dr. Troutbeck	— 32
— mum represented by Dr. Willis	— 36
Vision of sir Thomas Overbury, and the ghosts of Weston, &c.	iii. 344
— concerning Cromwell the wicked	vii. 209
Visit of king Henry VIII. and Anne Bullen to Harewell park	iv. 537
Visitation of abbies, nunneries, and priories	viii. 305
Vitelli, James, is rescued from assassins by Placidus	ix. 73
— and Placidus come to Seville	— 76
Viterbiensis, Gotsfridus, his testimony about pope Joan vindicated	iv. 32, &c.
Viterbo, an account of the city of	xii. 92
Vivile, the marquis of, his death	vi. 24
Vizzini, account of its total destruction by an earthquake	x. 195
Ulm, the danger of it from the French	xi. 194
Ulpian Marcellus, forces northern Britons to retreat	ii. 461
Unhappy marksman, an account of the murder of Mr. Fussell	vii. 9
Union, account of the design between England and Scotland	iii. 11
United Provinces, an account of their taxes	ix. 484
Universal commerce the design of France	viii. 111
— monarchy, the object of French encroachments	— 352
Universities, on red-herrings at their commencement dinners	ii. 295
— and schools of learning vindicated	vi. 298
— of Scotland, a description of them	vii. 438
— and schools, on necessity of reforming them	x. 561
— of Scotland, on being too numerous	— 565
University at Athens, reasons for proving its existence	iv. 83

	Vol.	Page
University of Cambridge, an ordinance for regulating it	v.	323
— of Oxford, sir Thomas Bodley proctor of	vi.	52
— — — — — Mr. Bearblock ditto	—	53
— orator at Oxford, Corbet is appointed	—	135
— of Oxford, sundry things concerning it	vii.	58, &c.
— — — — — queries about it	—	63
Unthankfulness, an essay upon it, and its reverse	ii.	532
Voadicea, her speech to the Britons before an engagement	—	441
— — — — — being defeated, terminates her life by poison	—	445
Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the bishopric of Ossorie	i.	322
Vocal forest, an allegorical discourse, so named	viii.	134
Voice from the dead, an oration of Boetius	—	557
Voidras, an impostor, is seized and executed at Northampton	i.	98
Volaterran, an historiographer of good note	iv.	25
— — — — — on the emperor's confirming the popes	—	51
Volunteer soldiers recommended	viii.	354
— — — — — seamen, privileges proposed to them	ix.	463
Votes of the commons house of parliament	xi.	144
Vow, the nature of one by a covenant	vi.	208
Vox regia, the speeches of king James I. to his parliament	i.	13
— — — — — borealis, or northern discoverie in a dialogue	iv.	422
— — — — — populi, or people's discovery of their own loyalty	v.	264
Voyage to Guiana, Robert Harcourt's account of it	iii.	169
— — — — — an awful account of one from the Indies	ix.	80
— — — — — account of a late one to Holland	—	531
— — — — — of capt. Sharp, Ringrose's account of it	xi.	43
— — — — — Domingo Gonsales to the moon	—	511
Vrats, capt. becomes acquainted with lieut. Stern	ix.	11, &c.
— — — — — is visited by Dr. Horneck	—	18
— — — — — is met by Dr. Burnet at his execution	—	18
— — — — — his refusal to make confession	—	20
— — — — — his letter to lieut. Stern	—	41
Urbicus, Lollius, promptly reduces a revolt of the Brigantes	ii.	460
Urland, capt. his pretended discovery about Kinsley park	v.	559
Ursini, lord George, his palace and garden	xii.	107
Ursula, the various opinions about her	iv.	82
Usage of Henry II. of England by Thomas a Becket	x.	220
Usher, archbishop, a worthy defender of protestants	vi.	304, &c.
— — — — — his prophecy stated	ix.	198
Using Bath waters, various rules for	iv.	122
Uterers, how to make them contribute to the state	ix.	492
Usurpation of the Dutch, a description of it	vii.	521
Usury and extortion, account what they are	vi.	119
Utility of making bills, bonds, &c. assignable	viii.	17, &c.
— — — — — courts of requests considered	—	48, &c.
Utopia, a reference to that of Milton	vii.	132
Utrecht, Henry Rell, an anabaptist, put to death there	v.	460
— — — — — Willibrod, the first bishop of, an Englishman	vii.	524
— — — — — account of the French kindness to it	viii.	145
— — — — — is plundered by the duke of Luxembourg	—	26
— — — — — in possession of the French	x.	547
Uxbridge, memorials for Mr. secretary Nicholas there	v.	534
— — — — — form of the oath of commissioners at treaty of	—	535

W.

Wade, sir William, is removed from lieutenantancy of the tower	x.	379
— — — — — capt. and others, their trial for cowardice	x.	625, &c.
Wafer or host, mode of exposing it at Dunkirk	xi.	179
Wages of handicrafts considered	xiii.	35
Wagstaff, Dr. his defence of Charles I. as an author	xii.	212
Wake, Dr. his letter to a clergyman	—	222
Wakefield in Yorkshire, the native place of Nayler	vi.	425
Wakeman, sir George, at Paris, his letter to a friend	viii.	535
Wakes, a cause of relaxation on Sundays	xii.	68
Walden, the army there refuse to disband	xi.	66
Wales, on jurisdiction of justices itinerant there	v.	27
— — — — — the prince of, a letter from the pope to him, and answer	—	235
— — — — — wonderful news from it	xiii.	127
— — — — — account of Jane Morgan, an old woman there, &c.	—	128
— — — — — the education of the pretended prince of	x.	222
— — — — — account of its reduction by Edward I.	—	296
— — — — — the valour of the prince of at Cressy	x.	298

	<i>Vol.</i>	<i>Page</i>
Wales, pretended prince of, a hue and cry after	xi.	60
—, Prince of, dedication of William I.'s history to	iii.	115
—, a discourse of the late Henry	—	519
—, South, an account of destructive floods there	—	64
Walker, a citizen of London, how deemed treasonable	v.	405
—, owner of the crown in Cheapside, his fate	xi.	107
Wall of earl Baldwin III. at Mons demolished	—	97
—, Alberick displaced, and inclosure extended	—	98
Walloon, &c. encouraged by queen Elisabeth	xii.	59
Walrond, colonel Henry, an account of him	ix.	433, &c.
Walsingham, sir Francis, account of in <i>Fragments Regalia</i>	v.	135
—, our lady of, the most famous shrine in England	xi.	384
Walstein, account of his defeat by the Swedes at Lutzen	iv.	183
—, a proposal to pursue him through Austria	—	183
Walter, earl of Essex, his three grand precepts	iii.	506
Walters, Mrs. remarks on Charles II.'s disclaiming her	viii.	513, &c.
Walton-forest, Aminadab Blower's lecture there	—	177
Waltram, bishop of Norimberg, not bitter against popes	iv.	177
Waltrud, St. countess of Hainault, her church, &c.	xi.	92
Walworth, sir William, lord mayor, description of	xii.	169
Wanstead, the king's instructions there in 1626	v.	540
Wanton, a wise one, how reclaimed by her husband	iv.	259
War, a French one, address agreed upon in committee for it	i.	74
—, on Straburgh being seized, without any declaration of	—	75
—, with Spain, lord Verulam's considerations upon it	iv.	132
—, on levying as a treasonable act by the 25th of Edward III.	v.	55
—, observations on that of Turkey with the Poles	—	190
—, that a necessary one must be lawful, because justifiable	—	297, &c.
—, the lawfulness of a defensive one from the causes	—	300
—, an attempted distinction between levying against the king's person	—	415
—, or power	—	535
—, the king disclaims all thoughts of it against parliament	—	19
—, the city of London subscribes to support it	vi.	320
—, declaration of by the French, an answer to it	vii.	343
—, the design of France to involve England in it	—	544
—, against the Netherlands, a justification of	—	109
—, that England can support it longer than France	viii.	112, &c.
—, the consequences of pursuing it stated	—	114
—, on the resources of France for maintaining it	—	116
—, in what manner Christianity is endangered by it	—	139, &c.
—, with France, a discourse upon it	—	140
—, a Frenchman's conversation upon	—	176
—, on sir Bertram Glequin's prudence in it	—	339
—, on the disposition of France for	—	346
—, on Scipio's method of conducting it	—	392
—, the effects of it with Algier stated	—	ix.
—, how it is preferable to an armed peace	ix.	371, &c.
—, against France, the means of carrying it on	x.	515
—, to carry it on in America	—	xi.
—, the evils of neglecting a naval one	xi.	91
—, on prince Alberon's with the Merovingians	—	98
—, of Margaret the countess of Hainault, &c.	—	52
—, earl of Clarendon's account of the causes of a civil	xii.	367, &c.
Warbeck, Perkin, an account of his history	xi.	373, &c.
—, is set up by the duchess of Burgundy	—	394
—, his speech in Ireland	—	399
—, account of him by Nathaniel Osbeck	—	404
—, sir Robert Clifford deserts his party	—	412
—, appears before Dover castle	—	414
—, lands in Scotland	—	416
—, lady Catharine Gordon his favourite	—	418
—, married to him	—	424
—, is opposed by the earl of Essex, &c.	—	435
—, escapes to Bewdley near Southampton	—	v.
Warden, lord of the cinque-ports, Villiers is made	v.	380
—, lord Zouch succeeds to be	—	vii.
Warmond, lord, his humble request to queen Elisabeth	vii.	512
Warning to Englishmen, on the destructive floods in South Wales	iii.	64
Warr, on the deficiency of the English laws	vi.	512
Warrant to apprehend the bishop of Rochester	x.	103
—, of the secretary of state against the Youngs	—	92
Wars, the design of them, as stated by Cicero	ii.	102
—, various continental ones, English valour displayed in	—	477
—, between York and Lancaster, the original cause of	iv.	445
—, reflections on the calamities of them	v.	71
—, an account of those in New England	viii.	73
—, address to the Massachusetts upon them	—	x.
—, between England and France, and their causes	x.	96, &c.
—, unnatural ones of prince John of Avesnes, &c.	xi.	vi.
Warwick, the earl of Essex marches to it	vi.	17

	Vol.	Page
Warwick, the earl of, his gallant defence of New-haven	x.	341
——, the fictitious one beheaded	xi.	445
——, sir Philip, on Cromwell's army	xii.	71
Warwickshire, sir Richard Verney high sheriff of	viii.	157
Waste of time by clubs and at coffee-houses considered	—	62, &c.
Watch-word to wanton maidens	iv.	235
Watchman, an account of his office	vi.	201
Water of Tunbridge, an account of its virtues	vii.	446, &c.
——, diseases which are cured by it	—	457
——, exercise to be used with it	—	461
——, diet to accompany it	—	464
Watermen, that they are diminished by stage-coaches	viii.	34
Waters, the hot ones of Bath, Dr. Venner's account of them	iv.	110
——, for what they are serviceable	—	112
——, account of those near Bristol	—	122
——, rules for taking against the stone	—	126
——, seasons of taking a great consideration	—	123
—— of Bath, Dr. Thomas Guidout's observations upon them	—	125
——, whence their origin	—	129
——, the strange nature and effects of	vii.	451
—— of Tunbridge, an essay upon them	ix.	176, &c.
——, their cure of the hypochondria	—	185
Way to happiness, by Dilheren, some account of it	ix.	9
——, the old French one of managing treaties	xii.	9
We, the meaning of it among the godly	vii.	74
Weakness of France, wherein it is manifest	iii.	105
Wealth, England's way to win it, by her ships and mariners	—	232
——, the nature of it considered	ix.	406
Weather, Jupiter's message on the seamen's dispute about it	iv.	329
Webbe, sir William, lord mayor, his description of himself	xii.	164
Weddel, capt. of the Charles at Madagascar	xi.	535
Wedding, account of a she owe at Deptford	ix.	84
——, an account of a curious one	xii.	211
Wedlock, Timothy, his examination about James Nayler	vi.	433
Weimar. See Saxe.		
Weimis, James, his testimony on the Gowrie conspiracy	ii.	346
Welch make incursions into England in William I.'s time	iii.	148
——, sir Walter, sent to arrest cardinal Wolsey for treason	iv.	548
Welchmen, dissension with English students at Rome	ii.	198
Wells, the queen's at Tunbridge, an account of	vii.	446
——, the Cornish rebels advance to it	xi.	422
Wellwood, Dr. his memoirs	xii.	51
——, his remarks on archbishop Laud	—	64
Welworn, a description of by English travellers	xi.	319
Wenceslaus, Seilerus, a famous projection maker	viii.	452, &c.
——, his design to quit Bruna monastery	—	457
——, his league with friar Francis	—	458
——, is sent to a dungeon	—	460
——, is conveyed to Felisburgh	—	461
——, and father Francis arrive at Vienna	—	462, &c.
——, various witnesses of his experiments	—	464
Weasel, the governor of, stops the French ships	vii.	508
West Indies, Gondomar's observations respecting them	iii.	536
——, a journal of the English army there	vi.	372
——, count Gendamore's opinion of the trade to it	viii.	241
—— India colonies, on their rise and growth	ix.	403
—— Indies, an account of the logwood, cotton, &c.	—	412
——, on the whites and blacks in them	—	414
——, account of sir George Askew's proceedings in	—	433
——, judges proposed to be sent thither, &c.	—	442
——, account of general Codrington there	—	516
——, on taking the French islands of it	x.	515
——, on reducing the French power there	xi.	22
——, nature of the Dutch trade there	—	24
Westminster, Percy hires a house there for gunpowder plot	iii.	22
——, king William usually kept his Whitsontide at	—	156
——, the parliament called at, hostile to duke of Buckingham	v.	316
——, an account of the plague there	vi.	42
——, objection of dissenting ministers to proceedings there	—	131
——, the Cuckow's nest at it	—	136
——, on a court of requests there	viii.	17
——, and mischief of suits in	—	50
——, abbey, William Caxton used printing there	x.	505
Weston, a description of in Overbury's vision	iii.	352
——, and Gomines adjudged guilty of treason	v.	84
——, why selected for poisoning sir Thomas Overbury	—	371, &c.
——, paper delivered to his son to be carried to the Tower	—	376
——, resists enquiries about Overbury's death, afterwards confesses	—	391

	Fol.	Page
Westphalia, observations on the peace of it	x.	484
Wetherby, the sufficiency of the king's forces there	v.	536
Weymouth taken by the earl of Essex	vi.	30
Whaddon, Villiers is created baron of and viscount Villiers	v.	309
Whaly, colonel, his qualifications to be a lord	—	498
Whigs coffee-house in Prating-alley, sale of books at	xii.	257
Whipping, the manner of its being practised by jesuits	ii.	181
Whirlpools are no principle of tides	viii.	3
Whiston's Calamities of England discovered	x.	254
Whitacre, Edward, admiralty solicitor, on his demands	xi.	144
White Battle, so called from churchmen's engaging in it	i.	99
Bands, the parliament so called in Edward II.'s reign	—	102
—, deemed one of the nest of pernicious vipers	v.	436
—, Jerry, chaplain to Oliver Cromwell	—	220 ⁿ
Whitechapel, mischiefs of a court of requests in it	viii.	50
Whitehall, account of the tumults about various opinions upon	v.	553
—, proceedings there about, the Jews	vi.	445
—, on king Charles II.'s return to it	viii.	111
—, an account of the fire there	x.	359
White-ladies, Charles II. escapes thither from Worcester	vi.	248
Whites, on the number of them in the West Indies	ix.	414
Whitgift, archbishop, encounters cardinal Bellarmine	vi.	303
Whitlock, Bulstrode designed to be one of Cromwell's lords	—	494
Whitsontide, kept at Westminster by William I.	iii.	156
Whore, how she caught a foyst	iv.	246
Wiapoco river in Guiana, sir Walter Raleigh's voyage to	iii.	177, &c.
—, intelligence received there	—	182, &c
Wich, sir Cyril, account of his politeness	xi.	355
Wickliff, an account of him by Fuller	vii.	253
Widdrington, sir Thomas, instals Cromwell	—	283
Widowers, limitation of their being taxed	xii.	200
Widows, their petition for a redress of grievances	x.	170
Wife of a brewer, Mrs. Anne Stagg, presents petition to parliament	v.	271
—, a poem so named, occasions sir Thomas Overbury's death	vi.	9
Wight, isle of, on king Charles being sent to it	—	187
—, on the French invading it	x.	303
Wilderness, the comedy of John Baptyste in it	li.	202
Wilkes and Dutton, in what manner treated by Presbyterians	vi.	189
Wilkins, Dr. on his winged chariot	vii.	82, &c.
Will of a tyrant, and of the law, how they differ	i.	13
— and testament of the marquis of Argyle, with his character	ii.	508
—, many kingdoms anciently thus disposed of	iii.	131
— of a soldier in verse	iv.	437
— the earl of Northampton, some account of	v.	386
— a monarch, how far it may be resisted	ix.	354
— and authority of a king, in what manner different	—	360
William I. a copious account of his life and actions	iii.	115, &c.
— his defeat of the French	—	122, &c.
— joins the French king against Geoffrey Martell	—	125
— a description of him	—	127
— his relationship to Edward the Confessor stated	—	128
— demands and receives hostages for Edward's safety	—	129
— comes into England to visit Edward	—	130
— not the nearest in blood to the English crown	—	132
— prepares to demand the English crown	—	135
— his firm assertions to Harold's spies	—	136
— his military skill in the battle of Hastings	—	143
— his reception by the Londoners	—	146
— makes peace with Malcolm, king of Scots	—	148
— displaces the archbishop of Canterbury and others	—	149
— erected many castles to over-awe the English	—	150
— lays waste several towns, &c. to make a forest	—	151
— moderates and qualifies the rigour of government	—	155
— an account of his death	—	160, &c.
— his corpse carried to Caen in Normandy	—	161
— how he effected the changes in English government	—	163
— had a title to the English crown from Edward	ix.	345
— account of his victory in the battle of Hastings	—	458
— oppressions of the English people	—	461
— an epitome of his wars	x.	386
— the manner of his revenging an insult	—	397
— on his losing the battle of Steinkirk	—	554, &c.
— how instructed by sir Cloudeley Shovel	—	556
William II. or Rufus, some account of him	—	228
—, account of his dream	xi.	484
— III. goes to Holland, escorted by admiral Rooke	ix.	532
— is visited by admiral Trump on arriving in Holland	—	534
—, some remarks on his life and reign	x.	545

	Vol.	Page
William III. his ghost	xi.	162
——, Duke, is opposed by his uncle, the earl of Arques	iii.	151
—— Rufus, his fair promises to the English	—	154
——, succeeded his father in England	—	166
Williamite, not always a loyal subject	xii.	245
Williams, Richard, undertakes to murder queen Elisabeth	iii.	518
——, Welch, archbishop of York, some notice of	v.	342
——, Mr. a barrister, executed for writing a book	—	405
Willibrod, an Englishman, first bishop of Utrecht	vii.	524
Willie and Jamie, or the northern discoverie	iv.	452
Willis, on the efficacy of fixed salt, &c.	vii.	377
——, Dr. on the qualities of coffee	xii.	21
——, his opinion of sugar	—	27
——, how he recommends tobacco	—	31
——, on the virtues of mum	—	36
Willoughby, sir Hugh, king Edward VI.'s letter about	iii.	292
——, lord, how he supported the tottering state of France	—	541
——, assists the king of Navarre	x.	331
Willis, on proving them in the country	vii.	20
——, on registering them in hundreds, &c.	—	32
Willmot, some account of him, as given by the king to the queen	v.	525
Wilson's history of king James referred to	viii.	510
Willis, skirmishes at Auburn-hills in that county	vi.	23
Wimbledon, viscount, sir Edward Cecil is created	—	10
Winchelsea, on the decay of its port	x.	435
Winchester, earl of, the elder Spencer is created	i.	105
——, king William kept the feast of Easter there	iii.	156
——, Dr. Fox, bishop of, takes notice of Wolsey	iv.	491
——, the bishop of, a torturer of catholics	vii.	248
——, the Cornish rebels arrive at	xi.	425
Windebank, secretary, on his being sent abroad	iv.	452
——, how he slights the pope's legate	viii.	198
——, is a fierce papist	x.	204
Windmill-hill, account of the wonders there	xi.	62
Windsor-castle, the duke of Buckingham made constable of	v.	309
——, butcher, how he was deemed guilty of treason	—	405
——, the earl of Essex winters there	vi.	20
——, ghosts of Henry VIII. and Charles I. there	—	509
——, why king James's lords were detained at it	x.	550
Wind-thrush, neither their abode nor breed known	v.	502
Wine-importers, and sellers or vintners, their duty	vi.	127
——, the duke of Clarence is drowned in malmsay	viii.	385
——, the excise in Britany upon it	x.	212
Wines, Dr. Merret's opinion of fir-shavings in them	xii.	36
Wing, Vincent, his Harmonicon Celeste	vii.	82
Winnington in Shropshire, the birth-place of old Parr	iv.	206
Winstanley, Mr. James, appears on sir Edward Mosely's trial	vi.	48
Winstanly, Ferrard, his letter on commons and wastes	xi.	425
Winter, the Romans proposed then to retire from Britain	ii.	423
——, Thomas, one of the first in the conspiracy	iii.	22
——, Robert, pleaded for mercy to his brother	—	47
——, and his brother, their execution	—	48
——, Thomas, allusion to his treason	—	546
——, enquiry where insects, &c. are in that season	v.	509
——, sir John, his attempt to take Langot	—	531
——, Thomas, is sent to Spain by the conspirators	viii.	150
——, is a sworn papist	—	205
——, Dream, a curious one	xi.	473
Winters, are parties in the gunpowder plot	viii.	150, &c.
Winton, the roll of, otherwise called Domesday Book	iii.	153
Wirtem, Peter, how permitted by the anabaptists to preach, &c.	v.	461
Wither, George, his faculty of rhyming	viii.	384
Witnesses to the articles between Lucifer and his agents	iv.	326
Witney, George, account of Leicester's treatment of	—	476
Witt, De, a remonstrance upon his proceedings	vii.	504, &c.
——, the pensioner, falls into a swoon	ix.	7
Wittenberg, an account of it	xi.	330
Witts, De, the heads of a corrupt party	x.	547
Wives, plurality of declared by John of Leyden	v.	258, &c.
——, of tradesmen, or gentlewomen, of London, their petition	—	266
——, on plurality of, and the two of Lamech	x.	247
Wiving and marriage, a curious discourse upon them	iii.	251
Wolfius, M. his excellent character	xi.	353
Wolsey, cardinal, two letters from Anne Boleyn to him	i.	100
——, and archbishop Laud, a parallel of	iv.	422
——, the son of a butcher at Ipswich	—	463, &c.
——, is employed in an embassy to the emperor	—	464
——, his numerous and noble train	—	465

Wolsey cardinal, Cavendish's account of his negotiations	Vol. Page.
—, was born at Ipswich in Suffolk	iv. 483
—, is promoted to be king's chaplain	— 490
—, his friends design him for an embassy	— 491
—, his speedy dispatch in his first embassy	— 496
—, accompanies the king to France	— 495
—, is made lord chancellor of England	— 496
—, excites a grudge with archbishop of Canterbury	— 496
—, an account of his house and chapel	— 497
—, his second embassy to the emperor Charles V.	— 499
—, his procession to Westminster-hall	— 500
—, account of his splendid houses	— 501
—, introduction of masks at a banquet	— 502
—, mistress Anne Bullen the first cause of his fall	— 503
—, his embassy into France	— 510
—, procession of towards Amience	— 516
—, and the king lodge in the castle of Amience	— 517
—, occurrences which served to hasten his fall	— 535
—, the great seal of England demanded from him	— 538
—, is ordered to go to Ashur	— 539
—, accused in parliament of high-treason	— 540
—, at Ashur receives daily messages from court	— 542
—, is commanded to hasten to York	— 544
—, goes to Cawood in the vicinity of York	— 545
—, proposes to be installed in York cathedral	— 547
—, the commission for arresting him	— 548
—, with his keepers return towards London	— 551
—, is entertained at the earl of Shrewsbury's	— 552
—, is met there by sir William Kingston	— 553
—, comes to Leicester abbey, and there falls sick	— 554
—, his last words, and death	— 557
Wolves, the isle of, a name given to England	xi. 482
Woman's tongue, the anatomy of it in five parts	iv. 267
—, how it may be said to be a thunder	— 273
—, an old one in Wales, an account of	viii. 127
—, the folly of an old man marrying a young one	x. 462
Women, by shaving, may make themselves like men	iv. 73, &c.
—, lewd ones, how they exceed men in villanies	— 239
—, epigrams upon them	— 275
—, of Scotland, a description of them	vii. 441
Wonders effected by the memorable parliament at Westminster	i. 133
Wood, a quantity of it discovered under the parliament house	iii. 19
—, Mr. appears as a witness for sir Edward Mosely	vi. 49
—, the great eater of Kent, some account of	— 392
Woodcocks, on their arrival by an east-wind	v. 503
—, one of them alights on a ship at sea	— 504
—, observation on their general descent	— 506
—, supposed to ascend above the force of gravity	— 506
—, how altered before their departure	— 506
Woods, none to be met with in Scotland	vii. 486
Woodstock, the comptrollership of, how Witney was deprived of it	iv. 476
—, the native place of Edward the black prince	viii. 163
—, account of Rosamond's labyrinth there	x. 289
Woodward, maister, an account of his artful conduct	ii. 170, &c.
Worcester, the earl of, is acquainted with letter to lord Montague	iii. 17
—, lord of, an account of him in the Fragmenta Regalia	v. 154
—, account of Charles II.'s escape from it	vi. 247
—, the marquis of, his cecitury of inventions	— 405
—, account of Charles II.'s march to it	vii. 281
—, execution of Humphry Littleton there	viii. 162
Worcestershire, conspirators pursued by the sheriff of	iii. 32, &c.
Word without doors, on the bill of succession	i. 54
—, for the army, by Hugh Peters	vi. 66
—, parliament, army, and lawyers	vii. 39, &c.
Work-houses, on erecting them at fishing ports	xii. 263
—, objections to county ones answered	viii. 182
World, the golden one, how rifled by the Spaniards	ix. 430
—, on Augustus taxing all of it	— 483
Wordly Fame, the mirror of, in various dissertations	ii. 515
Worms, a diet held there by desire of the German princes	v. 262, &c.
—, obedience to the emperor and king declared in the diet of	— 473
Worship of God, how abused in the inquisition	i. 87
—, how it was introduced into Britain	— 336
—, different thoughts about it	vii. 43
Worthies, the nine, discovered by a magician	iii. 533
—, of London by Richard Iohnson	xii. 164
Wotton, sir Henry, his account of the life, &c. of duke of Buckingham	v. 307

	Vol.	Page
Wren, bishop, deemed one of the most perfidious vipers	v.	435
his oppression of foreigners	xii.	59
Wrestling, Athenians boast of being its first inventors	ii.	332
Wright, John, an early conspirator in the gunpowder plot	iii.	22
on the vow of secrecy taken by	—	46.
Writ de hæretico comburendo, why it should be abolished	xiii.	70
Writers, ancient ones, how far necessary to decide facts	iv.	64
Writing sent to sir John Oldcastle by archbishop Arundell	i.	262
lord Bacon's observations on freedom of it	viii.	297
an essay on that and on printing	x.	238
and paper, an account of their original	xii.	273
Writings, Machiavel's vindication of them and of himself	i.	78
ancient MS. ones, how abused by popish writers	iv.	39
Writs, on being issued to sheriffs of counties	xi.	50
Wyat, sir Thomas, account of his treason	v.	63
Wydecombe, in Devonshire, lamentable accidents there	iv.	286
description of the church, &c.	—	290

X.

Xanthus, a dream about him	xi.	404
Xerxes, an account of his inroads into Greece, and why	viii.	375
Xima, Alphonso de, admiral of the Spanish fleet	xi.	517

Y.

Yarmouth, in Norfolk, an account of its rise and improvement	ii.	228
stated to be a compassionate climate	—	223
whence it derived the name	—	226
why the road is deemed the road of St. Nicholas	—	227
the privileges granted to it by king John	—	26.
its opposition to the Cinque ports	—	26.
their charter farther confirmed	—	228
a Burgess of was northern admiral	—	26.
visited by king Richard II.	—	26.
a description of its extent	—	229
an account of its trade in herrings	— 300.	22.
the great expences of its haven stated	—	301
Nashe's eulogium on it	—	302
the staple of herrings transferred to it	—	312
on want of employment there	iii.	245
Yelder, Mr. a divine at Oxford sent for to Susanna Snow	—	448
Yeabsley, Anne, is deserted by Robert Young	x.	33
in what manner deceived by him	—	45
Yelvis, sir Yervase, appointed lieutenant of the Tower	v.	370
is acquainted with design against Overbury	—	376
his letter to the earl of Northampton	—	377
his execution upon Tower-hill	vi.	9
Yeomanry, are accounted the strength of England	viii.	349
Yonge, John, his testimony on the conduct of Englishmen at Rome	ii. 197.	22.
York, bill to exclude the Duke of from being king	i. 54.	22.
and Canterbury, dispute between the archbishops of	iii.	165
Edmund, his traitorous intent against the queen	—	518
archbishop of, dedication of pope Joan to	iv.	9
copy of petition presented to king Charles I. there	—	391
Wolsey, archbishop of, parallel with archbishop Laud	—	462
the house of, its wars with the house of Lancaster	—	477
cardinal Wolsey appointed archbishop of	iv.	406
house, how Wolsey was induced to surrender it to the king	—	542
the cardinal journeys towards it by slow motions	—	546
Welch Williams, the prelate of, some account of	v.	342
the king's declaration there in June, 1642	—	535
account of king Charles's proceedings about it	vi.	13
never reached by the Scots after Hengist's time	—	98
assizes, serjeant Thorpe's charge there	—	106
the flood of rebellion began in that county	—	111
how it was subdued by Cromwell's means	vii.	278
address to the Duke of	—	521

INDEX.

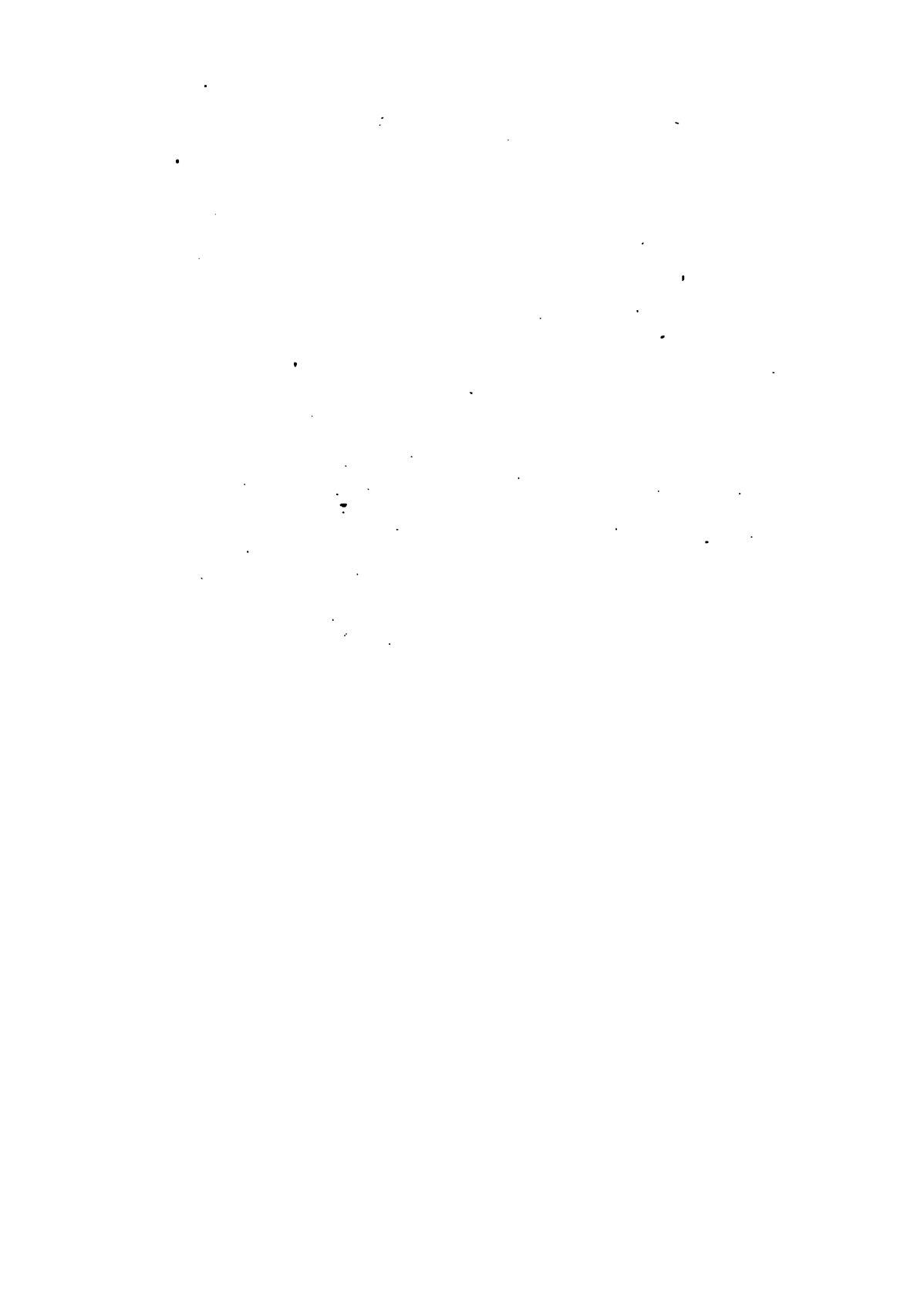
CXXXII

	Vol.	Page.
York stage-coaches, on the passengers which they carry	viii.	33
—, the duke of, an avowed papist	—	211
—, copy of bill relating to him	—	212
—, Gibbon's poetic effusion on him	—	306
—, verses on him	—	309
—, on his disclaiming Mrs. Hyde	—	513
—, on his treatment of Charles II.	—	46.
—, on his conduct to papists his friends	—	521, &c.
—, on king Charles's partiality for	ix.	2
—, a Roman municipium	xi.	459
Yerkshire, the king's declaration to the freeholders of	v.	555
Young and Blackhead's conspiracy against bishop of Rochester	x. i.	&c.
Youth, a dissertation upon its properties	ii.	518
Ypres is summoned by marshal Turenne	x.	417
—, assailed by sir Thomas Morgan	—	420
—, surrendered to general Morgan's forces	—	421
Yvetot is deserted by the Spaniards with shame and loss	iii.	543

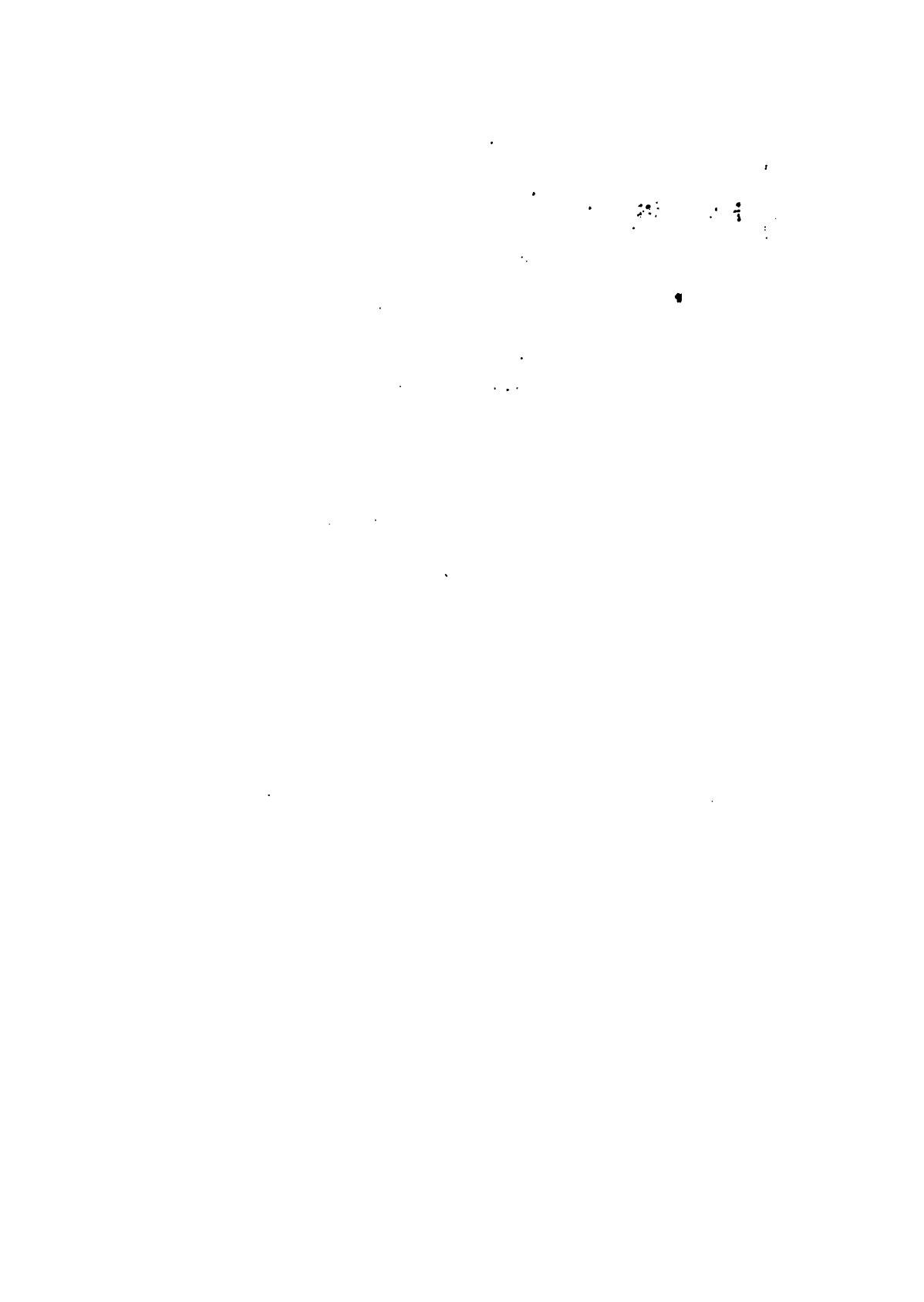
Z.

Zealanders, their baseness and ingratitude to queen Elisabeth	viii.	557
Zell, a description of it	xi.	347
Zisca's skin, on its being made a drum	vii.	410
Zlabnitz, a description of it	xi.	284, &c.
Znaim, the limits of its toparchy, or district	—	290
Zopfais, his account of Vampyres	—	232
Zouch, lord, succeeds as lord of the Cinque-ports	v.	386
Zurich, account of Socinus's disputations there	vi.	362
Zwickau, invested and taken by the Swedes	iv.	194
Zwinglianism, persons accused of it, an account of	vii.	254, &c.

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